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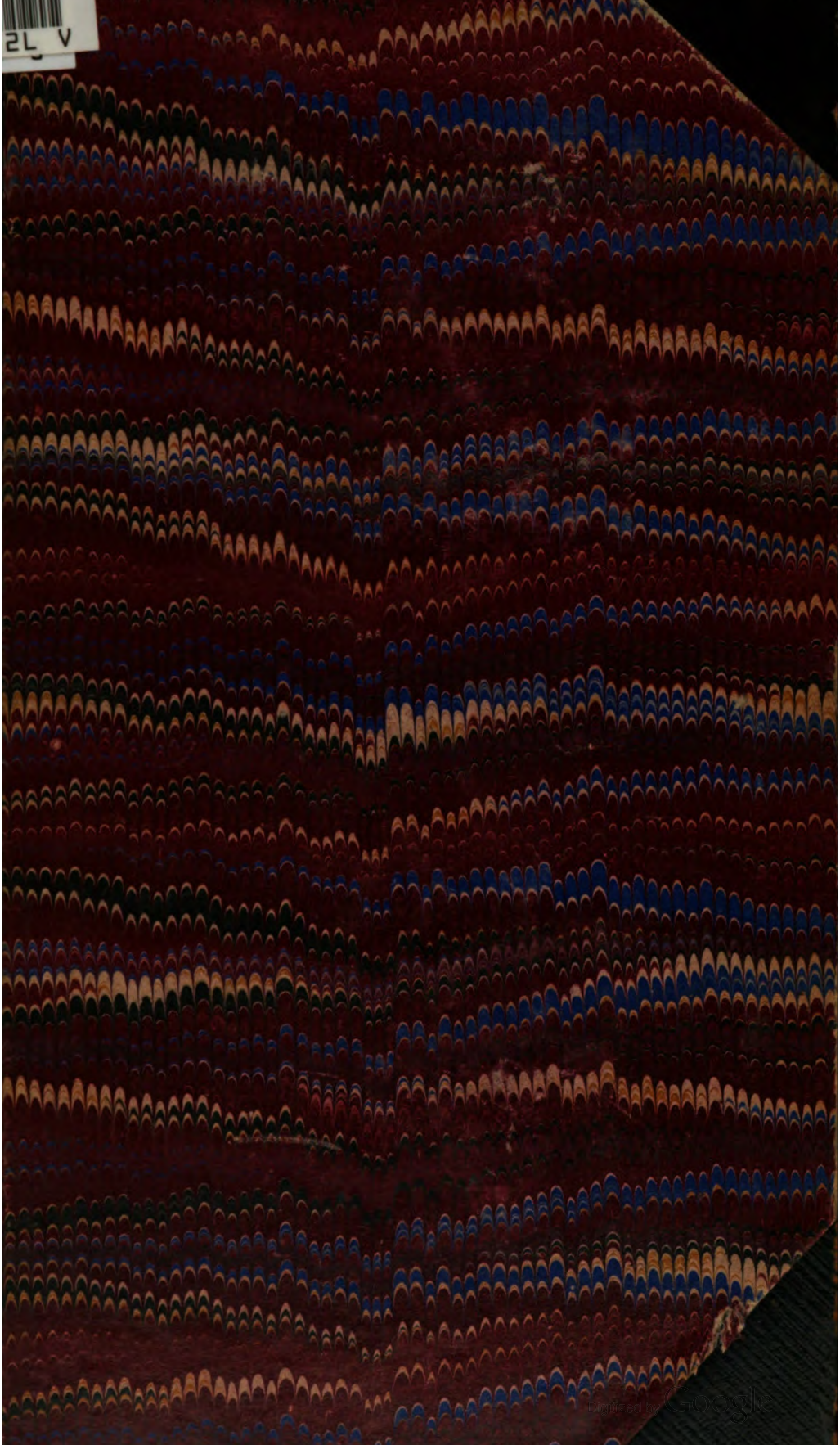
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COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA.

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES.

SESSION 1904.

(FIRST SESSION OF THE SECOND PARLIAMENT.)

VOL. XXI.

(Comprising the period from 28th July to 28th September, 1904.)

SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

*Printed and Published for the GOVERNMENT of the COMMONWEALTH of AUSTRALIA by
ROBT. S. BRAIN, Government Printer for the State of Victoria.*

F.13303.

1904.

Oct Dec ⁵ 512.5

mentioned receive innumerable smaller perennial streams, many of which are more or less snow fed at their sources. In the suggested Tooma River gravitation scheme, which in all probability would prove the cheapest and most effective, this report has dealt with only one source of supply, for, without special examination, the subject cannot be more fully enlarged on. For a like reason it is impossible to submit definite information concerning water power, although, as before mentioned, I would expect to find great possibilities in the Swampy Plain River.

If honorable members will take notice, at about fifteen or twenty miles above this proposed site, the Upper Murray is divided into two rivers, one called the Swampy Plain River, and the other the Indi River. The reference in the quotation is to the point at which the two rivers join. Mr. Chesterman says he tried to get from the Public Works Department the information as to altitude—he has got most of the information as to flow of water in certain seasons—and that he was unable to obtain it. And then at another point, to which I referred, the Murray Gates, he was unable to ascertain the altitude. All I asked was that, if it was possible, he should be instructed to get that information.

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—Did not the honorable member say, in regard to other sites, when we had more information about them than is given there, that there should be a Commission appointed to examine them?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Most decidedly; and if there were the opportunity there would be ample justification for appointing experts to examine this part of the country. All I asked—I thought it was a very simple request, to which no one would object—was that certain information should be obtained in regard to two particular parts where an immense volume of water comes down. The right honorable member for Swan spoke to me the other day about the altitude of various spots on the Murray.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—No.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—If the right honorable member did not, other honorable members did. The information would be made much more complete by ascertaining the altitudes at those places where I believe the greatest volume of snow-fed water that it is possible to obtain in Australia can be obtained. It is scarcely fair that every moment a word is said about this site an honorable member who represents Lyndhurst, as the leader of the Opposition did, should make a vicious protest against getting any information.

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—I say that we want more information.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I know that it is possible to obtain this information before this debate is closed, and if it does not bear out what I anticipate, so much the worse will it be for the site. But I cannot understand honorable members objecting to the information being obtained. I have been attacked for not having submitted this site before. I said most distinctly that the originator of Tooma being submitted as a site was the honorable member for Grampians. I did not go into this matter last session as I might have done, for the one reason that if a site well within the boundaries of New South Wales was selected, I should be very pleased; but we are now considering sites a long way from Sydney.

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—They were being considered before, as the honorable member knows.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Why should any honorable member object to further information being obtained?

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—I say that we want more information.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—It is not a nice thing for honorable members to try to prevent information about a place from being obtained. This place may not have a chance of being selected, but if it is proposed to go further south than this locality to look for a site—

Sir JOHN FORREST.—They were all mentioned.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—This site was proposed by the honorable member for Grampians, when he sought to get the territory extended from Tumut down to the Murray. The only reason why I did not deal further with the proposal at the time was that the area came down to the Victorian border. I know that the people of Sydney—I do not know about the people of New South Wales—raised a considerable objection to the site being taken so far south. I have always felt that the spirit of section 125 of the Constitution was to have the Capital as fairly as possible in New South Wales. I thought, therefore, on the last occasion, and I believe that it influenced many honorable members, that a half-way place, in the shape of beautiful Tumut, was a very good compromise. However, that need not be discussed at the present time. I hope that honorable members will not object to the Minister of Home Affairs i

structing Mr. Chesterman to go up the river to these places and obtain this information.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK (Parramatta).—The honorable member for Hume has given the best of all reasons why there should be no more paltering with regard to the Tooma site. He has told us that originally—when he was in his saner Federal moments—he believed that this site was entirely out of the running.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I did not say anything of the kind.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The honorable member said he believed that this site was entirely out of the running, because it did not fulfil the spirit of the bond into which the States had entered. He has told us the reason why he did not propose this site was that it would not be a fair fulfilment of the bond.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I said that it would be objected to by the people of Sydney, and that I did not know whether it would be objected to by the people of New South Wales.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—All through the Federal campaign the honorable member more than any other public man in New South Wales argued that the Federal Capital ought to be established in Sydney.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—And I have given the reason why my opinion has changed.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—This is one of his great objections to the State entering into a Federal bond at all.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Nonsense.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—For a long time—indeed until now—the honorable member has held a similar view.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Why does the honorable member persist in misrepresenting me?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I am representing the honorable member only too faithfully.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—The honorable member is absolutely misrepresenting me.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Does the honorable member deny that throughout the campaign he spoke in favour of the Capital being in Sydney?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I have mentioned the reason.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I have nothing to do with the honorable member's reasons. I am concerned only with the fact. I know, however, that the reason was that the honorable member was endeavouring to defeat the objects of those who really made the Federation.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I rise to a point of order. I wish to know whether the honorable member is in order in saying that the reason why I urged at one time that Sydney should be the site of the Capital was that I desired to defeat the objects of those who really made the Federation. I have denied the statement, and the honorable member must accept that denial.

The TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDonald).—If the honorable member denies the statement, I am sure that the honorable member for Parramatta will withdraw it.

Mr. McCOLL.—What have we to do with these personal matters?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—We have a great deal to do with them.

Mr. McCOLL.—Such proceedings are discreditable to the Commonwealth.

Mr. STORRER.—They are a disgrace to the Parliament.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I am very sorry that we are apparently rousing the ire of the Tooma enthusiasts; but that cannot be avoided. Whether they like it or not, we must insist as far as we can on good faith being kept with those with whom a solemn compact was made.

Mr. STORRER.—The honorable member is raising the ire of others.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—In this matter the honorable member does not count. Had he been a member of this Parliament from its inception he would have been in a better position to speak on the subject.

Mr. STORRER.—I have read all the debates that took place on it last session.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Then the honorable member is all the wiser for it. It is very strange to hear the honorable member for Hume arguing that this question should be further considered, and giving the reasons which he offers in support of his contention. He tells us in one breath that the reason he did not advocate the selection of this site last session was because he thought it would be too far away from Sydney to satisfy the people of New South Wales. I replied to that statement by saying that he knew very well, in his own mind, that to select that site would be to depart from the bond. Statements by the score could be quoted in proof of my assertion. How much longer are we to wait, in order that sites may be investigated? I have not the slightest doubt that if honorable members indulged in further

picnicing, and if we obtained more favorable reports, certain honorable members would be induced to go over to the side of the Toomaites. The honorable member for Macquarie has one or two sites in his district that have not yet been exploited, and he might also put in a claim for further delay. I submit that, in view of the years, and the thousands of pounds which have been spent in investigating the merits of the various sites, we should be ready now to arrive at a decision, and that any further delay would be absolutely unjustifiable.

Mr. STORRER (Bass).—I shall not take the remarks of the honorable member for Parramatta in the spirit in which they were made, because, so far as politics are concerned, I never indulge in personalities. As I interjected, while the honorable member was speaking, I have read the reports of the debates which took place on this question last year, and I think that the charges which some honorable members are continually making against each other in this Committee are not by any means creditable to the Parliament of Australia. The manner in which many honorable members attack the honorable member for Hume, whenever he addresses himself to this question, is certainly most reprehensible. We know that the honorable member for Grampians takes the whole of the responsibility for the demand that the Tooma site should be inspected. Honorable members opposite are not prepared to accept his assurance, but attribute the whole movement to secure its selection to the honorable member for Hume. I am not at present in love with the Tooma district, and I intend to hear all that is to be said on the subject before I cast my vote. I have only to add that I decline to submit to personal attacks on the part of any honorable member. I am sent here to represent my constituents, and have as much right to speak or to interject whenever I please as has the honorable member for Parramatta.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN (Eden-Monaro).—I think that the honorable member for Echuca is well within his rights in asking for further information in regard to Tooma; but it is unfair to the other sites that the advocates of Tooma, who appear to be "pulling the strings" very well, should be allowed special concessions. It may seem improper to speak of honorable members "pulling the strings," but we must call a spade a spade, and we know that

some persons are resorting to this practice. I have no objection to their doing so, but—

Mr. BATCHELOR.—Several sets of strings are being pulled.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—And some are rather interesting. It will be my mission after we have dealt with the matter, to draw aside the blind, and show what has been done. I object to the debate being prolonged in order that, in the meantime, a report may be obtained from a surveyor in regard to some particular feature of the Tooma site, which in the opinion of its supporters may help to secure its selection. I believe that Tooma is seriously in the running, and, that being the case, we should have the same information in regard to it that is forthcoming in reference to other sites. We should have information, not only upon the question of its water supply, but in regard to its elevation, and as to whether there is a sufficient area suitable as a site for the Capital. Let Tooma be subjected to the same scrutiny that has taken place in connexion with the other sites. We should have some information as to whether it would be possible to connect it with the railway system of New South Wales, together with an approximate estimate of the cost. I ask the Government not to allow itself to be drawn aside by the advocates of the several sites. It is all very well for the Ministry to say that they are in the hands of the House; but I hold that they should make a stand and say whether they are going to give us this information or not. We are entitled to the information for which the honorable member for Echuca has asked; but I object to any officer being sent out to telegraph information on some special feature of the site, with a view to the capturing of more votes.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—Is the honorable member referring to the request made by the honorable member for Echuca?

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—Yes. It is a very reasonable request; but a gentle hint has been thrown out from other quarters as to the information which should be obtained. I have no desire to impute motives. Probably, if I were an advocate of Tooma, I should be anxious to obtain a report on it, and would not desire to obtain any information that might be unfavorable to its selection. Some honorable members say that they like Tooma, but I have not heard of many who are going to support it. All this talk about the honorable member for Hume

taking a parliamentary party out on a picnicing excursion, and being able to persuade honorable members to vote for the site which he favours, is all nonsense. It might as well be said that I could induce honorable members to vote for the district which I favour. I resent the suggestions made by the honorable member for Macquarie. Surely honorable members have minds of their own. It is indeed a well-known fact that most of us have made up our minds on this subject. The information which we possess about Tooma is not sufficient to enable any one to come to a definite judgment upon its merits, but may be sufficient to make some honorable members desirous of obtaining further details. Therefore, it is incumbent upon the Government to say whether they wish honorable members to come to a vote in our present state of information, or to wait until we can get further reports about Tooma. In any case, a definite decision should be arrived at. If we drag this debate on for another ten days, while waiting for telegrams to be sent to us, we shall become the laughing stock of Australia. What should be done is to say that the vote shall be taken at such and such a time, and then postpone the discussion until the information we require is obtained. If necessary, Mr. Chesterman, or Mr. Scrivener, might be sent to Tooma to get for us information similar to that which has been supplied in regard to the other sites. But I say unhesitatingly, that consideration is being given to the Tooma site which is not being given to the other sites. I was desirous of getting honorable members to visit Twofold Bay, but I was not assisted in that project. The honorable member for Hume professes to regard the Tooma site as a New South Wales one, but I think that the people of the State look upon it as a Victorian site. For my own part, although I am a representative of a New South Wales constituency, I am here to consider the interests of Australia generally.

Mr. WEBSTER (Gwydir).—I am distinctly glad of the turn which the debate has taken, because I do not wish a decision to be come to on this momentous question before full information has been obtained regarding all the sites. Honorable members should have all necessary facts placed before them, so that they may come to a competent judgment. I feel that in urging that surveyors be sent to report further on the Tooma site I am studying the interests of Australia at large. I believe

that if such a report is made it will strengthen the hands of those who are inclined to vote for Tooma. I have made an inspection of the site, and know the character of the country, but I am not a surveyor, and cannot calculate elevations, or determine the feasibility of obtaining an adequate water supply, or estimate the cost of giving railway communication to any site. Therefore, I must rely upon expert reports. But although I represent a New South Wales constituency, I shall not take a narrow, parochial view of this question. It has been inferred by some honorable members, who come from that State, that those who are not supporting a particular site are breaking the compact embodied in the Constitution; but I told my constituents that I had not formed an opinion as to which was the best site, but that if elected I would investigate all the proposed sites for myself.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN. — Hear, hear. Honorable members should have time to go to Twofold Bay.

Mr. WEBSTER.—I had visited Twofold Bay before my election, and I have since been to all the proposed sites, and studied their various features. Having thus satisfied my conscience, I feel in a position to do my duty to the Commonwealth. I shall not consider the interests of any section of the community, although the representatives of the Sydney press who report our proceedings are manufacturing ammunition to fire off against those who dare to give their adherence to a site which is not that chosen by the majority of the representatives of that State. To my mind, that is a very unfair position. During the Federal campaign, the conductors of the newspapers urged the public to sink the narrow, parochial view, and to take a broad view. But those who most strongly advocated the cultivation of the Federal spirit are those who are now trying to dominate honorable members by compelling them to have regard to parochial considerations. I have but one motive, and that is to do the best I can for the generations who are to follow. If that be discreditable to an honorable member, I plead guilty to being discredited. But I object to voting without sufficient information upon an important question of this kind, which affects the interests of all Australia. I would point out further that had it not been for the bargain made by the right honorable member for East Sydney in fixing the 100-miles limit, it would

have been possible to select a site without the difficulty that is now presented. But as things are, we have not a great range of choice. I repeat that I am anxious to obtain the opinions of experts before we proceed to vote. I should be far more satisfied if my own view were ratified.

Mr. BATCHELOR (Boothby—Minister of Home Affairs).—The position of the Government in regard to this matter is this: Having entered upon the consideration of the Bill, we intend to carry the discussion right on. We do not intend to allow anything to interfere with the completion of the business in hand, which is the settlement of the Federal Capital question. The request for further information about the Tooma site, is, I admit, a very natural one, and, so far as the Government may be able to comply with it between now and next Tuesday they will do so. But I am not prepared to consent to any further investigation that will involve delay. I admit, of course, that it is unfortunate that the particular site which has been mentioned has not received so close an investigation as have some of the other sites, but the fault does not lie with the Government. All I can say is that any further reasonable investigation which can be made without causing any delay shall be undertaken. The Government cannot promise more than that.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—Will the Government ask the New South Wales Government to furnish an approximate estimate of the cost of connecting the site by rail?

Mr. BATCHELOR.—Does the honorable member think that it is possible to get that information?

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—The New South Wales Government have had trial surveys made through the district, and can furnish an approximate estimate.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—I have not the slightest objection to asking the Government of New South Wales for that information if they can supply it in time, but I am inclined to question their ability to do so. I presume that the honorable member means that we should obtain an approximate estimate of the cost of connecting the site with Germantown. I dare say that could be furnished.

Progress reported.

House adjourned at 11.37 p.m.

House of Representatives.

Friday, 29 July, 1904.

Mr. SPEAKER took the chair at 10.30 a.m., and read prayers.

LABOUR PARTY'S LOYALTY.

Mr. KNOX.—I wish to know from the Prime Minister if his attention has been drawn to a cablegram which appears in this morning's *Argus*, stating that Mr. H. P. Wyatt, who recently visited Australia as an envoy of the Imperial Navy League, has declared that he has no hesitation in saying that the Labour leaders in Australia are disloyal, and are separatists.

Mr. PAGE.—He is a lying scoundrel.

Mr. KNOX.—If the attention of the Prime Minister has been drawn to the report in question, I ask him whether he believes the feelings of the members of his Ministry, or of the Labour Party in the Federal Parliament, to have been correctly represented by Mr. Wyatt. If he believes that they have not been correctly represented, will he make a positive disclaimer on behalf of the Government of the Commonwealth of the opinions attributed to the Labour leaders here?

Mr. PAGE.—Does the honorable member think that the statement is true?

Mr. KNOX.—I know that it is not true.

Mr. WATSON.—My attention has been drawn to the cablegram in question. The statement therein attributed to Mr. Wyatt is absolutely ridiculous and untrue. It is certainly untrue so far as the members of this Ministry are concerned, and it does not in the slightest degree represent the feeling of the Labour leaders of Australia, so far as I have been able to ascertain it. It is certainly the fact that the Labour leaders of the various States refused to have anything to do with a faddist of Mr. Wyatt's description.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Does the honorable member think that Mr. Wyatt is a faddist?

Mr. WATSON.—Yes, and I think that in England, also, he is looked upon as a faddist.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—He did not appear to me in that light.

Mr. WATSON.—I am expressing my own opinion only. I know that the right honorable member has somewhat exaggerated ideas on Imperial subjects. So far as the people in the Labour movement throughout Australia are concerned, although

they are not of the hysterical brand of loyalists, I do not think there is the slightest evidence of their ever having shown any desire for separation from the Empire. The statement that that is desired by those connected with the political Labour movement of Australia is absolutely incorrect. I may add that I do not know what steps Mr. Wyatt took to ascertain the feelings of the Labour leaders of Australia in this matter.

ADJOURNMENT (Formal).

LYNDHURST WATER SUPPLY.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH (Macquarie).—I regret that I feel compelled to move the adjournment of the House this morning.

Mr. CARPENTER.—Water again?

Mr. SPEAKER.—May I take this opportunity to remind the House that honorable members when speaking are to be taken as expressing their own opinions, though not necessarily those of their fellow members; and that every honorable member is entitled to place his own views before the assembly, even though they may be views from which every other honorable member dissents. I ask honorable members to listen to the member addressing the Chair, without striving by interjection to force him to express their views instead of his own.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I should not have taken this unusual step had I not thought it important, in the interests not only of the State which I represent, but of the whole of Australia, that the true facts in connexion with certain matters should be laid before the House, so that even honorable members who may be opposed to the course—

Mr. SPEAKER.—I would remind the honorable member that he has not yet obtained leave to move the adjournment.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I wish to move the adjournment of the House for the purpose of asking that Mr. Wade, Chief Engineer of Water Conservation for New South Wales, who is now in Melbourne, be called upon for a full report in regard to the water supply available at or near Lyndhurst.

Mr. SPEAKER.—I have received an intimation from the honorable member for Macquarie that he desires to move the adjournment of the House, to discuss a definite matter of urgent public importance, viz., "The desirability of obtaining further information from Mr. Wade, Chief Engineer of Water Conservation in New

South Wales, who is now in Melbourne, concerning the volume and cost of water supply at or near Lyndhurst."

Five honorable members having risen in their places,

Question proposed.

Mr. THOMAS.—Is the honorable member stone-walling the Seat of Government Bill?

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I take all responsibility for my actions in this Chamber. All I ask is that the same courtesy may be extended to me in making this request for information as I should be ready to extend to any other honorable member. The question I wish to discuss is a very important one. Misleading statements have been made, both publicly and privately, by the advocates of other sites, for the purpose of damaging the chances of the Lyndhurst site, and I feel that in the interests of all concerned the Chief Engineer of Water Conservation in New South Wales, who has been sent to Melbourne by his Government to give honorable members full information in regard to the possibility of conserving water in the district, should be examined at the Bar of the House, or by a Select Committee, on his report, which I put before the House last night, so that all the facts relating to the matter may be ascertained. My action proves that I am desirous that the fullest publicity shall be given to all matters relating to the Lyndhurst site.

Mr. THOMAS.—The honorable member made a long speech on this subject last night.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—Yes, but the accuracy of many of the statements which I then made on the authority of Mr. Wade were questioned by certain honorable members. I believe that a majority are desirous of knowing the truth, and, therefore, I wish to give the House an opportunity to examine Mr. Wade in a most public manner, both on every statement which I have made, and in regard to other matters bearing on the question at issue. Mr. Wade has submitted a report which shows that a gravitation supply capable of supplying 100,000 people with 100 gallons per day throughout the year can be obtained at Lyndhurst, the rate of consumption provided for being twice that of Melbourne and Sydney combined, and Mr. Wade has allowed for 8 per cent. to run off in the course of a dry year.

Mr. SPEAKER.—The honorable member is not asking that further information shall be supplied, but is quoting statements in a report which he says is now available. I hope that he will confine himself to the terms of his motion.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—Certain statements have been made, and I am anxious that Mr. Wade shall be asked to give the House full and complete information on the whole question. I wish other honorable members to have the same opportunity to examine him as I have had, so that the full light of day shall be shed on the subject. In a report which Mr. Wade has written to me, and which is now in my possession, he says that a gravitation scheme can be obtained at Lyndhurst which would supply 100,000 people at the allowance I have already named; and that if more water were required, a storage reservoir could be constructed on the Lachlan, just below the junction of Wyangala Creek. The cost of the work has been estimated at £581,200, which includes the cost of twenty-two miles of steel main, one-tenth of the cost of the dam, and the cost of buildings, pumps, boilers, engineering, and contingencies. Making provision for fuel and stores, maintenance, and interest and sinking fund at 6 per cent., the supply would cost 7½d. per 1,000 gallons. At the present time the water supplied in Sydney and in Melbourne costs 1s. per 1,000 gallons, while in some places where there are pumping schemes the cost is as high as 1s. 6d. per 1,000 gallons. A weir to supply the requirements of a Capital City, estimated at 9,000,000 gallons per day, could be constructed for £100,000.

Mr. SPEAKER.—The Standing Order prevents any discussion which anticipates debate on an item of business already appearing on the notice-paper, and, therefore, nothing can be said now which could be said in Committee on the Seat of Government Bill. The honorable member must confine himself wholly to the matter to which his notice refers, the desirability of examining Mr. Wade at the Bar, or before a Select Committee, to obtain further information from him regarding the possibilities of water supply at Lyndhurst. He will not be in order in saying now anything which could be said in Committee on the Bill. His present remarks are clearly such as could be made at that stage, and, therefore, they are not in order.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I am merely endeavouring to justify my contention that Mr. Wade should be examined at the Bar of the House.

Mr. SPEAKER.—I would point out that every word which the honorable member has uttered during the past two or three minutes could be appropriately uttered upon the Seat of Government Bill. He seems rather to be showing the want of necessity to examine Mr. Wade before the Bar of the House than the necessity to do so. I must ask the honorable member to confine his remarks to the question before the Chair.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I shall endeavour to do so. I merely desire to point out that the figures supplied by Mr. Wade in connexion with the water supply at Lyndhurst have been questioned by honorable members.

Mr. SPEAKER.—Of course, it is not my business to indicate to the honorable member what he ought to say, but I would suggest to him a line of argument which would be in order, so as to contrast it with a line of argument which is not in order. Upon a motion such as this, it would be perfectly competent for the honorable member to argue that Mr. Wade knew all about the locality in question, and that his opinion was worth having. Any such line of argument would be perfectly in order, but the line of argument which he is following is not in order.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I thoroughly realize the difficult position which I occupy. My only desire is to direct attention to the important statements which have been made by Mr. Wade, the Chief Engineer of Water Conservation in New South Wales, in connexion with the water supply at Lyndhurst. That officer has reported upon all the sites.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Did he appear before the Commissions?

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—Yes. Nearly all the information upon which the Commissioners based their report concerning the question of water supply was obtained from him.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Is not that information contained in their report?

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—No, because it is only recently that surveys have been made in connexion with the Lyndhurst site. Mr. Wade shows very clearly that by constructing a weir upon the Lachlan he could conserve—

Mr. McWILLIAMS.—Where is Mr. Wade now?

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—He is in Melbourne.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—Why is he here?

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I requested the Premier of New South Wales to instruct him to visit Melbourne.

HONORABLE MEMBERS.—Oh!

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—The honorable member for Hume and the honorable member for Eden-Monaro made certain statements in connexion with the Lyndhurst water supply which I knew to be unreliable, and I wished to have Mr. Wade here so that he might be able to furnish honorable members with the fullest information. All I ask is that he should be called to the Bar of the House, and examined upon this important question. In one of his reports, Mr. Wade states that, even in the driest season upon record, the Lachlan River can be made to supply 135,000,000 gallons per day.

Mr. SPEAKER.—Order; the honorable member is again anticipating the debate upon the Seat of Government Bill.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I merely mention that fact in support of my contention that honorable members should be afforded an opportunity of examining Mr. Wade at the Bar of the House.

Mr. CULPIN.—Can he give more information than he has already supplied?

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—No; but last night, upon the authority of Mr. Wade, I made a statement, the accuracy of which was questioned.

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—Who questioned it?

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—It was questioned by the honorable member for Hume, and the honorable member for Eden-Monaro.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—What did I say in reference to it?

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—The honorable member attempted to disparage the report of Mr. Wade. I say that that officer should be examined at the Bar of the House, in order that honorable members may be supplied with full and accurate information.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—The more information we obtain in regard to Lyndhurst the less number of votes will be recorded in its favour.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—That may be the honorable member's view, but I am satisfied to rest its claims upon the fullest possible publicity. If my statements cannot be substantiated—

Mr. KELLY.—The honorable member is willing to pit Mr. Wade against the writers of anonymous letters.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I am prepared to do that at any time. I feel sure that the Prime Minister does not object to the most complete information being supplied in regard to all sites. I do not ask honorable members to accept my statement—

Mr. DAVID THOMSON.—But the honorable member must admit that in dry seasons the Lachlan River is merely a succession of water-holes.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—Upon the basis of the driest year ever experienced, namely 1901-2, Mr. Wade declares that he could supply Lyndhurst with 135,000,000 gallons per day.

Mr. SPEAKER.—Order. The honorable member is again anticipating another discussion.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—In dealing with this question it is very difficult for me to keep within the strict limits prescribed by parliamentary rules. I did not accept the verbal statement of Mr. Wade in connexion with this matter, but requested him to submit his views in writing.

Mr. McLEAN.—Has he brought the Lyndhurst water supply with him in a bottle?

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—The honorable member will be able to examine him if he is summoned to appear at the Bar of the House. It is really wonderful to note how keen are some honorable members, who are anxious that a site shall be selected upon the Victorian border, to prevent full publicity being given to all the facts connected with this question. Mr. Wade is at present in Melbourne, with the consent of the New South Wales Government, whom I have to thank for placing his services at our disposal. He is prepared to be examined at the Bar of the House upon the statements which he has made concerning the water supply at Lyndhurst. That fact shows that I do not fear the fullest light being thrown by experts upon my contentions.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—Not if the honorable member's own experts are called.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—The Minister has no right to say that. In advocating his own scheme, the honorable gentleman is relying upon the report of this very officer. Mr. Wade is no expert of mine.

Mr. PAGE.—Why, the honorable member admitted it just now.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I asked the Government of New South Wales to grant

honorable members the assistance of that officer in dealing with this question.

Mr. PAGE.—In the interests of Lyndhurst.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—Seeing that misrepresentations have been made concerning the Lyndhurst site, I was perfectly within my rights in making that request to the New South Wales Government.

Mr. PAGE.—Then why does the honorable member disown his action?

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I do not disown it. The fact that I asked the New South Wales Government to send Mr. Wade to Melbourne does not make him an expert of mine. Because the honorable member for Hume appointed certain gentlemen as Capital Sites Commissioners, should I be justified in affirming that they were his Commissioners?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—The honorable member did so.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—If I did, I was probably quite right in one or two instances. As a matter of fact, I believe that Mr. Wade was appointed by the honorable member for Hume.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I think that he was.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—Then upon the argument which has been advanced that officer must be the expert of the honorable member. He was appointed by the honorable member as the best officer available to make a report.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I am not quite sure that I did appoint him.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I believe that the honorable member did. I know, at all events, that he has a very high opinion of Mr. Wade's ability.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—That is so.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—That is sufficient for my case. Mr. Wade is no more a friend of mine than is any other officer in the Public Service of New South Wales. When I requested the New South Wales Government to send an expert to Melbourne, I asked, not for Mr. Wade, but for Mr. Bloomfield, who made the original report.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—Why not have Mr. Pridham here?

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I should like him to be called. The New South Wales Government have considered it desirable to offer us the assistance of their Chief Engineer, and I ask that he should be examined at the Bar of the House. Mr. Bloomfield has furnished us with valuable

information, and has shown that by means of a gravitation scheme, an adequate water supply could be secured at Lyndhurst for a population of 87,000. Mr. Wade has been in communication, not only with myself, but with the Prime Minister, and the Minister of Home Affairs, who have had an opportunity to question him on this subject; and every honorable member should be afforded equal facilities to examine him. Damaging statements against Lyndhurst have been made by opponents of that site, and Mr. Wade, in the interests of fair play, should be examined at the Bar, in order that those statements may be proved or disproved.

Mr. WILKS (Dalley).—I should not have risen to address myself to this question but for the seriousness of the issue. During the debate last night some warm exchanges took place, and unless honorable members guard themselves, feeling is likely to run very high before a site is selected.

Mr. POYNTON.—I think we should have the evidence of outside experts.

Mr. WILKS.—In Mr. Wade we have an engineer who is at the head of the New South Wales Department of Water Conservation, and who holds high rank among the members of his profession in Australia. It is, therefore, very desirable that we should have an opportunity to examine him. I do not wish to suggest that the honorable member for Macquarie is not a good engineer, but his engineering skill does not relate to water conservation.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—Is this professional indignation?

Mr. WILKS.—The honorable member who interjects is an engineer of another type; his skill is related more particularly to underground work. Mr. Wade is not the paid emissary of any party, and he would be able to supply the House with very valuable information. So far, the debate on this question has been characterized by a broad Federal spirit, but there is a danger that the honorable member for Eden-Monaro, the honorable member for Hume, and others may, in a weak moment, be tempted to urge, from a merely provincial stand-point, the merits of the sites which they respectively favour. We must avoid partisanship, and I think that by examining Mr. Wade we shall remove many doubts that have been created in the minds of honorable members by the assertions of those who are opposed to the Lyndhurst site. The honorable member for Macquarie simply desires that Mr. Wade

shall be called, in order that the allegations which have been made against the Lyndhurst water supply may be shown to be without foundation. No one would suggest that that officer would be guilty of the improper advocacy of any site. The only objection that can be urged is that if Mr. Wade were called the supporters of other sites might demand that many other experts should be examined at the Bar of the House. We have, nevertheless, to ask ourselves whether we are in possession of all the information necessary to enable us to come to a wise decision. It seems to me that we are not. The honorable member for Macquarie admits that he is at a disadvantage in dealing with the claims of Lyndhurst, in the absence of the expert evidence which Mr. Wade would be able to afford the House.

Mr. McLEAN.—Did he not supply a report to the Commissioners?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—It is desired to examine him on a further report.

Mr. WILKS. — The paper submitted to the House last night by the honorable member for Macquarie is merely a *précis* of Mr. Wade's views, in regard to the cost of providing Lyndhurst with an adequate water supply. The information which it gives is necessarily curtailed, and honorable members are not able to fully grasp the figures. If Mr. Wade were summoned to appear at the Bar of the House, we should obtain the fullest information from him, and I trust that honorable members who wish to see this matter dealt with solely from an Australian point of view will not hesitate to agree to the request.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN (Eden-Monaro).—I offer no objection to the proposal made by the honorable member for Macquarie, although I think that by yielding to it we might create a rather dangerous precedent. No charge has been made against Mr. Wade, and, so far as I am aware, there is no very special reason why he should be called. I understand that the honorable member for Macquarie takes serious exception to one or two interjections, in reference to the water supply of Lyndhurst, which were made last night whilst he was speaking in Committee.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Something very much more serious than interjections.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—Then the honorable member ought to say what it is.

Mr. SPEAKER.—The honorable member will not be in order in referring to another debate.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—That was my difficulty.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—I know that Mr. Wade is a first-class engineer, but I ask whether it is desirable that we should call to the Bar of the House only a gentleman who has furnished a report favorable to the selection of a certain site.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I do not know anything about his views in that respect. That statement is hardly fair.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—The reports supplied by Mr. Wade are favorable to the selection of a certain site.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—They are fair.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—He has expressed a very favorable opinion in regard to the water supply of Lyndhurst.

Mr. KELLY.—An honest opinion.

Mr. WATSON.—That goes without saying.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—I do not accept the honorable member for Wentworth as an authority on this subject.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—Mr. Wade has also favorably reported on Tumut.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—He has made a favorable report on Lyndhurst, and for that reason the honorable member for Macquarie proposes that he shall be examined. I have no objection to the adoption of that course, because I am satisfied that Mr. Wade would not make a report in favour of any site unless he were convinced that it was right to do so. If we are going to question the value of the various reports which have been submitted to us, we ought to examine not only Mr. Wade, but Mr. Pridham, Mr. Bloomfield, and other gentlemen having equally high reputations. Surely we are not going to cast a slur on the high officials who have furnished us with reports? The honorable member for Macquarie telegraphed to the Government of New South Wales to secure the attendance of Mr. Wade in Melbourne, and, knowing that that gentleman is prepared to speak in favour of the selection of Lyndhurst, he desires that he shall be called. Is Mr. Wade to be singled out as the one engineer to give evidence at the Bar of the House? I should like to draw attention to the fact that the New South Wales Engineering Department has been responsible for some terrific blunders in connexion with water supply. Every one in New South Wales is aware that some one in that Department must be held responsible for serious mistakes in connexion with the water supplies of Bathurst, Orange,

Goulburn, and Armidale. I do not say it was Mr. Wade, but if we are to discuss the relative merits of engineers, we should have some information as to who was responsible for those schemes.

MR. WATSON.—Mr. Wade has only recently become Chief Engineer.

MR. SYDNEY SMITH.—It is a very unfair way in which to try to damage a public officer's reputation.

MR. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—If we are to decide this question by bringing men to the Bar of the House, we should bring a number of men, because it is a well-known fact that in connexion with the schemes for water supply for the places I have mentioned, most glowing reports were issued, by the Department in New South Wales, as to what the rainfall would be, what the conservation would be, and we really had in respect to those schemes much the same story as we were told last night. The places to which I refer have had water supplies provided for them on the authority of some engineer in New South Wales, and in every case they have proved dismal failures. At Orange, where we are told there is such an enormous catchment area for a water supply, the people of the little town had to be put on half supply in the summer before last. The mistakes in these cases should be inquired into, and we should know who was responsible for them. It would be a calamity to us if we were guided by the report of engineers who are incompetent. I do not doubt the figures which were given to us last night, but we want something more than figures; we should have facts.

MR. SYDNEY SMITH.—Some honorable members do not want the facts.

MR. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—I have not the slightest objection to hear them, but if we are to have an officer sent here specially by the New South Wales Government to make, at the Bar of this House, certain statements regarding a particular site, we should also have an opinion from other officers with regard to other sites, and we should saddle the responsibility for the mistakes made in New South Wales in this connexion on the right shoulders. I do not believe that Mr. Wade would make such mistakes, but I refuse to allow the honorable member for Macquarie to inferentially saddle engineers who have reported favorably of sites other than Lyndhurst with that responsibility. If Mr. Wade is to be brought to the Bar of the House, Mr. Pridham and other men with as good a

reputation as his should also be heard. From Mr. Pridham's report there is grave doubt as to what can be done at Lyndhurst. There is no running water there, and the suggestions as to what can be done there in the way of water supply are all dependent on conditions and circumstances. If the intention is to pit one public officer against another, they should all be given fair play. The honorable member for Macquarie cast some reflection upon the Commission appointed by the honorable member for Hume, only because that Commission did not supply him with as good a report on Lyndhurst as he could get from Mr. Wade's figures. The last thing we should try to do in this House is to pit one public officer against another. If I do not agree that what Mr. Wade has done is right, that is no reason why I should try to cast the slightest doubt upon his ability or his honesty. No one who knows Mr. Wade would think of doing so; but he should not be brought here as a kind of special pleader for one site. That would put Mr. Wade in a very false position. The very fact that the honorable member for Macquarie telegraphed to have this officer brought here should be enough to induce honorable members to hesitate before they agree to what has been proposed. We were told by the honorable member that Mr. Wade reported that at Lyndhurst there is not only a sufficient water supply for the Federal City, but that there could be procured 135,000,000 gallons a day for irrigation purposes. All I can say is that many of us who could not get even a drink of cold water there, would be very glad to get such information from Mr. Wade. I am disposed to think that there is one good reason why that gentleman should be brought to the Bar of the House. He has just returned from America, and the honorable member for Barrier is under the impression that the report quoted must be upon the Mississippi, and not upon Lyndhurst, and I think it is well that that should be cleared up. I am quite certain that any report by Mr. Wade would be an honest one. In my opinion, he is a very competent engineer, but if he is to be brought before the Bar of the House as the special pleader for a particular site, in justice to other sites, we should also have here some of the engineers who have told us that unless we are prepared to spend millions, it will be almost a matter of impossibility to

get a water supply at Lyndhurst. We might get water to the moon, if we spent enough money. If Mr. Wade is to be brought to the Bar of the House, another telegram should be sent to Sydney to some other engineer, whose reputation is just as good as is Mr. Wade's, and who will tell us that unless we go to the expenditure of millions there is a risk that at Lyndhurst we should have more whisky than water.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK (Parramatta).—The honorable member for Eden-Monaro has told us that he has not the slightest objection to Mr. Wade appearing at the Bar of the House, and he has further said that he believes that gentleman to be a competent engineer, who would give an honest opinion. If that be so, may I ask what we should gain by questioning Mr. Wade as to the engineering failures that have occurred at different places in New South Wales in connexion with small water supplies.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—He might give us some information in respect to them.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—He might, but what would be the advantage gained by asking Mr. Wade's opinion upon matters which did not concern him, and which are not connected with the question before us in any way? The object could only be to try to influence the minds of honorable members adversely to Mr. Wade's opinion. At one moment the honorable member says that Mr. Wade is an honest man, and in the next he says that we should have him here that we may ask him about these failures.

Mr. McLEAN.—An honest man may make a mistake.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The honorable member also suggests that Mr. Pridham should be brought here if Mr. Wade is to be consulted. I should like to point out that the figures quoted by the honorable member for Macquarie, were Mr. Pridham's figures. Mr. Wade has taken Mr. Pridham's figures, and on them he has based his report.

Mr. McLEAN.—If they are Mr. Pridham's figures, he is the engineer we should consult, and not Mr. Wade.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—Mr. Pridham has said that Dalgety has a better water supply than Lyndhurst can ever have, and Mr. Wade does not agree with that.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—That is not the question at all. I am prepared to admit that there is a better water supply at Dalgety than at Lyndhurst; but what we are

concerned about is to establish the fact that an adequate water supply may be obtained at Lyndhurst for all the purposes of a Federal Capital. I am not concerned to deny that there may be better water supplies found elsewhere in New South Wales. What we say is that in this neighbourhood, which has been so much maligned by some honorable members in this particular respect, there is an abundance of water, and more than the Federal Capital will ever require. It is the more advisable that we should take advantage of Mr. Wade's engineering skill, as he is already in Melbourne, and we can secure his advice without delay to the final determination of the question before us.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—He is in Melbourne at the request of the Lyndhurst site supporters.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I do not know who brought him here.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—The honorable member for Macquarie says that he telegraphed for him.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I am prepared to admit that. I hope the honorable member did; it would be but evidence of his industry and enterprise in this matter. May I remind honorable members that the Government of New South Wales are in favour of the Lyndhurst site? I submit respectfully that a site which is recommended by the Government, and is to be recommended by the Parliament of New South Wales, is entitled to their serious consideration.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—The New South Wales Government are not in favour of it.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—All I have to say to that is that the Premier of New South Wales announced to the country only the other day that if returned to power he would ask the Parliament of New South Wales to recommend Lyndhurst to the Federal Government.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—He said he would leave it an open question.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The honorable member is quite wrong.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—Why not be fair and state that Lyndhurst is in his own electorate?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Not only Mr. Waddell, but all the influential members of the late Government in New South Wales hold the same opinion of Lyndhurst. I submit that a site favoured by the Government of the State which has to grant the

land, and which has spent a very large sum of money in facilitating the object we have in view, should be considered. The New South Wales Government have sent over an engineer with a special report upon the water supply at Lyndhurst, and we should, in courtesy to them, hear what this engineer has to say. It is the more important that we should hear him since we had last night an expert opinion adverse to Lyndhurst as a site from the right honorable member for Swan. Nothing more damaging to the character of Lyndhurst as a suitable site for the Federal Capital could be urged than the opinion offered by the right honorable member.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—It was offered some time ago; the report has been on the table for some time.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I am referring to the right honorable member's remarks last night. He told us that it would be absolutely dangerous in summer time if the scheme suggested by this engineer were carried out.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I do not think I said that.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The right honorable member told us that the water stored would become polluted in summer, and would be a source of danger.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I referred to the artificial lake suggested.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I could not imagine a more severe condemnation of the scheme than we had from the right honorable member.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The lake need not be made.

Mr. SPEAKER.—I think the honorable member for Parramatta must see that the remarks he is making now are really but a continuation of the debate upon another question. The mere fact that he is replying to some remarks made in that debate is a proof that the honorable member is transferring to this question debate which should take place in Committee. I must ask the honorable member not to anticipate the debate in Committee.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I do not quite see how I can avoid it. I quite admit what you say, Mr. Speaker, but, on the other hand, the very purpose of moving the motion for the adjournment of the House is to ask that special engineering skill shall be made available for the purpose, amongst other things, of furnishing information concerning statements made

during the course of the debate in Committee. While I know the rule of Parliament that an honorable member cannot, upon a motion for the adjournment, allude to a debate proceeding at another time and place, in this instance it is almost unavoidable. However, I will not further transgress. But I do say that, in view of the very serious statements made by the right honorable member for Swan on the question of the water supply of Lyndhurst, it is of the very utmost consequence that the House should avail itself of every opportunity to test their truth. Leaving out of sight the advocates, or partisans, as they have been called, of Lyndhurst—and I do not object to the term—I urge that the fact that this site is about to be officially recommended for consideration by the Government of New South Wales—

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—That is absurd; half the members of the New South Wales Government are against it. The honorable member knows that himself.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—We know nothing of the kind.

Mr. DAVID THOMSON.—Lyndhurst is in Mr. Waddell's electorate.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I know that, but what has it to do with the question? Why does not the honorable member make a similar interjection concerning sites which are in the electorates of other honorable members?

Mr. DAVID THOMSON. — The remark applies to them in just the same way.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Honorable members opposite make such interjections with regard to those who favour Lyndhurst, but not concerning the advocates of other sites, who all along have been doing their best for their electorates. More power to them; I do not criticise them on that account. I do not see what point there is in the interjection that Lyndhurst is in the electorate of the Premier of New South Wales. Of course it is. But that fact would go for nothing if the people of New South Wales were not behind the site. Since the practicability of this site has been challenged by an expert of the character of the right honorable member for Swan, who believes that to construct there artificial works for conserving water will be to menace the health of the people in the district, we ought to have the benefit of all the available engineering skill which has been devoted to the investigation of such questions. With respect to the

opinions of other engineers, who would probably report adversely, I would remark that that could not be so in the case of Mr. Pridham, because he furnished the figures which, after checking, have been adopted by Mr. Wade in the preparation of the case submitted last night by the honorable member for Macquarie.

Mr. BATCHELOR (Boothby—Minister of Home Affairs).—I do not know that the Government can complain altogether of the delay in the transaction of business which has been caused by this debate. But, on the other hand, it is certain that the Government are not getting quite as much support in their endeavour to push forward the settlement of the Capital Sites question, as, perhaps, they had a right to expect from some quarters. A request has been submitted to-day, which, it seems to me, the honorable member for Macquarie cannot reasonably think that the House is likely to grant.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I do not see why the House should not, if we are to have fair play.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—Such a request should only be granted in the event of very serious misstatements having been made. I am expressing my individual opinion in this respect, but my view certainly is that only in the case of very serious misstatements would it be advisable to call any person to the Bar of the House. It is a most unusual procedure, and is very seldom adopted by any Parliament. I have never heard of its being adopted for the purpose of rebutting statements made by way of interjection in the course of a debate. It is a most remarkable request. All kinds of statements have been made in interjections and in speeches about each of the suggested sites.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—The honorable gentleman made a statement himself.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—Does the honorable member for Macquarie suggest that I made any statement that was unfair to Mr. Wade? I can assure him that I did not for a moment mean to suggest that Mr. Wade was a partisan of any site.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I do not know his opinion.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—I do not know his opinion either. I have not the slightest idea what it is. Indeed, I do not care. He is certainly an eminent engineer, and to the extent that his professional skill entitles him to receive from this House the very fullest credence, he would have that

and no more. His professional skill is the main point; his personal opinion is quite another question. So far as concerns the information which the honorable member desires to obtain, I desire to say that if Mr. Wade submits a statement to the Government they will take care that it is made available to honorable members. Surely nothing more than that can be desired. Nothing more can reasonably be asked for. If the honorable member for Macquarie had put a simple question, the Government would at once have complied with his request.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I want Mr. Wade to answer questions put to him, and to meet objections raised by honorable members.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—The honorable member will see that if that practice were adopted every supporter of a Capital Site might make a similar request. If we are to have experts called to the Bar of the House to be examined by honorable members, how long will it probably take to settle the matter? Instead of days or weeks being occupied, it might take months, or perhaps years, to settle it.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—It would be bad for Mr. Wade if it took so long as that to examine him.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—But there are other experts who might also be called with just as much reason in connexion with other sites. All that the honorable member for Macquarie can reasonably ask for is what I have already offered to do. If Mr. Wade likes to send a full statement to the Government we shall be happy to make it available to honorable members.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—What we suggest would be a quicker way of securing the information.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—The honorable member surely does not put that suggestion forward seriously?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I do, indeed.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—What the honorable member for Macquarie really urges is that the special engineering skill of Mr. Wade should be made available to honorable members. I am quite prepared to agree to that by circulating any statement which Mr. Wade may make.

Mr. FOWLER.—Why not appoint a Select Committee to examine him?

Mr. BATCHELOR.—We should certainly not appoint a Select Committee. If we did that we should have all kinds of statements made. I suggest that the honorable member should accept the undertaking

now given, and let the House get on with the discussion of the sites.

Mr. BROWN (Canobolas).—Certainly the course of procedure which the honorable member for Macquarie asks the Government to consent to is unusual, and it requires a considerable amount of reason to justify it. But in view of the treatment which the honorable member for Macquarie received last night, and also in view of the influences at work in the House —

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—Underground influences.

Mr. BROWN.—There is ample justification for the action taken by him. What is the position? First of all, we had expert reports upon all the sites—the western sites, the southern sites, and the south-eastern sites. All the sites now mainly under consideration were dealt with by experts appointed by the honorable member for Hume when he was Minister of Home Affairs in the Barton Government. At the close of the debate in the last Parliament a certain movement was made by the then Minister of Home Affairs for the purpose of supplementing the information then available, and the House was given to understand that an inquiry was to be held in order to obtain some special information that had been overlooked on the previous occasion. But we find that the supplementary inquiry with regard to the Bombala and Tumut sites has been as exhaustive as, if not more exhaustive than, the inquiry entered into by the expert Commissioners. The whole question has been reviewed from every possible stand-point, and every tittle of information which it was possible to obtain has been brought to bear. I do not object to that. The House should be placed in possession of all the information bearing upon the question. But the honorable member for Macquarie—and I agree with him—asks that a similar inquiry should be extended to Lyndhurst. We were refused that by the late Government. We were informed that the information available covered all that was necessary. Whenever we asked that the same treatment as was extended to the other sites should be extended to Lyndhurst we were met by a refusal. When I got possession of the supplementary reports about a fortnight ago, I made a special visit to Sydney in order to bring the matter under the notice of the State Government. I was not successful in seeing the State Premier. But I endeavoured to get all the information I could with respect to the

Lyndhurst site. I consider that the honorable member for Macquarie has done the right thing in endeavouring to bring the information up to date, and to place honorable members in a position to judge this site on the newer and wider information which is now available. Since the investigations were made by the Commission of experts—and these were mainly confined to a prescribed area—a considerable section of the people in the western districts have taken up the question of dealing with the source of water supply which has been reported upon lately by Mr. Wade, and deputations, of which I was a member, have waited on the State Government to deal with the question from a State stand-point, and not particularly from a Federal stand-point. I know that I cannot enter into full details at this stage, but I wish to indicate that there is now available more information than was available when the Commission of experts made their inquiries, and that information has been secured by the State Department for other than Federal purposes. A league has been formed to secure the erection of a weir and conservation of water for purely State purposes. I am a member of the league, which I believe includes the Prime Minister and several members of the State Parliament. That shows that since the first inquiry was made the attention of the State Parliament has been specially concentrated on this source of supply for purposes of water conservation, and it is admitted by the Ministry that it reaches the proportions of a national scheme, affecting all interests along the Lachlan River. I wish now to refer to the question of Mr. Wade's report. The honorable member for Eden-Monaro will not dare to rise here and question straight out the ability of Mr. Wade to deal with this matter. Mr. Wade is a gentleman who has risen from the ranks in the Public Service of the State until he has attained the position of chief officer of the Department of Water Conservation. But the honorable member comes to the House, and points to a number of instances of wasteful expenditure by the Department in years past, and by innuendo he tries to lead honorable members to believe that Mr. Wade had something to do with the commission of those mistakes.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—Not so.

Mr. BROWN.—I am glad to have the honorable member's denial, because Mr. Wade attained his position as the result of those mistakes, and the officers who were responsible for them had to quit the service.

The present Government of New South Wales has decided to make the question of water conservation an important item in its programme. The people of the State realize the need for water conservation throughout its length and breadth, and no matter what Government may have the control of its destinies, it must be prepared to make that question one of the main planks of its platform in the near future. For the purpose of thoroughly equipping the State to deal with this great question, the *See* Government sent Mr. Wade on a special mission to America to make inquiry and report, and he has only recently returned. I believe that there is no man in the States to-day who is so well posted as Mr. Wade with up-to-date information on this subject. If honorable members had received his report last night in the spirit in which they are prepared to receive the reports of other officers, I should have said that this action on the part of the honorable member for Macquarie was uncalled for. But how was it received here? Every innuendo was thrown out against it, and there were circulated here, not only newspaper letters or reports, but anonymous letters condemning this site as being unsuitable from the standpoint of water supply.

Mr. SPEAKER.—Order! The honorable member is clearly anticipating the debate in Committee.

Mr. BROWN.—I do not wish to do that. I desire to state this fact as a reason why some official action should be taken to place before the House Mr. Wade's information, so that honorable members may be satisfied that it is reliable. I understand Mr. Wade is at present in Melbourne; I have not had an interview with him, but the honorable member for Macquarie intimates that he is available to the House. If it thinks that the information which was supplied is not correct, it has the right and opportunity of calling Mr. Wade to the Bar, and questioning him.

Mr. WEBSTER.—Who has thrown any doubt on the report?

Mr. BROWN.—Doubt has been expressed all round.

Mr. WEBSTER.—Not at all.

Mr. BROWN.—The honorable member for Macquarie was met with a running fire of interjections from all parts of the House when he was submitting the document. The main objection taken to the site was based on the question of water supply, the practicability of which has been discredited by more than one speaker.

But I cannot deal with that now. If honorable members feel that the report is not the handiwork of Mr. Wade, he is here, and may be questioned. I am not altogether favorable to the dragging of any public officer before the House to be examined by honorable members, because I do not think that is a proper way to elicit information, unless there is some very special reason for taking that course. Why should not the Government ask Mr. Wade to supply them with an official report—on which would be staked his reputation as the Engineer-in-Chief of Water Conservation in New South Wales, and which, I believe, would be accepted by the large majority of honorable members as being substantially correct. That has been done with respect to Mr. Pridham's report.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—We have already agreed to that.

Mr. BROWN.—I am very pleased to hear that intimation. That, I think, pretty well clears the way. I realize that some good has been done by this discussion in reaching that position, because, so far as I could ascertain, there seemed to be a very strong desire not to allow this site to receive the same amount of inquiry and investigation as has been allowed in the case of other sites.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK (Parramatta).—I find that I unwittingly did the right honorable member for Swan a wrong in my comment on some remarks which he made just now, and I ask permission to make the correction. I find that I did not read enough of his speech as reported in *Hansard*, and had I read the words preceding the quotation which he made from his report, the matter would have been clear. I find that his statement, suggesting grave menace and danger to the Capital Site from the water supply, relates to the construction of an artificial lake, as a beauty spot and a water frontage pure and simple, and does not relate to the water supply proper. Had I known that, I certainly should not have made the remarks I did concerning that report.

Mr. PAGE (Maranoa).—After listening to the remarks about the water supply of Lyndhurst, I think it comes very late in the day, indeed, for the honorable member for Macquarie and the honorable member for Parramatta to say that the supply of water there is as abundant as they try to make out. I was told that during the last drought the people there had to dig wells

and put in drives for the purpose of getting sufficient water, and it had to be done on half-rations, too. That is the place in which the honorable member for Macquarie wishes to establish the Federal Capital!

Mr. BROWN.—Where was that?

Mr. PAGE.—At Bathurst, Orange—everywhere in the district. A most peculiar thing is that these honorable members want to back it up—I shall not say by faked figures—by a prejudiced report and for political reasons. The present Premier of New South Wales has long represented, and is now seeking to represent, a constituency in that district. He is now fighting for his very political existence, and I think it is a prostitution of parliamentary power on the part of the Premier of New South Wales to send—

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I rise to a point of order. The honorable member has stated that I have taken this course with a view of helping the Premier of New South Wales in his contest; but it is well known that that honorable gentleman and I are strong political opponents.

Mr. SPEAKER.—That is not a point of order.

Mr. PAGE.—I emphatically deny that I made such a statement.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I accept the honorable member's disclaimer; but I understood him to imply that.

Mr. PAGE.—I did not.

Mr. BROWN.—I desire to know, sir, whether the honorable member for Maranoa is in order in saying that the Premier of New South Wales has prostituted his position because he has acceded to the request made to him by the honorable member for Parramatta and myself, to have this information supplied for the convenience of honorable members?

Mr. SPEAKER.—The honorable member did not say that, and if he had I am not sure that it would have been out of order.

Mr. PAGE.—It shows that I am hitting these honorable members very hard indeed, when they have to rise and attribute to me words which I never uttered. I do not care what site is selected, though, of course, for many reasons I favour the Southern Monaro sites. The honorable member for Canobolas has referred to the past misdoings of engineers with respect to water supply in New South Wales. Does he wish to see that sort of thing perpetuated in regard to the

Federal Capital? Although we have a chance of getting a water supply which we know is second to none in Australia, yet honorable members wish to bolster up their contention, and put the Commonwealth in the same unfortunate position that New South Wales is in. I do not know Mr. Wade, but I have read many of his works on hydraulic engineering and water supply, and I look upon him as one of the greatest authorities on those subjects in the Commonwealth. But apart from that, it seems a very strange thing to me that the honorable member for Macquarie should wish to bring from New South Wales a public officer to give evidence on one particular site. If the honorable member is honest, let him ask the House to bring Mr. Wade here to be questioned on every site.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I am quite willing to do that. I shall ask leave to alter the motion.

Mr. PAGE.—And once we have got Mr. Wade to the Bar of the House, let us ascertain who was guilty of spending millions of money in New South Wales on water supply works.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I shall give the honorable member an opportunity of voting in that way.

Mr. PAGE.—That is right. Every time the honorable member for Parramatta rises he addresses the House in such a pedantic manner that he has assumed the position of lecturemaster-general of the Government, or whomsoever is opposed to any scheme that he brings forward.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I leave that to the honorable member, who does it every time he speaks.

Mr. PAGE.—The honorable member addresses the House in this style—"How dare you do such a thing? I have spoken, and that is quite enough." I shall not submit to be dictated to by the honorable member in his rôle of lecturemaster-general. I hold an equal position in the Chamber with the honorable member, and while I do I shall assert my rights every time. I should like to move that some outside expert be introduced. It seems that these brethren from New South Wales cannot agree as to the best site. A Commission, consisting of engineers from each State, has dealt with the matter, but they could not agree, and I think that the best and cheapest way to get over the difficulty, will be to import an up-to-date man from America, and ask him to

choose a site, the Government abiding by his decision.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—We do not want any Yankees here.

Mr. PAGE.—Honorable members opposite have been Yankeeing all the time. It is the representatives of New South Wales who are responsible for the delay which has occurred.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—That is as true as everything else that the honorable member has said.

Mr. PAGE.—The honorable member knows that it is true. Any one who reads the *Hansard* reports will see that all the dissension is due to the action of the representatives of New South Wales. I am willing to give my vote to-day, and I feel certain that the mind of every other honorable member is made up, so that all the talk to which we are compelled to listen will not influence any one, and will only have the effect of filling up *Hansard*. If New South Wales members wish for a site to be chosen, the sooner they allow us to come to a vote the better.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The honorable member would give his State away, I suppose?

Mr. PAGE.—I am no traitor, either to my State, or to the Commonwealth. I have never been a renegade. The honorable member is again assuming the part of dictator and lecturemaster-general. He knows what I mean.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I know that what the honorable member is uttering is not true.

Mr. SPEAKER.—The honorable member for Parramatta must withdraw that remark.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I withdraw it.

Mr. PAGE.—I do not take any notice of what the honorable member says. If honorable members opposite are so anxious that the matter shall be dealt with only on complete information, let the determination of the question be postponed to another session, and let the Government take the course I have suggested, of appointing an expert from some other country to make a recommendation on the subject. That is the easiest way out of the difficulty. I have not taken part in any of the picnics to the various sites, nor have I visited any of the places named; but I have asked unbiased engineers, to whom it does not matter which site is chosen, and I shall vote on the information I have received from them. If we agree to examine Mr.

Wade at the Bar of the House, we shall commence a course of procedure the effect of which cannot be foreseen. In the first place, Mr. Wade himself will be placed in a very unpleasant position.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—Why? He will simply be asked to tell the truth.

Mr. PAGE.—I do not suppose that he will have any difficulty in telling the truth; but if he is cross-examined, he may be placed in a very difficult position in regard to other professional men.

Mr. McWILLIAMS.—Let them stand on their reputations.

Mr. PAGE.—That is all very well, but surely Mr. Wade cannot be asked to publicly criticise them. I think that he should not be brought to the Bar. The Government have said that they are willing to obtain a report from Mr. Wade on the Lyndhurst site, or on any other site, and I think that that is all that is necessary.

Mr. McLEAN (Gippsland).—No one can blame the honorable member for Macquarie for doing all he can to place the site of which he is such an able and earnest advocate in the most favorable light. I wish to have the fullest information on all the sites, and, therefore, I shall be prepared to support the honorable member's request if he will deal with them all alike. I am not a supporter of the Tooma site, but I know that a great many honorable members think well of it. We have had, however, no professional report upon it. If we are to examine an expert at the Bar of the House in regard to the Lyndhurst site, I am sure that the honorable member for Macquarie will admit the fairness of obtaining an official report on the Tooma site, and of examining the engineer who furnishes it, at the Bar of the House. If all sites are treated alike in this matter, I will support the honorable member's proposal; but any other arrangement would be one-sided and unfair, and, therefore, could not be supported by me.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS (Robertson).—The speech of the honorable member for Gippsland was a very fair one, and it was to some extent on the same lines as that of the honorable member for Maranoa. If expert officials can be brought to the Bar to give us information regarding the possibility of water supply at the various sites, we shall be in a better position in choosing between those sites. A great opportunity will be lost if we do not avail ourselves of Mr. Wade's presence in Melbourne to examine him on the possibilities

of the water supply at Lyndhurst. Very great discredit has been cast on certain publications respecting the possibilities of water supply there, and as the Government of New South Wales have, in the interests of the Commonwealth, sent down an expert to give us information on the subject, I think we should call him to the Bar, and elicit from him what he can tell us about the whole matter. The course proposed by the honorable member for Macquarie is, no doubt, an unusual one, but the House is on the eve of making a very momentous decision. There are instances in history of seats of government having been removed from one place to another. That has occurred even in England itself. But centuries will probably pass before any community will have before it a question such as that with which we are now asked to deal. Therefore, it is necessary to have all possible information regarding water supply and other matters of consequence before us. While the Lyndhurst site is not far from my electorate, I would not vote for it unless it could be shown that an adequate water supply could be obtained there. I have told my constituents so. If I were convinced that the supply would be inadequate, I should certainly turn my attention to some other site. What we must have is the best site available. I hope that the House will agree to examine Mr. Wade. The Government have offered to obtain a report from him, but I feel that more than that is required. We have already been supplied with a great number of reports, and many of us will not have time to study further reports. In my opinion, all the experts available should be brought before the House, so that honorable members may obtain from them the information they require, without the trouble of looking up reports which many of us have not the necessary time to read.

Mr. WEBSTER (Gwydir).—I cannot see any justification for the course proposed by the honorable member for Macquarie. I have every respect for Mr. Wade, but the fact that the honorable member asks that he shall be examined at the Bar, when he has already furnished us with a report on the Lyndhurst water supply, shows that the honorable member is not satisfied with that report.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I am satisfied with it.

Mr. WEBSTER.—Then why examine Mr. Wade at the Bar of the House?

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—Because certain honorable members say that they are not satisfied with the information which I have already placed before the House.

Mr. WEBSTER.—I have as much confidence in Mr. Wade as I have in the officers who occupy similar positions in the other States. I know that it is customary to eulogize the heads of Departments upon their assumption of office to such an extent as to lead one to believe that they can be absolutely trusted to lay down perfect lines in regard to future administration. If Mr. Wade be examined at the Bar of the House, what will happen? Every honorable member will be afforded an opportunity of cross-examining him as to his qualifications. In doing so, those who are familiar with the blunders which have been committed in connexion with water conservation works in New South Wales will of necessity question him in such a way as will introduce the names of other officials—

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—In New South Wales there have not been nearly the same number of blunders committed as have occurred in the other States.

Mr. WEBSTER.—I admit that errors have been made in Victoria such as have not occurred elsewhere. I very much question the wisdom of summoning Mr. Wade to the Bar of the House to give evidence under such conditions. The honorable member for Gippsland has stated the condition upon which he is prepared to support the suggestion of the honorable member for Macquarie. Does he seriously contend that experts other than Mr. Wade should be examined? The Government have already indicated their willingness to obtain a report from him.

Mr. JOHNSON.—Is the honorable member afraid to allow Mr. Wade to be examined?

Mr. WEBSTER.—I have the same confidence in Mr. Wade's report that I have in the reports submitted by other experts upon various aspects of this question. Having that report before us, what more do we require? It is true that expert knowledge is of value so far as it relates to the volume of water which can be conserved at any of the sites. But I hold that the engineering blunders which have been committed in connexion with providing water supplies to various country towns in New South Wales, afford the most condemnatory evidence of expert knowledge that can possibly be supplied. Not only do we require to ascertain the volume of

water which is available at each particular site, but also whether it can be conserved. Further, it is necessary for us to provide against such a result as has occurred at Tamworth, where, after an expenditure of 50 per cent. in excess of the official estimate, there is merely an apology for a water supply to-day. We require to know the character of the country constituting the water sheds of these particular areas. At Tamworth the water is conveyed to the town by gravitation, but it carries with it a certain amount of soil, the presence of which is a menace to the health of the people. I have seen that water so discoloured, when coming through the bathroom tap that persons were almost prevented from using it. It is very important that we should know something as to the quality of the water which can be conserved. Obviously any water is useless which contains deleterious matter sufficient to render it unfit for human consumption. If it be logical to summon an engineering expert to the Bar of the House to give evidence as to the quantity of water which can be conserved at any particular site, it is equally logical to summon an analytical chemist to testify to the elements which are contained in that water. Is there any honorable member who will deny the necessity which exists for making such inquiry? The honorable member for Macquarie pointed out last evening that a sample of the water supply at Orange had been subjected to an analytical test. Why was it not taken from the Lyndhurst water-shed? The very fact that it was obtained from Orange indicates a fear that the analyst's report upon a sample taken from the Lyndhurst water-shed would not be satisfactory.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—The sample taken from Orange comes from a part of the Lyndhurst water-shed.

Mr. WEBSTER.—The honorable member did not indicate that last evening.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I informed honorable members that it was taken from one side of the Canobolas.

Mr. WEBSTER. — But the honorable member also said that the Lyndhurst water supply would be situated upon the other side of the Canobolas. The proposition that the water can run from one side of the Canobolas into a dam upon the other, is a most remarkable one. Personally I am not prejudiced in favour of any site. It is obvious, however, that the most important factor in connexion with any Federal Capital

is its water supply. Without a supply of pure water no capital can be a success. In company with the honorable member for Macquarie I inspected the Lyndhurst site, and endeavoured, in the limited time at my disposal, to investigate the character of the surrounding country, and the possibilities of its water-shed.

Mr. SPEAKER. — Order. The time for the discussion of this motion has expired. The Clerk will call on the Orders of the Day.

SEAT OF GOVERNMENT BILL.

In Committee (Consideration resumed from 28th July, *vide* page 3725):

Clause 2 (Determination of Seat of Government).

Mr. WEBSTER (Gwydir).—As we are now in Committee on the Bill, I shall not deal further with the question which was under consideration on the motion of adjournment, but shall proceed to review the various sites proposed. I took advantage of the opportunity afforded honorable members to inspect the sites, not because I desired a mere pleasure trip, but because I felt that it was my duty as a representative of the people to personally investigate the merits of the several districts. The parliamentary tours of inspection have been most unfairly referred to by the honorable member for Macquarie as mere picnicing excursions, and the right honorable member for East Sydney has also spoken in a most reprehensible way of the "drawing of corks" which, he suggests, took place on these occasions. I went to Tumut, and was convinced that it was unsuitable as a site for the Federal Capital. One does not need the assistance of an engineer to enable him to judge of the conformation of the country, and to ascertain the reason why fogs prevail or a humid atmosphere exists. Any man possessed of ordinary common-sense is able, from his experience, to determine these matters for himself. As the result of my inspection, I felt satisfied that the sites in the immediate neighbourhood of Tumut did not possess the characteristics essential to a Federal city. I recognised that Tumut would be subject to dense fogs in winter, and that in the summer months the atmosphere would be humid—climatic conditions that should not be associated with the Federal Capital. The water supply, however, would certainly be sufficient for all requirements. One could see the water for himself, and that is more than can be said in connexion with some of the

other sites. I watched the stream of water flowing at my feet, and was almost able to calculate for myself what would be the volume available for the Capital if it were established there. I was convinced, however, that the climatic conditions would not be conducive to the health of a large population; the country which we traversed was difficult, and the area of suitable land available was exceedingly circumscribed. I drew a mental picture of what would be the appearance of the Federal Capital on this site, considered what facilities there would be for making such parks and gardens as should be found in a Capital, and what area of suitable land would be available for its suburbs, and arrived at the conclusion that I could not support the selection of Tumut or of any of the sites in the vicinity. We then inspected Batlow, which has already been favorably commented upon, and found that its climatic conditions were distinctly superior to those prevailing at Tumut. Batlow occupies a more elevated position, and we felt that the atmosphere was altogether different. If the Capital were established there it would be sheltered from the biting winds of winter, which are so prejudicial to health; but here again the area of undulating country available is circumscribed. There was evidence of an abundant water supply—very different from that which would be available at Lyndhurst, where a supply would have to be gathered from all parts of the district and conveyed in channels or tunnels to the Capital. At Batlow the supply would be sufficient, not merely for domestic requirements, but to provide the necessary power for heating and lighting the city and for other purposes. In three respects—namely, climatic conditions, purity of water supply, and water power available, I found that Batlow was all that could be desired; nevertheless, it does not contain all the requirements of a Federal Capital site. In the course of this pleasure trip—because it was a pleasure, notwithstanding the discomforts of travelling, to know that one was doing his duty to his country in inspecting these sites—we visited Lyndhurst. I was in no way prejudiced against that site, but went there determined to do it full justice. Although we inspected it in the month of May, the road along which we travelled for some miles was a very dusty one. I do not wish to question the veracity of those who support the selection of this site, but we know

that a man who is enthusiastically in favour of a particular district is not the best person from whom to obtain reliable information in regard to it. Such men are prone, not wilfully, but unwittingly, to supply information that is not reliable. They look only at the bright side of the picture, and one must therefore discount their evidence. We have been told of the remarkable productiveness of the land in the neighbourhood of Lyndhurst, and I should like to mention that during my visit I made inquiries on the subject. I know good country when I see it. The honorable member for Macquarie thinks that because he was reared among pumpkins he should be regarded as an exceptionally good authority on farming. I was born and reared in a district in the old country where scientific farming is practised, and where the occupations of the farmers comprise something more substantial than the growing of pumpkins and the rearing of pigs, so that I should have some knowledge of agricultural matters. I therefore resent the suggestion of the honorable member for Macquarie that, because he was born in the Lyndhurst district, he should be better qualified to judge of the productive character of the country than is any other honorable member. In my youth I had an intimate experience of agriculture in a district where rotation of crops was practised, and where one saw truly scientific farming. I have represented a pastoral district for some years, and presume that I should not have been returned to represent the interests of the people there if I were incapable of properly voicing their aspirations and interests. I may also mention that I have travelled all over the western district, and should therefore have some knowledge of its characteristics. In the Lyndhurst district we find undulating country, practically rolling downs, but it is certainly not good agricultural land. I am strengthened in that view by the opinions of those who lived in this district some years ago. I sought information, not from those who were specially interested in the selection of Lyndhurst, but from a source which I knew would be untainted by personal considerations. We have been told that yields of 60 bushels of wheat to the acre are obtainable there, but men who at one time carried on agricultural operations in the district informed me that in really good seasons they had secured as much as 20 bushels to the acre, but that as a rule the return obtained by them was not sufficient to pay for the labour of ploughing,

sowing, and harvesting, and to cover the cost of selling. That is good evidence of the agricultural possibilities of the district. The fact that, although it is within easy distance of Sydney, and is connected by rail with that centre of distribution, land in the district is devoted, not to agriculture, but to pastoral purposes, should be a sufficient answer to those who claim that such magnificent yields can be obtained from it. We saw paddocks which at one time had been under the plough, but had since been turned into sheep runs. As a matter of fact, the land there will carry about two sheep to five acres.

Mr. TUDOR.—The honorable member has destroyed the Opposition; they have all left the Chamber.

Mr. WEBSTER.—I care not whether they are present or absent. I am speaking, not merely to honorable members, but to the people of Australia. I am responsible to my constituents only, and I intend to give adequate expression to my views. The Lyndhurst district consists of what is admittedly pastoral country, and it is decidedly uninteresting. We found a monotonous sameness about it—an utter want of picturesqueness. Here and there we saw little knolls, and a line of mountains was dimly visible in the distance, but we looked in vain for water. I wondered why those whose duty it might be considered to be to point out the special qualifications of the site did not take me to water, or show me some indications of water. Had it not been for the fact that a thoughtful, generous soul amongst us had provided us with something to drink, we should have been very thirsty whilst we were inspecting that site. I remained a day after the party left, and went over the Canobolas site. I had seen the Bathurst site the morning before, and I could not understand for the life of me why honorable members representing the district should go back upon those eligible sites in favour of Lyndhurst. When I inspected the Canobolas site I found that it was picturesque, that there was good rich agricultural land there, and that the Lyndhurst site could not be compared to it. The Bathurst site also is miles ahead of the Lyndhurst site in suitability for a Federal Capital. I must admit that there is some doubt about the water supply, even at Canobolas. From the information I received, I understood that the water supply at Orange was near “petering out” during the last drought,

and the people were put on short rations in respect of water for domestic and other uses. That was the only doubt I had about the Canobolas site, but I did see water in its vicinity, and that redeemed it in my mind as compared to the Lyndhurst site. Some people wish to know why, as a New South Welshman, I do not advocate the site which comes nearest to the 100-miles limit from Sydney. Some politicians may be dominated by press dictation, and may not look at this question from a Commonwealth stand-point. But in this matter I shall be guided first, not by what some persons may consider to be my duty to my own State, but by what I consider to be my duty to the Commonwealth. If any man in New South Wales tells me that, as a Federal member, I should be parochial on this question, I am prepared to argue the matter with him, but I am not prepared to bend to press domination, or the commands of certain New South Wales members, in dealing with this question. I drove over the Canobolas site, and if I had to give a vote for a site in the western district, I should give my vote every time for Orange. There is no comparison between it and the other western district sites. We left the western district sites, and travelled with the honorable member for Eden-Monaro to visit the sites in his district. I may say that I was greatly impressed by the sites which we visited in the Monaro country. The land is possibly no better agricultural land than that at the Lyndhurst site; but from the evidence of my own senses, I was satisfied that with mountains, snowfalls, and adjacent rivers, there would be an ample supply of the purest water. It is quite unnecessary that any man should be called to the Bar of the House to corroborate or verify a report to that effect concerning the Monaro sites. There is obviously room for doubt about the existence of a very important factor if it is necessary that an expert should be brought to the Bar of this House to say that it is possible to provide a water supply at any given site. That, to my mind, is an indication of absolute weakness in the claims of that particular site. No expert engineers' reports are required to prove to any man visiting the Monaro sites that an ample and pure water supply is to be found there. There is, of course, a difference between the sites in the Monaro district. Some are in my opinion better than others for the purposes of a Federal

Capital. Bombala is undoubtedly a pretty site. There is ample room there for a city, and the undulating country in the vicinity supplies the elements of picturesqueness and utility. It has one or two disadvantages, but its general features come very near to what is required for the purpose we have in view. It must not be forgotten that while a good water supply may be secured at Bombala, it would have to be pumped at that site, and that that would raise the cost.

MR. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—That cost would not pay the interest on the cost of providing a water supply for Lyndhurst.

MR. WEBSTER.—I am prepared to admit that. If we required water power, as well as an ordinary water supply for the inhabitants of the Federal Capital, the cost at Bombala would be considerable. The first feature to be looked for in choosing a site is the water supply, and that feature requires to be analyzed. We must know the source of the supply, the volume of water, its purity, and the cost involved in providing an adequate supply. I admit that a water supply, sufficient for a city of 50,000 inhabitants could be secured at Bombala at a medium cost, but that does not meet all that I think necessary. I should like to have water power provided if it could be supplied economically. Although the honorable member for Eden-Monaro diligently explained the advantages of the sites in his electorate, I could quite realize that at Bombala we should be likely to suffer to some extent from biting winds in the winter time. Climate is, of course, one of the features which must be considered in connexion with these sites, and there are varying degrees of climate, which must be compared. We must take all the essential features of a site and ascertain the extent to which each is met by different sites, if we are to arrive at a proper decision. In the matter of eligibility, as a site for a Federal Capital, I admit that Bombala presented some elements which were not presented by sites I had previously visited. We drove out some ten miles from Bombala in order to obtain some knowledge as to whence the Capital, if established at that site, would draw its food supply. I was perfectly satisfied with the land that I saw. The area was somewhat circumscribed, but the land was really good agricultural land. It is not at present utilized to any extent, because it is too far from a market. When, in dealing with the

agricultural possibilities of various sites, the honorable member for Macquarie submitted a comparison of the areas under cultivation in each district, he neglected to mention that distance from a market has prevented agricultural development at many of the suggested sites. He omitted to say that the land in the neighbourhood of the Tooma site could not be profitably used, except for the growth of fodder, to meet times of drought, the cost of carrying agricultural produce to the railway, in the first instance, being very great, and the railway freight upon that produce to the market being also prohibitive. I can say, without fear of contradiction, that if the Eden-Monaro district had a railway, by which the people there could get their produce expeditiously to market, the percentage of land under cultivation in that district would exceed the percentage which the honorable member for Macquarie quoted for the district around Lyndhurst. The character of the country adjacent to the Capital Site, in respect of its productiveness and its capabilities of providing the necessities of life economically, is an important aspect. I contend that one essential feature of any town or city is that its people shall have the necessities of life at first-hand, instead of having to purchase them through middlemen. All the products necessary for sustaining human life should be grown as near to the city as possible. In this respect I recognise that the country adjacent to Bombala has much to recommend it. It struck me as being very peculiar that when we were driving down to the locality we should have been met not only by a large number of the residents, but also by a large number of cattle which evidently had come to welcome the Federal party! Their presence was a clear indication of what the country would produce and support. As an illustration of its fattening qualifications, this herd of cattle was a revelation to me. There is one point about the Bombala site, and other sites, which has not been touched upon in a practical way, although it is an essential qualification in connexion with the Federal city, namely, the provision that can be made for sanitation. In addition to a clear and plentiful water supply, it is absolutely necessary that we should have an efficient system of sanitation. As one who has taken an active part in municipal affairs, and who has studied the question in the newer suburbs in New South Wales, where the initiatory difficulties of a sewerage system have had to

be faced, I am naturally interested in this aspect of the subject. There is only one economical method of disposing of the sewage of a great city, and that is by means of a sewerage farm. Consequently, one point that has to be carefully considered in connexion with establishing the city is whether we have in its vicinity land capable of absorbing the sewage matter, and thereby converting what would otherwise be a nuisance into a beneficial factor in the administration of the city's affairs. We want to be sure that when we establish our sanitary system, we do not run any risk of polluting the very stream from which we receive our water supply. Possibly in the future engineers will discover better means of disposing of sewage matter than have been discovered in the past. Probably we shall learn to treat it by means of electricity. That will remove some of the difficulties that have presented themselves to engineers hitherto. As far as I could see at Bombala, the water supply, having to be drawn from a river adjacent to the proposed site for the Federal city, would be in danger of contamination by the establishment of a sewerage farm within the area. Under the guidance of the honorable member for Eden-Monaro, I had the pleasure of inspecting the district, and it struck me that this was one drawback which, as a practical man, I could not get over.

Mr. BAMFORD.—That objection would apply to all the proposed sites.

Mr. WEBSTER.—I hope to show that it does not apply to all of them. The success of a municipal sewerage farm is largely determined by the quality of the soil into which the sewerage matter is poured. That a well conducted sewerage farm is a source of profit is illustrated in the case of Melbourne. I saw this system worked in the old country, before I came to Australia, and worked in such a way that, instead of the sanitation of a city being a continual source of annoyance to the city corporation, by means of a properly equipped and economically managed sewerage farm, they had made it a source of revenue, which reduced the taxation of the people. From this point of view, the sewerage farm method is, I maintain, the best and most commendable that can be adopted. On the tour to which I have alluded, we visited Delegate. Delegate is one of the sites which was submitted to the last Parliament. It is in many ways a very good site. The surrounding country is rather

better than at either Bombala or Dalgety. There is more agricultural land. But the formation of the country is not of such a character as to commend it as an ideal spot for a Capital city. Further than that, the water supply would have to be secured by means of the obnoxious method of dams. I do not believe in a water supply that is secured by damming. A large city requires for human consumption a supply of pure running water, and, from this point of view the damming of water in a large body, which sometimes becomes stagnant, is not wise or beneficial. Further than that, I calculate that the climate at Delegate would be rather warm in the summer time, judging by the latitude and the position of the site. Travelling further, we set out to Dalgety. It was rather a tedious journey. In fact, we did meet with some hardships on these Federal "picnics," as they have been called. The driver of the vehicle in which I travelled lost his way; and had it not been that a man came to look for us with a lantern, Heaven knows where we should have got to! I might not have been here at this moment to give my impressions as to the qualifications of the various sites. But, finally, we got to our journey's end, as determined men generally do. The following morning we were treated by the honorable and learned member for Corio to an illustration of what it is possible for a man to do in country of that description. Before we entered upon our expedition, the honorable member undertook to ford the Snowy River early in the morning with bare feet. Seeing that his garments were not wet when he returned, I concluded that his feat afforded a practical illustration as to the flow of water in the river at that particular time. I do not know whether his object was to afford such an illustration, but certainly that was the effect of his achievement. The country around Dalgety is not so good as the country at Bombala, and certainly not nearly so good as the country at Delegate. As we travelled, we encountered huge granite boulders on the surface of the soil. They reminded me of the kopjes in South Africa, behind which the Boers used to take shelter. Looking at the country from the stand-point of defence, I thought that it would be an ideal spot for the shelter of our troops if we ever had to encounter an enemy in the vicinity. But those granite outcrops indicated the character of

the country. Granite country is not good country from an agricultural point of view. One did not, therefore, come to a favorable conclusion as to the possibilities of the soil, because the character of the soil is to a large extent indicated by its apparent composition. From the point of view of beauty, the surroundings at Dalgety were magnificent. There is a panorama on every side. It is a perfect beauty spot from an artist's stand-point. From every aspect a pleasant view meets the eye. The landscape makes the beholder almost long to live in the locality. With the Snowy River running close at hand, the site possesses many of the most important essentials for a Federal city. When I saw it I felt that I had at last arrived at a place where I was sure that the Federal Parliament could advantageously determine to settle. There was no stagnant dam of water there, but a constant stream, fed from the purest source, namely, the heavens and the melting snows. These are important elements in its favour. I recognise that it is necessary to establish the Federal city at a place where there will be something to attract the tourist and the visitor—a place that will be a sanatorium, a place for rest and recuperation to those who live in the arid districts—a place to which persons in other parts of the continent will be inclined to travel for purposes of health and sight-seeing. I quite agree with the right honorable member for East Sydney that we cannot live on scenery, not even on such scenery as Mount Kosciusko presents. But I would remind him that on the other hand it is not desirable that we should locate the Federal Capital at a dull place, where there is nothing whatever of interest, and nothing that would make the visitor desire to return, or long to remain. We certainly must pay regard to the element of picturesqueness. Dalgety possesses, to a very large degree, those features which would be likely to attract visitors. Means of communication is another of the important features. Much has been made of it by the honorable member for Macquarie, who urges that because the establishment of the Federal city at Lyndhurst would not involve an expenditure of more than £50,000 for railway connexions, honorable members should therefore select that site. But it is not a question of how many miles of railway would have to be constructed, but rather of whether, when the railway is constructed, the returns will be

sufficient to pay interest and create a sinking fund. If New South Wales, or any other State, had been guided by the principle the honorable member advocates, this vast continent would not have been interlaced with railways. We have had to consider the possibilities which might accrue from their construction, and our wise predecessors in the administration of public affairs have acted in the main correctly, and largely for the benefit of the State. The lack of communication may raise to some extent a difficulty in the case of some sites as compared with others. I admit that Lyndhurst has accessibility, but I cannot admit that that should be allowed to overrule all other considerations. I cannot honestly say that Lyndhurst possesses fully any other of the features which are essential to the site for a Federal Capital. We know that railway communication could be provided from Cooma to Dalgety. It is also desired to have a through railway connexion. People from Victoria, South Australia, and other States desire to be able to go direct to the Federal Capital, and not to be obliged to travel by a circuitous route. The connexion of that site with the Victorian railway system would involve a very large expenditure. But, in fairness to the site and its advocates, it should be said that the question to be considered is not so much the expenditure of money as the character of the country through which the railway would pass, and whether it would be an acquisition to the State and the Commonwealth when constructed. We are dealing with a matter which involves far larger issues than some men who talk very glibly about it appear to recognise. I have not gone into the details which have to be considered before one can arrive at an honest and just conclusion. The reports of this historical discussion will be read when we have passed away, and the wisdom or unwisdom of our choice will be criticised for generations to come. I do not wish my name to be linked with those who have jumped to a conclusion. There are many elements to be considered. We have to judge the sites from the stand-points of climate, soil, quantity and purity of water supply, accessibility, picturesqueness, and general adaptability. We have to consider, not only those questions, but the cost of resuming the lands, and not their intrinsic value only, but also their prospective productive value. Leaving the Bombala sites,

the Coolringdon site, eight miles from Cooma, is very eligible from one standpoint. It has advantages from the standpoint of railway communication. A supply of water might be got from two sources — from the Murrumbidgee, and the mountains adjacent. This site is not so precipitous as the others. It is slightly undulating in character, and larger in area and scope. It resembles a large table-land more than anything else. And from the standpoint of accessibility it is far preferable to the Lyndhurst site. If we are to judge the quality of these sites and their claim to our support from that standpoint, the Coolringdon site is as good as, if not preferable to, the site which has been eulogized by the honorable member for Macquarie. I ask honorable members who intend to vote for the Lyndhurst site, because it could be cheaply connected with a railway system, to pay due regard to the claims of Coolringdon. Having dealt as minutely as I can with the sites, I come to the last visit we paid to the Tooma site. I had no intention of going to see the site, but I felt that, notwithstanding a promise I had made to return to my home, it was an imperative duty on my part to make the visit in order that I might be able to come to a right conclusion. Our journey to Tooma was not made under pleasant conditions; the companionship was pleasant, but the trials of the trip were disagreeable. To drive seventy miles in one day is not an agreeable undertaking in this weather. All along the line we found food for reflection, and the outlook was most interesting. The climate was very invigorating, and as I drank in the pure atmosphere I wondered why any country of that character should be unoccupied. My common sense soon supplied me with an answer. I quickly perceived that it was unprofitable to occupy the country, owing to the difficulty of getting products to market. I then began to ask myself, "By whom is this country occupied?" I instituted an inquiry as to the number of landholders between Germanton and Tooma, and I found that for a distance of seventy miles the country was practically held by seven firms or families. I then asked myself, "Why, and for how long, have these families held this country?" I thought that, perhaps, it might have only recently come into their possession by reason of the failure of the previous holders. I found, however, that the land was so good that

Mr. Webster.

its holders did not wish to let it go. I discovered that they could find in Australia no better or more profitable place on which to pitch their tents. Why had they no desire to sell this land, which was the pick of New South Wales? Because it provided them with a handsome income at a minimum of expenditure. From the carriage window as we travelled through the country we looked at beautiful scenery instead of at ring-barked timber. In the Lyndhurst district, one cannot see even a forest reserve, or a place where timber could be conserved. Every tree has been ring-barked. Why? Because every blade of grass that can be grown is needed for the succour of stock in summer and winter. The timber has been destroyed by the hungry pastoralists, who are always ready to sweep away a forest, and to sweep away with it, as they often do, wealth far greater than the value of the land which they clear, or of its products for years to come. We can judge of the character of a country by the trees which it grows in the same way as we can judge of the character of a man by his stature. The character of a country is delineated in that way. Yet when we go to Lyndhurst we find only inferior timber, and notice the absence of those elements which would indicate that its soil is capable of supporting a large population. Travelling towards the Tooma site, I was not prepared for the surprise which I experienced. I was surprised to find that at half-past 9 o'clock at night the cold did not make a person shrink towards the fire, or bring into use a top-coat or a rug, but invigorated him. That indicates the temperature and the character of the climate. On rising next morning, although there was ice on the shallow waters adjacent, my comrades and I, who had to turn out in our pyjamas to replenish our water supply, instead of being benumbed by the cold, felt fresh enough to take a good long walk. That is the kind of temperature that I like to find in a country—one which braces up and invigorates a man. It is a climate like that which produces the characteristics which we desire to see in our population. Next morning we climbed to the top of a mountain called Bald Knob. I think, and although I admired the scenery of the Dalgety site, it is nothing to the panoramic view spread out before us on the occasion of which I am now speaking. I saw then the ideal site for the Australian Capital, a site which the artist could paint, and the poet could

sing about. Honorable members opposite would have no trouble in securing the selection of Lyndhurst if it possessed such scenery. We all marvelled at the beauty of the prospect. Returning, we had a day's journey of eighty miles, because the Parliament of this great Commonwealth could not afford to allow its members to acquire information on this momentous question unless they travelled at top speed. Therefore, we missionaries who were looking for a site had to hurry along as fast as we could. We had really to submit to a sort of martyrdom, such as the Government should not have expected us to undergo, and therefore we did not make our examination of the district under the most favorable circumstances. We had not sufficient time to photograph the scenery with our eyes, and imprint it upon our memories. But I—and I think every other member of the expedition was equally zealous—used all my opportunities to the best advantage. At Welaregang we passed through beautiful undulating country—country somewhat resembling that of Lyndhurst, but quite different in character. Beyond it is a fine panorama of hills. Then we saw the rich Murray flats. There is no denying the fertility of the land on the banks of the Murray, and the undulating country behind it is also capable of high production, if properly cultivated, as it would be if the Federal Capital were located in the district. In the matter of water supply, there is the Murray, which winds its way through the landscape, its glassy surface being seen here and there as one's eye travels over the prospect; the Tooma River, the Tumberumba Creek, and several other creeks which come from the Snowy Mountains, bearing with them pure, undiluted, and ever-running water. We ought not to choose a site whose water supply will be derived from dams. The records show that townships which are so supplied are visited periodically, and almost annually, with epidemics of typhoid, diphtheria, and other diseases. We ought not, if by the exercise of a wise discretion we can avoid doing so, to locate the Capital where the people will have to depend for their water supply upon storage reservoirs. I am not influenced in this matter by the hope of gaining votes, or by the fear of losing them. If there were a proposed site in my constituency, and it were one which I did not think the best, having regard to the interests of the whole Commonwealth, I should vote

against it, even though I knew that by doing so I should lose my seat in Parliament, and the paltry living wage of £400 a year, which practically provides us with only enough to keep us out of the workhouse. I am not a surveyor. I could not take a theodolite or other instrument and measure the heights of the hills, or determine the fall of the water-courses. But I am a man of common sense and clear perception, and when I see streams which are fed by 900 square miles of snow-covered mountains, I know that the district through which they flow is provided with an endless supply of pure water. Surely a man can believe his own eyes, and rely on his own judgment in such a case. But I do not object to the Government authorizing the most minute investigation into the merits of the Tooma site. I feel sure that if such an investigation is made the district will be shown to be even a better one than I have described it to be. I am no more afraid of the production of an expert's report on the Tooma site than a man who is guiltless would be afraid of an investigation into his character. Knowing the advantages possessed by the site, I welcome such a report. But, although experts may put before us scientific calculations, and statements of quantities, volumes, heights, and so on, I shall never be guided entirely by their judgment. I have seen too many monuments to the incapacity of experts to be ready to sink my own judgment. In the electorate which I represented in the New South Wales Parliament, £32,000 was absolutely wasted by experts who were without practical knowledge of the conditions under which their work was being done.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Where?

Mr. WEBSTER.—An attempt was made to divert the water from the Big River, in the Moree district, into the billabongs and dry creeks lower down, in order to supply a large area of waterless country. A weir was therefore constructed at great cost, and the work was splendidly carried out. It was a credit to the men who were responsible for it. But the experts who designed it forgot that they were dealing with black soil country having a gravelly bottom, with the result that the first flood washed the whole thing away, and thousands of pounds were wasted. Facts like that make one careful about accepting implicitly the statements of experts. "Once bitten, twice shy."

Personally, I shall never take the opinion of experts unless it is corroborated by that of other experts, and commends itself to my own judgment. It does not matter to me whether the Capital is located on the borders of Victoria or somewhere near Queensland. Accessibility is, of course, a consideration, but it is not the chief consideration. In time to come the artificial boundaries between the States will be swept away. Why, then, should we not put aside all parochial considerations, and regard the question with a broad sweep of view, as one affecting the future of a great nation? If honorable members wish to rise to the position of patriots, they will not be guided by parochial considerations, and they will not pass judgments upon sites which they have not seen. It is always the man who knows least who is the most confident. But those who have not taken advantage of the opportunities afforded by the Government to visit the various proposed sites, and are governed by the narrow parochial views of the press in their own States, are not the men who can be trusted to come to a right decision on this question.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I have always been taught to watch the man who boasts of his own honesty.

Mr. WEBSTER.—I, am not boasting of my honesty; I have never had need to do so. If the honorable member occupies a different position, he has my sympathy. I have never had to parade my honesty, and I hope that I shall never have to do so.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—The honorable member has been parading it for the last half-hour.

Mr. WEBSTER.—I do not think that any impartial member will say that I have tried to be unjust to any one, but it will not redound to the credit of honorable members if they vote for a site which they have not personally inspected. I challenge anybody who has visited the Tooma site to say that it does not fulfil all essential conditions. I claim that it is in every way suited to the purposes of a Federal Capital. There is adequate land surrounding it to permit of the erection of suburban residences, and the soil itself is capable of producing everything that is necessary for the support of a city. At very little cost, a series of artificial lakes could be constructed, with a view to beautifying the Capital. Rows of trees could be planted

for the purpose of affording shelter in the summer, and flowers could be grown in abundance. In the immediate vicinity the snow-clad mountains rise before one as far as the eye can reach. It is possible to gaze at those mountains, with the sun glistening upon them at one moment, and immediately afterwards to turn round and behold orange trees growing to perfection. Do honorable members require any other proof of the excellence of the climate? In determining the location of a Capital Site, it is important that we should know which way the wind blows.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The political wind?

Mr. WEBSTER.—I took the precaution to ascertain which way the wind blows at Tooma, both in the winter and in the summer. The climate is admirable, and the country and its surroundings are beautiful. Do we not all understand what constitutes the main attraction of the watering places of the British Isles? Is it not the scenery, and is not that attraction world-wide? If we select the Welaregang site, there will be no need for tourists from the old world to visit New Zealand or Tasmania in search of beauty spots. They will be able to spend their leisure at the Seat of the Federal Government. Of course, I am thinking of the stream of visitors who will continue to be attracted to Australia when we shall have passed away, when our population shall have learned how to till the soil, how to apply scientific methods to production, and when land which is now regarded as valueless shall have become one of our best assets. There will then be millions of people settled upon our territory, where to-day there are only thousands. I have endeavoured faithfully to outline a picture—a perfect picture, perfect because it is that of Nature—of the Welaregang site. It presents a scene such as no painter ever transferred to canvas. It must be seen to be appreciated. So far as sanitation is concerned, provision could easily be made there for the establishment of a sewerage farm without any fear of the water supply becoming contaminated. Further, I will undertake to say that any railway which is constructed to that site will practically pay from the outset. Consequently, that question presents no difficulties. But there is still another feature upon which we might well bestow our attention. The surrounding country presents vast mineral possibilities. Tumut and Tumberumba have already produced, and are still producing, a large quantity of gold. We all know that wherever alluvial

gold has been washed down valleys between mountains, it is only a matter of time when the source of the deposits will be discovered. Mr. Holtermann, who was a mining expert, and who made so much money at Hill End, was so convinced of the existence of auriferous reefs in this locality that before he died he had, by means of a tunnel, penetrated into a hill a distance of 600 feet, in an endeavour to cut some of these reefs. That work only stopped with his decease. If by the construction of a railway to the Tooma site we can open up avenues of employment which will recoup the Treasury for the money expended, and at the same time impart a stimulus to mining, that consideration should constitute another of its recommendations. I am not here to favour or to seek favour from any one. I am not here to placate any honorable member, but to do my duty according to my lights, and to express as plainly as possible the views which I hold, so that they may be recorded for future reference by those who may have hereafter to criticise my actions. The resumption of the land in this district would be a profitable undertaking. In the territory which I favour we should have a large area of productive land. In dealing with this question we have to consider not so much the price of the land as its productivity. The true value of land can be determined only in that way. It is better to pay £5 per acre for land, 100 acres of which is sufficient to support a man and his family, than to pay £2 10s. for a tract of country, on 1,000 acres of which it would not be possible for a man to make a living for himself and those dependent on him. In dealing with this question we must look into every detail, and consider all the elements that are essential to a Federal Capital. If we do, we shall come to a satisfactory decision; if, on the other hand, we are guided only by *ex parte* statements, I fear that an error will be committed. I have done my best to impartially place before the Committee the views that I hold, and I fear no report that may be asked for in reference to the territory which I favour. The honorable member for North Sydney, when discussing this question last week, referred to the possibility of beautifying a district by artificial means, and spoke of what England had accomplished in this direction. Does not that suggest that the honorable member has in view a site in which it would be necessary to endeavour

by artificial means to make good in some respects the natural beauty that it lacks?

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—I do not know of any such site.

Mr. WEBSTER.—Will any one tell me that any effort on the part of man could supply the equivalent of natural beauty? Nature cannot be successfully imitated. Natural, rather than artificial, beauties, constitute the chief attractions of England. I know, of course, that they have many magnificent gardens and parks in the old land, for I have visited them myself; but none of them compare with the natural scenery with which the Almighty has blessed the country. No snow-capped mountain ridge meets the eye of the visitor to Lyndhurst. Could the honorable member for North Sydney supply that deficiency? Lyndhurst gives no promise of even great artificial possibilities. We should certainly not be able to make any artificial lakes in the district—a feature which would be sadly missed. Those who urge that any deficiency in natural beauty may be made good by art cannot mean what they say, or if they do they have given no consideration to the cost that would be involved in supplying even a poor imitation. In conclusion, I earnestly and sincerely appeal to honorable members to endeavour to do that which will redound to our credit, and to lay aside all parochial considerations. If honorable members have not seen the site which I have just described, there is yet time for them to do so before we arrive at a determination. Those who have neglected every opportunity to inspect these sites, and are disposed to support the selection of a district merely because it is in the vicinity of Sydney—quite unmindful of its disadvantages—should pause before they give their vote. The Sydney press appears to echo the statements made by certain politicians in this House. It is marvellous how the echoes of this debate are heard in New South Wales. We are told in the Sydney press that representatives of New South Wales are fighting against the interests of that State; but I care not for the press of Sydney, or of any other place, nor shall I have regard to any party consideration in dealing with this question. I have a duty to perform, and shall do it even at the peril of losing my seat in this Chamber. Whatever may be the result, I shall have the satisfaction of knowing that I have endeavoured to do my duty to my constituents, to the State

from which I come, and to the Commonwealth; and with that knowledge I shall be happier than will be those who have not endeavoured to deal with this question on broad and general lines.

Mr. RONALD (Southern Melbourne). — It is not usual for an honorable member to compliment the speaker who has just preceded him, but I could not proceed to discuss this question without referring to the magnificent, eloquent, poetic, and graphic speech which has just been made by the honorable member for Gwydir. Happy should we be if every honorable member who went forth to inspect the Capital Sites had something of the vision and the faculty divine to see as he saw, and to describe as he has described, the districts which we visited. We all feel grateful to the honorable member for his earnest, able, graphic, and impartial estimate of the various sites which have been submitted for our inspection, and from which we have now to make a selection. There are one or two points, which have not yet been touched upon, notwithstanding all that we have heard.

Mr. McWILLIAMS.—As with the Queen of Sheba, the half has not been told.

Mr. RONALD.—Exactly. I wish to take a retrospective view, and to ask the Committee to look back at the experience of the world. In dealing with this question we are not groping in the dark; we have the experience of the world for our guidance. It has been said again and again that the Federal Capital will be a small and insignificant city, and Washington is the model which has been continually held up to our view. I do not think that this is correct. I believe that the Federal Capital will be a great city, and that we should make provision for a much larger population than is generally anticipated. It is bound to be not only the political, but the social centre of Australian society. That is the opinion which I have formed from a review of the experiences of the world. I look back at the capital of my own native land, Edinburgh, to me the prettiest city in the world—the modern Athens, far surpassing ancient Athens. Prior to the union of Scotland with England, and to the removal of the Parliament to London, Edinburgh had a galaxy of witty men and pretty women, a society of which no other country in Europe could boast the like. With the removal of the Legislature to

London, that society left, and the grand old residences of Murray House and Holyrood were given over to vagrants and to rats. Doubtless a new Edinburgh has arisen on the site of the old, but the great lesson we learn is this: that when the legislative power was shifted to London, our gentry and money-spending medium went with it, with the result that the grand old mansions have gone into disrepair, and are now the habitation of rats. When I look at Dublin I see exactly the same state of affairs. Donnybrook, which is now a by-word for all that is rowdy and tatterdemalion, was once the centre of the bright, witty, sparkling society of Ireland. When the Irish Parliament was taken away, the Irish gentry followed their legislators to London, and that part of one of the brightest cities in the world has been depopulated of its society. When I speak of society, I mean not that lackadaisical dilettanteism which indulges in afternoon teas and dinner parties, but the society which makes a nation—its literature, its art, its law, and its politics. All these went with the removal of the capital. The deduction that I wish to draw from these facts is that the Federal Capital will be the centre of society. The representative of the Crown will reside there. This will doubtless be a great source of attraction, and the city will become a very large and important one. We must consequently take care that the area is not circumscribed. It is for this reason that I think that the site which was last described in the excellent speech of the honorable member for Gwydir would provide the greatest accommodation for a large, important, beautiful, and great centre of Australian life—the centre of all that is highest and best and noblest in our civilization. There are other considerations which must not be forgotten. There is the natural beauty of environment which Bombala possesses as well as the series of natural fortifications which are to be found round it. We know that nowadays it is unwise that the capital should be a seaport town, in view of the great facilities for bombardment, and the old sentiment still remains, that if the capital has fallen, the country is captured. We should see to it that our city, wherever it be, is not on the seaboard. It must not be exposed to the danger of bombardment, but must be supplied with a series of natural fortifications that will make it impregnable. The city where the

archives of our nationality will be preserved should be one in which we shall be able to hold out against all-comers. This is one of the advantages possessed by the site described by my honorable friend, the Eden revived, which he has depicted. It is for this reason that I return to my first love, Bombala, and find in it advantages which no other site possesses. It has a port at a respectable distance, and would certainly be beyond the reach of even the most accurate long-distance guns on vessels entering the harbor. The series of natural fortifications along the road which we traversed would make it simply impregnable, no matter how strong the foe might be. We should find there the natural means of protection which exist in South Africa, for between the coast and the town of Bombala there are kopjes and other natural fortifications which would make it possible for the capital to hold out against any enemy. Then, again, it possesses other advantages. It has been said that accessibility is a very important feature, but I go further, and say that it is the all-important feature. Some honorable members appear to me to be considering the selection of a Federal Capital Site to meet the existing requirements of the Federation; but it ought not to be forgotten that this Commonwealth is but in its infancy, and what its future proportions may be no man can accurately prophesy. One needs not to be a prophet to say that this Federation will never be complete until New Zealand is in it. That result may not be brought about immediately; but that there will be some kind of federation in respect of Defence, Customs, and such matters, between New Zealand and Australia is as certain as that to-morrow's sun will rise. This should not be overlooked in considering the important feature of accessibility. In this view the Bombala and the Upper Murray sites are unquestionably the most central. We know that electricity is certain to be the great force of the future, and an indispensable requirement of the Federal Capital Site is a cheap and ready means of generating that force. If it has to be generated by coal it is most expensive; but if the generating force is water we can have electric light and power provided in the cheapest possible manner. The only two sites which provide the water power necessary for generating electricity are Bombala and the site on the Upper Murray. In each of these cases it would be

practically drawn from Mount Kosciusko. I trust that honorable members will not overlook the element of accessibility, and that, in making their selection of a site for the Federal Capital, they will contemplate a partnership of the Commonwealth with New Zealand at no distant date. I am sure that every rational and fair-minded overture made in that direction will meet with a ready response from the people of New Zealand. I have said that the site chosen should be naturally impregnable and capable of defence without the risk of great loss of human life. If these important qualifications are borne in mind the selection must lie between Bombala and Tooma. I have not seen the latter site, but I have had the privilege of inspecting the Bombala site. The elements essential for the support of a great city—and I believe the Federal Capital will be a great city—are to be found at the site of my first choice, Bombala. I am free to admit that my affections have been somewhat won by the descriptions of the Upper Murray site to which I have listened. I wish that I had been able to avail myself of the opportunity afforded to honorable members to visit that site. I hope that honorable members will not allow any provincialism or any State antipathies to influence their choice. If they do the child unborn may yet rue the selection made to-day. In my opinion there are only the two places which, from the point of view of science, sociology, and common sense, are entitled to be considered in selecting the future Federal Capital. I have not yet wavered in my affection for Eden; its very name suggests an ideal site.

Mr. KNOX.—We were turned out of Eden.

Mr. RONALD.—That is so, but we found another Eden in Edinburgh, and if in Australia we can improve upon that we shall have the ideal city, the golden city, and may it be, if not the Eternal City, a lasting city. But we should view this matter seriously and soberly, and in view of New Zealand forming a part of our great federation, Eden port will be about as near the centre of the Federation, from the point of view of accessibility, as we can get. It has been said that we require an agricultural area for the Federal Territory. We do not require an agricultural area; what we need is a horticultural area, and I have seen no better horticultural area

than the district around Bombala. Something has been said about the grazing properties of that district, and I need only say that the stock it produces is a guarantee as to that. I ask honorable members to remember the essential elements required, and to rid themselves of petty provincial jealousies. We have no objection to the selection being expedited as much as possible, but we deprecate undue haste. Time is not wasted in making necessary inquiries, and in that connexion we should all be very thankful, especially to the honorable member for Hume, for the opportunities afforded honorable members to visit the various sites suggested, that they might not give a vote in the dark. I am sure the honorable gentleman made arrangements for those visits purely in the interests of the selection of the most suitable site. Personally, I can say that he has never in any way sought to influence me to vote for a particular site. Victoria and New South Wales are not the only States concerned in the selection we make. We should remember the long distances which honorable members representing Western Australia and Queensland will have to come, and the dreary railway journeys they must make. In their interests we should see that the site selected is as central as possible, and we should not forget that it is important to know which line of railway with a uniform gauge would be most profitable. I am convinced that if all the elements to which I have referred are taken into account, and the question is dealt with impartially and without prejudice or provincialism, the choice must lie between the Upper Murray and the Eden-Monaro sites.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE (Hume).—I understood that there was no intention to go to a division on the clause to-day. Many honorable members who wish to speak have gone away with that understanding. I shall occupy more than the half-an-hour that is left to us, and, if possible, I should prefer not to speak to-day. I am aware that the honorable member for Grampians is also very anxious to speak before any decision is come to. I hope the Government will not allow the clause to go to a division when there is such a small attendance of honorable members.

Mr. BATCHELOR. — It is not proposed now to ballot for particular sites.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE. — If we pass clause 2 there will be no necessity for a

ballot. It would be altogether against the general understanding to go to a division on this clause to-day. I know that requests have been made that there should be twenty-four hours' notice given before a division is taken. We might as well adjourn now. I do not wish to commence a speech to-day, and finish on Tuesday. I should prefer to say all I have to say on the same day. The honorable member for Gwydir has made a most eloquent speech, and one which has been unequalled in this debate, and other honorable members are not inclined to proceed to-day.

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON (North Sydney).—I agree with the honorable member for Hume that as a division is not to be taken to-day the clause cannot be passed as it stands. I wish to know from the Government what procedure they intend to adopt with regard to the amendment that will be necessary if we are to substitute another site for that which is mentioned in the Bill? Is it proposed that all the words after "shall be" be omitted, creating a blank which will be filled up by another name; or, is it intended to substitute another site forthwith? There must be an opportunity to make sure that the site which is finally inserted is supported by a majority of the House. If the Government have made up their minds as to the procedure to be adopted, it is just as well that they should inform the Committee.

Mr. BATCHELOR (Boothby—Minister of Home Affairs).—The Government do not ask the Committee to come to a division to-day, but as we have not yet reached the ordinary adjournment hour, so long as honorable members are prepared to speak up to 4 o'clock, we shall be glad if they will express their views. It seems to me that the simplest and best method of ascertaining the opinion of the House would be to continue the discussion on the motion that the clause be agreed to. When the debate has exhausted itself, progress will be reported, and on the following day we shall take a ballot in the House. If we were to adopt the course mentioned by the honorable member for North Sydney, and to strike out the words after "be" in the second line of the clause, it would be impossible afterwards to re-insert the words if it were desired to do so. Therefore, we do not propose to strike them out. So long as honorable members are prepared to continue the discussion upon the sites they will be

allowed to do so. But there will be no actual division in Committee upon the clause. The decision will be postponed until a ballot has taken place in the House. When a decision is arrived at, discussion will be resumed in Committee, and the site determined upon by ballot will be inserted.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Do the Government propose to postpone the clause now?

Mr. BATCHELOR.—No. If no honorable member desires to continue the discussion, progress will be reported.

Mr. BROWN.—We should understand that reporting progress does not mean the closing of the debate.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—We do not suggest closing the debate to-day.

Progress reported.

House adjourned at 3.40 p.m.

House of Representatives.

Tuesday, 2 August, 1904.

Mr. SPEAKER took the chair at 2.30 p.m., and read prayers.

SUPPLY BILL (No. 2).

Assent reported.

FURTHER SUPPLEMENTARY APPROPRIATION BILL (1902-3).

Assent reported.

PUBLIC SERVANTS' DEBTS.

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—During my recent visit to Queensland, serious complaints were made to me in regard to the difficulty which tradespeople there experience in getting many Federal public servants to meet their financial engagements. I ask the Postmaster-General if his attention has been drawn to this matter. Has the difficulty of compelling many Federal public servants to pay their just debts been brought under his notice? If such complaints have been made to him, will he seek to provide a remedy, by regulation or otherwise?

Mr. MAHON.—A substantial though not a very large number of traders have complained to the Department of the difficulty which they experience in inducing public servants to meet their obligations. In several cases, judgments have been recorded, and execution levied, against Federal officers; but the creditors have been un-

able even by that means to secure payment of their accounts. The matter has been under the consideration of the Public Service Commissioner, who is of opinion that the Public Service Act gives no remedy to a creditor unless the debt is sufficiently large to allow him to sequester his debtor's estate; but, in my view, misconduct of the kind complained of can be dealt with under section 46 of the Act, the public servant being guilty of improper conduct in allowing himself to be dunned by creditors during office hours. I have asked the Deputy Postmasters-General of the various States to invite the officers against whom complaints have been lodged to make a statement of their defence. When such statements have been received, further action will be taken.

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—In the case of *Palmer v. Withers*, although the plaintiff obtained a judgment against his debtor, a Federal public official, the judgment still remains unsatisfied. That case has been brought under the notice of both the present Postmaster-General and his predecessor, and I ask, therefore, if he has any objection to laying on the table an abstract of the papers referring to it.

Mr. MAHON.—Speaking from memory, a judgment was recorded against the defendant in the case mentioned, and remains unsatisfied; but the matter is still pending. When a final decision is arrived at, I shall have no objection to laying on the table an abstract of the papers.

Mr. KING O'MALLEY.—Where officers of the Postmaster-General's Department have to sue outsiders, will the honorable gentleman see that steps are taken to help them, in the same way as their creditors are to be helped?

Mr. MAHON.—I am not aware that the creditors of Federal officials have asked the Department to do anything contrary to the practice which has obtained in the Departments of the States—that is, to see that the officers of the Federal Public Service are reasonably honest, for the reputation of the service itself.

VANCOUVER MAIL SERVICE.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—In Saturday's *Argus* there is an account of an interview with the Premier of Queensland, headed "Ocean Mail Contracts—Position of Queensland," in which the following statement occurs:—

It transpired, in the course of conversation, that Mr. Morgan has been endeavouring to get the New Zealand Government to take over the

Vancouver service. The New Zealand Government opened negotiations in the matter through the Federal Government, and Mr. Morgan expressed his willingness to agree to a proposal to transfer the service to New Zealand, but as far as he knows, nothing has yet been decided, though the negotiations may be still going on with the company.

I wish to know from the Postmaster-General if anything has been done? How is it that Mr. Morgan has opened up negotiations with the New Zealand Government in a matter which is entirely within the province of the Federal Government?

Mr. MAHON.—The statement which the honorable member has read is partly correct, since a proposal was made by the Queensland Government in the direction referred to. I ask him, however, to give formal notice of his question, so that I may be prepared with a full answer to-morrow.

MAIL SERVICE WITH KING ISLAND.

Mr. KING O'MALLEY asked the Postmaster-General, *upon notice*—

1. In view of the isolated position of the people of King Island, and the very high price demanded by the Union Steamship Co. for a limited mail service, will he secure one of the obsolete gun-boats of Queensland, now costing about £2,000 annually to maintain, and operate it as a Commonwealth enterprise between the mainland and King Island?

2. Is he aware that a profitable business could be done in the carriage of live stock, passengers, and produce?

3. Is he aware that this boat would afford the people of that thriving island decent communication with the rest of the Commonwealth?

Mr. MAHON.—The answers to the honorable member's questions are as follow:—

1. The Postmaster-General's Department has no control over the gun-boats of Queensland, and is not aware that they could be used for the purpose indicated.

2. So far as the Postmaster-General has been advised, a profitable business could not be done with King Island by the use of a gun-boat for the carriage of mails, cargo, and passengers.

3. It is considered that the existing service, practically once a week, now performed by the s.s. *Yambagoona*, provides reasonable postal communication with King Island, especially as the revenue derived from the post-office at that island only amounts to £105 per annum. The existing service costs, including the salary of the postmaster, £140 per annum.

TOWN CLOCK, BOULDER CITY.

Mr. FRAZER asked the Postmaster-General, *upon notice*—

1. Whether he is aware that, owing to the absence of a town clock at Boulder City, Western Australia, no reasonable facility is available for the people there to ascertain the correct time?

2. If so, whether, in view of the importance and future prospects of the town named, he will provide sufficient funds in his Estimates, 1904-5, to permit of the erection of a suitable time-piece at the post-office?

Mr. MAHON.—The answers to the honorable member's questions are as follow:—

1. The Postmaster-General is not responsible for any lack of facility owing to the absence of a town clock at Boulder City.

2. He cannot undertake to provide funds on his Estimates for the erection of a time-piece at the post-office, as he is not prepared to depart from the decision previously arrived at, namely, that it is not the function of his Department to provide public clocks in connexion with any post-offices. If a public clock is desired at the post-office, it should be supplied and maintained by the residents in accordance with the practice followed in other places in the Commonwealth under similar conditions.

AUSTRALIAN FROZEN OR TINNED MEAT.

Mr. KELLY asked the Minister of Trade and Customs, *upon notice*—

1. Whether the Japanese Government has arranged for the supply of Australian or foreign frozen or tinned meat to its troops in the field?

2. If so, will the Commonwealth Government impress on the Government of New South Wales the desirability of taking the present favorable opportunity to, through its trade representative in the east, make inquiries as to the best means of making a market for Australian frozen or tinned meat in Japan?

Mr. FISHER.—The answers to the honorable member's questions are as follow:—

1. The Government has no information in regard to contracts which may have been entered into by the Japanese Government.

2. This Government favours the opening of new markets for Australian products. Queensland, as well as New South Wales, has a special commercial agent in the east at present to advise on the matters referred to.

SEAT OF GOVERNMENT BILL.

In Committee (Consideration resumed from 29th July, *vide* page 3753):

Clause 2 (Determination of Seat of Government).

Mr. McLEAN (Gippsland).—I regard the question with which we are now dealing as one of supreme importance, because it affects the interests, not only of the present, but of all future generations. Indeed, there is no doubt in my mind that our decision will affect future generations to a very much larger extent than it will the present generation, because, as the population of the Commonwealth increases, the importance of the Seat of Government—if

we make a wise selection—will grow proportionately. Therefore, it would be most unfortunate if any selfish local interests or any narrow provincial prejudices were permitted to become determining factors in the choice of this site. If we could only place ourselves—I know that it is a difficult thing to do—in the position of impartial observers, say of intelligent foreigners, and could look at this matter without any personal bias or selfish interest whatever, I believe we should find it very much easier to make a judicious selection of a Federal Capital Site. It appears to me that the way in which we can most nearly approach that state of affairs is by first determining in our own minds the conditions which are most essential to the Seat of Government. Having arrived at a decision without having been influenced by an undue regard for any particular locality, we should then consider how far the different available sites comply with those conditions. After having given this matter very careful consideration, I have come to the conclusion that the most essential conditions to any Federal Capital Site are centrality and accessibility. Other essentials are an abundant supply of pure fresh water, a healthy locality, and a good climate. I am also of opinion that the Seat of Government should be established in a picturesque district, which is possessed of some distinctive features of natural beauty. Then, of course, it is most desirable that the Federal territory should contain a fair proportion of good productive land. Of course, there are other minor advantages into the consideration of which it is not necessary for me to enter. But the conditions which I have enumerated I regard as essential to a suitable site for the Seat of Government.

Mr. HIGGINS.—What does the honorable member mean by saying that the site should be a central one?

Mr. McLEAN.—I mean that it should be central from the stand-point of the nearest available trade routes. Of course, I do not mean that it should be central from the point of view of a camel service or of anything of an impracticable character.

Mr. SKENE.—Not from the stand-point of existing lines only?

Mr. McLEAN.—No. I mean that the site which we select should be capable of being made central at a reasonable cost.

Mr. WILKINSON.—The honorable member would have some regard to future population, too?

Mr. McLEAN.—Decidedly. In selecting the Seat of Government we should never lose sight of future generations, because I believe that they will be more deeply affected by our determination than will be the present generation. Having carefully considered the conditions which I regard as essential to a suitable site, the next step is to ascertain how far each of the proposed sites complies with those conditions. Let me deal first with the western site. I have regarded this question from every stand-point, and I have looked in vain for the reasons which have induced the advocates of that site to support it. So far as centrality and accessibility are concerned, we must remember that there are four States situated to the south of Sydney, and only one to the north.

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—May not the northern State become the most populous?

Mr. McLEAN.—Heaven only knows. I should not be at all surprised if in the not far distant future, Western Australia, with its vast territory, and its enormous mineral deposits, became the most populous of all the States. Yet it is farthest removed from all the proposed sites for the Seat of Government.

Mr. CARPENTER.—In connexion with this question, that State has not been considered at all.

Mr. McLEAN.—I am very much afraid that up to the present time it has not. When we recollect that there are four States situated to the south of Sydney and only one to the north, is it fair to establish the Seat of Government to the north of Sydney?

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—Certainly; that is where it should be.

Mr. McLEAN.—I am glad that my honorable friend can reconcile such a proposal with his conscience. I can stretch my own conscience fairly, but if I stretched it to that extent, I should feel that I was false to my trust, and that I was not representing the interests of the Commonwealth as a whole, which, after all, is what we should endeavour to do.

Mr. McDONALD.—*Coghlan* states that within a few years, the centre of population will be to the north of Sydney.

Mr. McLEAN.—I am not aware that Mr. Coghlan is endowed with any divine gift of prophecy, or that he is more capable of looking into the future than we are.

Mr. FOWLER.—Very probably Mr. Coghlan has never visited Western Australia.

Mr. McDONALD.—The Commonwealth pays £700 a year to obtain his book, anyhow.

Mr. McLEAN.—Does the honorable member imagine that because Mr. Coghlan is a careful recorder of events which have transpired, he is better able to forecast the future capabilities of the different States than we are? We must look at this matter from a more reasonable stand-point. When we consider that there are four States situated to the south of Sydney, and only one State to the north, it appears to me that any proposal to establish the Federal Capital to the north of that city is an outrage upon common sense. From the stand-point of centrality, it is certainly nothing less than grotesque. Even if the Capital were established on the western site it would be utterly impossible for it to trade with any State other than New South Wales. The cost of land carriage is so great that it would put all trade relations between Lyndhurst and the capital of any other State absolutely out of the question. Every ton of produce which was grown there, and which was not consumed locally, would have to filter through Sydney before it could reach any other State. Sydney is practically its only shipping port. If it be proposed to select the Capital in the interests of only one State, then the best course for the representatives of other States to pursue will be to stand aside and allow the representatives of New South Wales, who are the best judges, to determine where it shall be established. It is not my own view, however, that any one State is entitled to a monopoly. New South Wales drove a very hard bargain, and is doubtless entitled to the "pound of flesh" which she demanded. I should be the last to depart even one iota from the constitutional provision that the Capital shall be established in that State, unless I did so at the request of its representatives; but, subject to that one condition, it is our duty to consider the interests of the whole Commonwealth.

Mr. McDONALD.—Will the honorable member show the Committee in what way some of the other States are going to receive any advantage?

Mr. McLEAN.—I shall endeavour to do so. The Constitution gives the Seat of Government to New South Wales, and we should loyally adhere to the compact. But what is the compact? It has been contended

by some honorable members that the correct interpretation of the constitutional provision that the Capital shall not be within 100 miles of Sydney is that it shall be as near to that limit as possible. It appears to me that that is about as absurd a contention as could be urged. The plain English of it is this: "You must not break the law, but you must go as near breaking it as you can." That is not a reasonable construction. The Constitution imposes two limitations; the one is that the Capital shall not be within 100 miles of Sydney, and the other is that it shall be within the borders of New South Wales. It would be just as reasonable to contend that we must establish the Capital as near as possible to some part of the borders of New South Wales as to urge that it must be placed as near the 100-miles limit as possible. The common-sense interpretation of the Constitution is, to my mind, that we are free to select within these two limits the site which is most suitable, central, and accessible to the people of the whole of the States, having due regard to the present and future interests of each State. Taking that view of the position, I have no hesitation in saying that, even if Lyndhurst possessed every other advantage in an eminent degree, the one disadvantage, that it can never trade with any but one State, is fatal, and should cause any reasonable person, who wishes to consider and conserve the interests of the Commonwealth, to regard it as being out of the running. Coming to the second condition, the necessity for an abundant supply of pure, fresh water, how does Lyndhurst compare with other sites? Its most ardent advocates admit that it is inferior in that respect to any of the other sites. But that is not all. If we turn to the report of the experts, what do we find? It is true that we are told that at an enormous expenditure a sufficient supply could be procured, but that supply does not now exist. If we took any given area, and, calculating the rainfall, made provision for impounding all the water that fell upon it, we should no doubt be able to secure a sufficient supply for a considerable population.

Mr. JOHNSON. — Surely the fact that 125,000,000 gallons of water are daily running to waste in Lyndhurst district ought to be a sufficient guarantee of an adequate supply?

Mr. McLEAN. — We know, from the testimony of the Commissioners who were

appointed to inspect and report on this question, that the water is not there at present.

Mr. KNOX.—Then there is the report of the right honorable member for Swan.

Mr. McLEAN.—Quite so. The principal source of water supply to which the Commissioners referred was, they said, dry on the occasion of their visit. What sort of a source is that from which to draw supplies for the future Capital?

Mr. JOHNSON.—There is even now provision for a temporary supply.

Mr. McLEAN.—The Commissioners reported that if Lyndhurst were selected, a temporary supply for the workmen engaged in erecting the necessary Federal buildings could be procured by constructing a dam some eight miles distant from the site, and the water would have to be conveyed from that point to the Capital. When we remember that the population of the Federal Capital for a very long time to come is likely to be very limited, we must recognise that it would be undesirable to select a site at which an enormous expenditure would have to be incurred to procure a supply which would be sufficient for requirements, even during the early years of its existence. At any of the other sites we should be able to obtain a sufficient supply for many years to come without incurring any expense. Where streams of pure, fresh water are running through the territories proposed to be selected, it would not be necessary to go to any expense to secure a sufficient supply. In this most essential condition, therefore, Lyndhurst is absolutely wanting; and is a very bad last when compared with the other sites. If we consider the feature of natural beauty and picturesqueness of locality, even its most ardent admirers have admitted that in that respect it is far inferior to any of the other sites. It would be interesting to know what qualifications it does possess, except the one that it will give a monopoly of trade to one city for all time. It possesses none of the essential features required in the site for the Federal Capital.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—In the opinion of the honorable member.

Mr. McLEAN.—I am not giving merely my own opinion. I am referring honorable members to the reports submitted for our consideration. Let us take the feature of the possession of good productive land, and how does Lyndhurst compare in that respect with the other sites? The honor-

able member for Macquarie is, I believe, unconsciously biased, and on that account leans a good deal to one side; although I am perfectly sure that, as one of the strongest advocates of the Lyndhurst site, he is acting quite conscientiously. The honorable member quoted a number of figures to show that a greater area of land has been cultivated in the Lyndhurst district than in the Monaro district, but he did not quote a single figure which was of the slightest value to the Committee in comparing the fertility of the soil in the two localities. No doubt there is a greater area of land being cultivated in the Lyndhurst district, for the simple reason that the settlers in that district have the advantage of direct railway communication with Sydney, whilst the people in the Bombala district have not that advantage, and have no possible means of exporting produce. It would be impossible for the people of the Bombala district to grow profitably any more produce than is required for local consumption; but they have cultivated for local consumption a far greater area of land than is necessary to enable us to prove the quality of the soil as compared with that in the Lyndhurst district. I should not have entered upon the comparison if the honorable member for Macquarie had not compared the areas under cultivation, which, by themselves, are most misleading. If the honorable member had given us the yields per acre in the two districts—the only figures of any value at all in comparing the relative merits of soil and climate for purposes of production—we should have found that the case wore a very different complexion. The Commissioners have submitted to us certain figures which they obtained from the Agricultural Department of New South Wales. They took the average yield of crops over a period of eight years, and I find from their report that in the Lyndhurst district the average yield of wheat over that period was 11 bushels per acre; whilst in the Bombala district it was 12·1 bushels per acre. The yield of maize in the Lyndhurst district was 10·3 bushels per acre, and in the Bombala district 40·3 bushels, nearly 300 per cent. greater.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—A little picked spot.

Mr. McLEAN.—There were 12,513 acres cultivated in the Bombala district, and one-tenth of that area would be ample to test the qualities of the soil.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—How much maize altogether is grown at Bombala?

Mr. McLEAN.—I have given the total area under cultivation. The honorable member is at liberty to look out other statistics for himself.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—In parts of the Eden-Monaro district, as much as £100 an acre has been paid for land on which to cultivate maize.

Mr. McLEAN.—The barley crop in the Lyndhurst district produced 16·7 bushels per acre, and in the Bombala district 25·1 bushels. The Lyndhurst district produced 18·58 bushels of oats per acre, and the Bombala district 20·9 bushels. The average yield per acre of potatoes in the Lyndhurst district for the period mentioned was 1·7 tons, whilst in Bombala the average yield was 2·6 tons, or nearly double the Lyndhurst returns. Honorable members will see that, while in every case the yield from Bombala district is considerably ahead, in the case of potatoes it is nearly double, and in the case of maize it is nearly four times the yield of the Lyndhurst district. Honorable members should remember that these are two crops which require good land, whilst a fair crop of cereals can be grown on very poor land. The crops in respect of which the Lyndhurst district most nearly approaches the yields in the Monaro district are crops requiring the poorest land to produce them; but when we come to compare crops requiring really rich land Lyndhurst is nowhere as compared with Bombala. Taking every qualification that is essential for a judicious selection of a site for the Seat of Government, Lyndhurst is a bad last when compared with the other sites suggested. I have looked at the matter as impartially as I can, and I cannot discover a single qualification in respect of which Lyndhurst approaches anywhere near the Bombala site.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—Has the honorable member read the "Case for the West"? Has he looked at the pictures in that pamphlet?

Mr. McLEAN.—I have. There is no doubt that the pictures are very pretty, and the pamphlet reflects great credit on those who have got it up. Their labour and energy in the cause of Lyndhurst have been worthy of a very much better cause, and my only regret is that they have not been expended in a better cause. The next site to which I will refer is that which is called "the southern site." So far as good productive land is concerned, it probably stands highest of all. I am not personally

acquainted with the land, but I have carefully watched the stock that has come from that district during the last quarter of a century, and if I see the stock coming from a district, and have some idea of the number of stock run there, I can readily tell the character of the land in the district. There can be no doubt that in the matter of productive land the Upper Murray site probably stands first. In my opinion it complies with all the essential conditions but one, and that is that, like Lyndhurst, it is too far from a shipping port. If there were no available site possessing the necessary qualifications nearer to a shipping port, I should not hesitate to vote for the Upper Murray site. In the circumstances, as we know them, I can only place it second. I admit that it possesses a good climate, soil, and water supply, local features of natural beauty, and all the other essential qualifications. But I think that for a Federal Capital it is rather too far from a shipping port. So far as centrality and accessibility are concerned, the Monaro sites far surpass any of the others. The town of Bombala is exactly midway between Melbourne and Sydney, and is just a little further from Hobart than from Sydney. Bombala is about as central a spot as could be obtained, having in view Melbourne, Sydney, and Hobart; and it is about equi-distant between Brisbane and Adelaide. Therefore, so far as five States are concerned, Bombala is probably the most central by the available routes of commerce—by water communication. Bombala is the only site which would enable the commerce of the Federal territory to be maintained with distant States. The one State which is far removed is, of course, Western Australia. That State will always be heavily handicapped as compared with the other States; but, seeing that the Capital must be in New South Wales, Bombala would afford the nearest available port for Western Australia.

Mr. FOWLER.—We shall travel to the Federal Capital by rail, and not by sea.

Mr. McLEAN.—The honorable member may travel by rail; but he must admit that the commerce of the Federal territory could not be carried on by the same means of communication.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—We should also have to reach Lyndhurst by rail.

Mr. McLEAN.—There must be water communication if there is to be commercial intercourse between the Federal Capital

and the other States; and that water communication can only be got by one means—the world's great highway. We see that even for distant Western Australia, Twofold Bay is the nearest port that could be selected. If honorable members look at the available routes of traffic they will see that in respect of accessibility the Monaro site is incomparable. That site is not only central and accessible, by means of the port of Twofold Bay, to all the other States of the Commonwealth, but is also accessible to the markets of the outer world, and, having regard to the future, that is a very important consideration. If it is the intention of the Commonwealth to have a large Federal territory, and to develop that territory, it is of the utmost importance that we should be in a position to trade with any part of the world. There is one point with regard to the Lyndhurst site to which I do not think I have referred. That site can be approached only through the territory of one State, and that appears to me to be a fatal defect. We do not know what relations may exist at any future time between the Government of that State and the Government of the Commonwealth. We do not know what conditions might be imposed on traffic by the State Government. If we turn to the Commonwealth Constitution, we find very little consolation. While prohibiting preferential or differential railway rates, the Constitution provides that due regard must be had to the financial conditions of the railways, and also to the development of the territory. Those conditions were inserted in the Constitution by the representatives of New South Wales in order to secure the trade of the Riverina. I have heard that said by the representatives of New South Wales themselves, so that it is no mere assumption on my part; and I give them all credit for the object which they had in view. The Riverina is a part of New South Wales, and it was quite excusable on the part of the representatives of that State in the Convention to do what they could to secure the trade of that district for their own capital. That was the object of placing those conditions in the Constitution; and I venture to say that there is no legal member of this House who could tell us exactly what the meaning of the words of the Constitution is, or what interpretation might be placed on them by the High Court or by an Inter-State Commission. In my opinion, the fact that one of the proposed sites is accessible only through the territory of one State presents

a disqualification which should put that site "out of the running." A Federal Capital site should be accessible through more than one State, and the sites in the Monaro districts are the only ones which comply with all conditions as to accessibility. These sites are equally accessible by water from the capitals of all the States, and are also open to communication with the markets of the world. In all other respects, the Monaro sites possess to a very large extent qualifications which I consider essential.

Mr. FOWLER. — Would the honorable member make Twofold Bay Federal territory?

Mr. McLEAN. — I certainly would, even if it were only to the extent of a narrow strip of land. I should like the Federal territory to extend right to the shipping port, so that the Commonwealth need be under no obligation to any State, but should be able to export and import direct.

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON. — Would the honorable member make Twofold Bay a safe harbor?

Mr. McLEAN.—I should do my level best to do so.

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—That means a gigantic expense.

Mr. McLEAN. — I should carry out those works only as the increase of population warranted. It would not, of course, be necessary to go to great expense in the initial stages; but as population increased we could gradually develop the resources and carry out the necessary works.

Mr. JOHNSON. — Has the honorable member for Gippsland seen the harbor at Twofold Bay?

Mr. McLEAN.—No, I have not. But I have read most carefully the description of that harbor, and have considered the opinions of experts. I do not profess to have any engineering knowledge, or familiarity with navigation, which would enable me, as a layman, to give an opinion of any value; I am guided by the opinions of men who know.

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—And the report of those men is that there must be a tremendous expenditure on a break-water.

Mr. McLEAN.—It may ultimately be necessary to incur considerable expense.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—A sum of £150,000 would do all that is necessary.

Mr. McLEAN.—We know that the railway from Sydney already extends into the

Monaro territory, and only a slight extension would be necessary to whatever site might be selected on the tableland. Railway communication through New South Wales could be obtained at very moderate expenditure; and there is not the slightest doubt that within a reasonable time there will also be direct railway communication from Victoria. An honorable member interjected the other night that the railway from Victoria would cost more than would the water supply at Lyndhurst. Surely there is a great difference between sinking money in a dead concern, which will give no return, and investing money in a reproductive work?

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—But there will also be heavy expenditure necessary for a water supply at Bombala.

Mr. McLEAN.—I have already pointed out that for years to come the small population which may be expected need not incur any expenditure on that account, having regard to the running rivers which are there available. Those rivers will give a sufficient water supply for many years to come.

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—But the rivers are below the level.

Mr. McLEAN.—When the population arrives there, further expenditure on this score may be incurred. It may be contended that the railway from Victoria would not pay for some years to come. So far as traffic is concerned that would probably be true; but honorable members should bear in mind that millions of acres would be opened up by such a line—a considerable area of which is extremely rich land. In fact, I think that in East Gippsland would be found some of the richest land on the Continent of Australia. To give honorable members an idea of the productiveness of the land, I may mention that on the river flats 100 bushels of maize to the acre is quite a common crop. Last year there were numbers of crops that went over 100 bushels to the acre on the Orbost flats. There is a considerable area of extremely rich land in the valleys of the Tambo, Snowy, and Buchan rivers. There are also good jungle lands in the McCulloch ranges. In addition to the land that would be brought into agriculture, there are vast extents of magnificent forest. Splendid timber can be obtained. There is also an enormous quantity of mineral wealth. There are large iron deposits, as well as gold and silver and other minerals. In fact, I might remind honorable members that about three or four years ago a private com-

pany, for the sake of the minerals, offered to construct a railway to Mount Deddick, on the Snowy River, at their own expense, on most reasonable terms, as far as I can remember. I think that the bargain fell through only because the company were not willing to agree to the conditions of resumption which the Victorian Government sought to impose. So that honorable members will see that there is not only the traffic to the Federal Capital which could be relied upon to make a railway pay. The loading of the land to a very small extent per acre with the cost of construction would pay a very considerable portion of the cost. In that way the State of Victoria would get back a considerable amount of the outlay, and the investment would be reproductive indirectly, apart from the direct traffic on the line. Looking at the matter all round, I intend to vote for the Monaro site. The Upper Murray site, as I have already stated, possesses, in my opinion, every condition that is essential, with the one exception that it is not by any means as accessible by water as are the Monaro sites; and that is the only means of keeping up commercial relations with the various States. Except for that I should feel disposed to vote for it, because I believe the land of the Upper Murray is better than the land of the Monaro sites; although there is a very large area of very good land at Monaro. My own firm have sold from the vicinity of Bombala some of the best cattle that I had seen in the Melbourne markets since our business was established here. Even after travelling over the mountains down to Bairnsdale, and being trucked from there—and honorable members who have any knowledge of stock must be aware that heavy prime bullocks lose something in condition in travelling over mountainous country—they fetched high prices. I do not like to mention figures from memory, but the price they realized was a record price for many years prior to that date. I think that the price has been surpassed during the years of drought, but only on one or two occasions. That is a sufficient proof of what the Monaro land is capable of producing. The climate of Monaro is probably as healthy as can be found in any part of Australia. It is quite true that it is cold in winter; but the atmosphere is dry, crisp, and healthy. I have heard it referred to by doctors as an ideal site for the establishment of a sanatorium; and any place that would be selected for that purpose by skilled medical

men cannot be objected to on the score of climate. As to natural beauty, I think that every honorable member admits that either of the Monaro sites possesses that qualification to a very large extent. There can be no question that there is an abundant water supply, not only for stock and domestic purposes, but also for irrigation, for making artificial lakes, for motive power, for generating electricity, or for any other purpose to which water power can be successfully applied. I believe that the Upper Murray site also possesses those advantages to a very large extent. But, looking at the matter all round, the Monaro site, so far as I can judge, possesses all the qualifications for a Capital city, and it is far in advance of other places in regard to accessibility and centrality of position—that is, of course, by means of water communication, which I contend is the only means by which commercial relations can be established or maintained with the other States. If we were to show the map of Australia to intelligent foreigners, and ask them to look at the different sites and say from the stand-point of outsiders which was preferable, I am perfectly sure that nine out of ten would point to the site that is near the port of Twofold Bay. A very good instance of the view that is likely to be taken by an unbiased observer is afforded in the case of our own Senate. The Senate is composed of an equal number of members from each State. From the stand-point of the different States the members are much better qualified to give a disinterested opinion than we are, because our House represents population, and population may shift. In two successive Parliaments, the representatives of all the States in the Senate, bringing their collective wisdom to bear on the question, have selected a Monaro site by large majorities. That, I think, should have an influence with impartial minds. I sincerely hope that we shall follow in the footsteps of the Senate. If we make a wise selection we shall deserve the gratitude of future generations, but if we commit a serious error of judgment, such as I think we should if we selected that inland site, I fear that posterity would have very little reason to feel grateful for the manner in which we discharged our trust when their destiny was in our hands.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK (Parramatta).—I listened to the honorable member for Gippsland to see if I could, by any possibility,

agree with him on some point, and I confess that I cannot find a single point of agreement with him. He has told us once again how necessary it is that we must be fair and impartial in our treatment of this matter; how much, for instance, we must keep in mind Australia, and not the interests of a State. He has told us, for the twentieth time during this debate, that we must take our minds off any particular State, and keep them concentrated on Australia, and he has asked the question,—“What would a foreigner say if he were handed a map of Australia and shown the sites that were located thereon?” I ask, in all seriousness, would it be a fair thing to show a foreigner a map only? Would not the fair thing be to show him a map and the Constitution? Would not the fair thing be, before inviting him to decide, to ask him to study the arrangement which was deliberately made by the States relative to the question of a site? That would be the first thing, I should think, which any fair-minded man would do with a stranger whom he wished to arbitrate on this most important matter. The honorable member for Gippsland does not put the case fairly when he makes this suggestion without reference to any bargain or arrangement—which, by the way, he has already described as the arrangement of a Shylock. That arrangement, whatever it is, ought to be honoured by the people of Australia, not in its technique, or letter, but in its substance and spirit. That is the point we are making in setting out to argue this question. The test of loyalty and patriotism, about which we have heard so much, is in the Constitution, and I ask honorable members to keep that in mind when we consider the question of locating the site. Almost every honorable member who has taken part in this debate has rated some other honorable member, who happened to differ from him, because of his provincialism. It is just as well that we should clear our minds from any such cant as this, because the test of what is provincial or patriotic or Federal must always be sought in the Constitution. It is Federal to keep that bond, and to keep it above any other consideration. I urge that point as a preliminary to all other considerations. We are not free to put the Capital Site where we think it ought to be if that place be outside New South Wales. And I submit that we are not free, if we intend to honour the spirit of the Constitution, to put it at the furthest possible limit of New South Wales, and

so make the Federal State, when constituted, of less use and service to New South Wales than to any other State.

Mr. SKENE.—What does the honorable member mean by "less use and service?"

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I hope to tell the honorable member before I finish my speech, if he will wait a little. If honorable members put this site on the Upper Murray, it will be of no use to New South Wales. And, to tell me that New South Wales understood, when she was agreeing to this arrangement, and making it the basis of her acceptance of the Constitution, that the Federal Capital was to be located on the most out-of-the-way site that could be selected in that country, is to mis-state the position. The Constitution would not have been the law of the land to-day if the New South Wales people had understood anything of the kind.

Mr. POYNTON.—New South Wales voted for the Constitution without this condition.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The honorable member has said that a dozen times, but there is no point in it.

Mr. POYNTON.—It is the truth nevertheless.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—There is an easy answer to it.

Mr. POYNTON.—What is the answer?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—It was the provision for an affirmative majority of 80,000 which led to such a small vote being cast at the first referendum, and if the honorable member will analyze the vote at the second referendum, he will see how immensely stronger it was on the second occasion than on the first. I hope that he will consider that fact.

Mr. POYNTON.—The majority voted for the acceptance of the Constitution without any conditions.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The electors of New South Wales felt perfectly certain at that time that an affirmative vote of 80,000 would not be reached, and that led to a great deal of apathy, which, however, was swept away when the further arrangement was made, and the Constitution was finally submitted to the vote of the electors.

Mr. POYNTON.—By the politicians of New South Wales, but not the people.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I am very glad that my honorable friend sometimes makes a distinction between politicians and people. I am trying to say what I think is the arrangement which we ought to hold sacred. It is an outrage on that agreement

to suggest any site which would make it immensely more difficult to get from Sydney than from almost any other State in the group. Take the Upper Murray site. We who represent New South Wales would have to go by rail to Culcairn, and thence to Germanton, from which point a railway would have to be made for a distance of thirty or forty miles to the site on the border of Victoria. Is there any substantial concession to New South Wales in locating the Federal Capital there?

Mr. HUTCHISON.—What concession is she entitled to?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The concession that is spoken of in this bond—that the Capital shall be in New South Wales. When New South Wales has surrendered this land it will become Federal territory.

Mr. SKENE.—Only the Crown land would have to be surrendered.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Private land will have to be purchased; but the bulk of the land belongs to the Crown, and, therefore, will not require to be purchased. After the land has been made over to the Commonwealth, it will no longer be part of New South Wales; therefore the Capital Site will be just as much outside New South Wales as outside any other State. I wish to know where the compensation to New South Wales comes in, for the sacrifice which she will have to make in the granting of this land, and probably—for this is in the minds of honorable members—the making of a railway to connect the Capital with the nearest railway point. Is there any motive for New South Wales to spend half-a-million for a railway, and give away all this Crown land for the purpose of fixing a Capital Site which will not be of the slightest possible advantage to her? That was not the meaning of the Constitution. Therefore, I contend, we have a right to keep the Constitution in mind before we set out to find the Capital Site, and the selection of a site must always be subject to the arrangement made in the Constitution. It is not a fair way of putting the matter when the honorable member for Gippsland suggests that we should give a map to a foreigner and ask him to say where the Capital Site ought to be located. Another speaker suggested on Friday that we should import an American to fix the site for us. We need no American or other foreigner to fix the site. But if honorable members should so far forget themselves as to call in a foreigner, do not give him a map only, because that would be misleading, but give

him a map and call his attention very specifically to the bargain which is in the Constitution.

Mr. POYNTON.—The honorable member would not give any of the other States a say in the settlement of this question, if he had his way.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—That is just as silly, easy, and cheap a thing to say as many others which the honorable member has said. It is a libel upon myself. If the honorable member keeps repeating these statements, he may in time come to believe them. I am prepared to deal as liberally as possible with the other States, and to consent to the site being fixed where it will be convenient for their populations.

Mr. POYNTON.—The honorable member will not allow any one else to form an opinion on the subject. We have heard of nothing but New South Wales during this debate, and I am full of it.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The honorable member is at liberty to express his opinion. I am now stating mine only. I do not wish him to listen to my remarks, unless he chooses to do so, but it is necessary for me to put the case from my stand-point. The matter is of concern to New South Wales, in a sense in which it is not of concern to the other States.

Mr. POYNTON.—It is an Australian matter.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The Constitution provides that the Seat of Government shall be within New South Wales, but some honorable members seem determined to honour the compact between that State and the Commonwealth only in the letter. They virtually break it in the spirit, by saying that the site of the Seat of Government shall be no further within the boundaries of New South Wales than is necessary to fulfil the literal terms of the Constitution. The honorable member for Gippsland could not find a single good point in connexion with the Lyndhurst site. Fair-minded and impartial man that he is, he omitted to state anything that could be said in favour of the Lyndhurst site. Honorable members who berate the representatives of New South Wales for their provincialism are constantly taking that view of the matter. The honorable member for Grey when he speaks will, no doubt, tell us that the site which possesses all the virtues is that which is nearest to the Victorian border, and will have nothing good to say for any site which is substantially within New South Wales, although that is

the arrangement contemplated by the Constitution.

Mr. POYNTON.—I have visited the various sites, but the honorable member has not.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I do not think it necessary to visit some of them. I have not troubled to visit the Upper Murray site, for instance, because I think that sites which are only on the fringe of New South Wales ought not to be taken into consideration.

Mr. POYNTON.—Then the honorable member virtually contends that the other States have no "say" in the matter.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Not at all; but I ask them to honour the constitutional bond in its spirit.

Mr. POYNTON.—All that the Constitution says is that the site of the Seat of Government shall be within New South Wales. I am here to represent, not the interests of any one State, but the interests of Australia.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—So are we all. But this is a bargain between New South Wales and the rest of the Commonwealth, which it is for the honour of Australia to keep. I do not quarrel with the basis of selection suggested by the honorable member for Gippsland. He thinks that centrality and accessibility should be placed first, and that climate should be the next consideration. To my mind, centrality, accessibility, and climate should be the main factors in the determination of the question. I do not, however, agree with the right honorable member for Swan that the Seat of Government should be placed midway between Sydney and Melbourne. I think that it should be located where it will be as convenient as possible to future generations, having regard to the probable trend and development of population.

Mr. GROOM.—This is the first time that the rights of Queensland have been even hinted at.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—What are those rights?

Mr. GROOM.—To be treated in the same way as other States are treated.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The honorable member for Gippsland may despise the opinion of experts; but I think that those who have made it their business to study the movements and growth of population are more likely to be right in what they say on this question than are we who have made no such study. Now, Mr. Coghlan and other experts say that the trend of population is unmistakably to the north. It has been shown over and over again that

Lyndhurst is more central and more accessible than any of the other proposed sites. That has been proved time and again, and notably by the honorable and learned member for Wannon. He showed that for the next twenty, and even fifty, years to come it will be easier for the people of the other States to travel to and from Lyndhurst than to travel to and from any of the other proposed sites. The honorable member for Gippsland referred to the attitude of New South Wales in this matter as analogous to that of Shylock requiring his pound of flesh; but it seems to me that, if the honorable member gives Shylock what he wants, he will see that he gets it all back again. It is news to me to learn that the spirit of the arrangement in the Constitution should be departed from because compliance with it may incidentally benefit one State more than the rest. The honorable member urged as one of his strongest reasons against the selection of the Lyndhurst site the fact that the trade from the Federal territory, if situated at Lyndhurst, might be of advantage to New South Wales.

Mr. McLEAN.—I said that Sydney would have a monopoly of that trade. It could not go to the other States.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—That is certainly a disadvantage to the other States, but it cannot be helped. It flows from the bargain originally made.

Mr. SKENE.—Certainly not. It is no part of the bargain that New South Wales shall secure the whole of the trade of the Federal territory.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Surely the honorable member does not imagine that the trade of the Federal territory will be confined to New South Wales? Whatever is produced there for export will find its natural market, just as the produce from other parts of the Continent does now. It is absurd to say that New South Wales will monopolize it. The honorable member for Gippsland pointed out that it would cost a great deal to give Lyndhurst a water supply; but he did not tell us what the pumping scheme at Monaro would cost when in full working order.

Mr. POYNTON.—At Monaro a supply can be obtained by gravitation.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Yes. An ample supply of water, for all present purposes, can also be obtained at Lyndhurst by means of gravitation. The scheme to which the honorable member for Gippsland referred contemplates only the future. The honorable member, however, with his usual fair-

ness—and I should not put the matter in this way if he had not boasted of his fairness—told us in one breath what the ultimate scheme at Lyndhurst would cost, and in the next informed us that at Monaro there was plenty of water available for immediate purposes. The fact is, that just as there is plenty of water for immediate purposes at Monaro, so there is plenty of water for immediate purposes at Lyndhurst. But the scheme which has been outlined contemplates making provision for the far distant future, when the Federal Capital will contain 100,000 inhabitants. I say that, given equal populations, a water supply at Monaro would cost practically as much as would a supply at Lyndhurst. That is the point which I desire to make, and I complain of the unfair way adopted by some honorable members in putting these facts. These honorable members have accused the advocates of Lyndhurst of being provincialists, who wish to secure an unfair advantage over the other States. Consequently it is necessary for somebody to put the facts in their proper light. I put them forward to show how unfair was the honorable member for Gippsland in dealing with this question of water supply alone. In this connexion he quoted Mr. Wade's figures, but he did not tell the Committee that that officer's estimates were based upon a scheme for supplying a population of 100,000. When questioned in regard to the water supply at Monaro, the honorable member replied "Monaro has plenty of water for immediate purposes." I say that Lyndhurst also has an ample supply of water for immediate purposes, and that the two places are equal in that respect. Another point made by the honorable member was that if Lyndhurst were chosen it would be necessary to bring the water a distance of eight miles. Surely a distance of eight miles is not a very serious consideration in connexion with a scheme for supplying a great city with water? In New South Wales, the water supply for Sydney comes from a source fifty miles distant.

Mr. SKENE.—In Western Australia water is conveyed 300 miles.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—That is so, but I am speaking of Sydney, which possesses a population of 500,000. No difficulty is experienced in supplying that population with an abundance of pure, fresh water. Consequently, if we can show that a supply of water can be obtained at Lyndhurst,

very much nearer than it can be obtained at Sydney, we need not trouble ourselves very much further in regard to that branch of the question. To compare the various sites, from the stand-point of the water supply obtainable—as has been done during the present debate—is pure idealism. To say that there is more water at Bombala than there is at Lyndhurst does not argue anything. Nobody questions that statement. The point which we have to consider is, "Will the Federal Capital be adequately supplied with water at Lyndhurst?" If that question be answered in the affirmative we need not trouble ourselves as to whether there is not more water at Bombala than there is anywhere else. All we have to do is to see that the Federal Capital city is supplied with as much water as it will ever require to use.

Mr. POYNTON.—I suppose the cost of providing an adequate supply does not matter?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I have already spoken of the cost. If the honorable member will look at the official reports he will find that the cost of the Bombala pumping scheme has been carefully kept out of sight during this debate.

Mr. POYNTON.—The Dalgety scheme is not a pumping scheme.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—During this discussion, all the difficulties in connexion with the Monaro sites have been carefully concealed, and when any honorable member has dared to bring them forward, the cry has been instantly raised that he is a provincialist. Take the case of Dalgety. There, it is proposed to obtain a primary supply for a population of 50,000 from the Moamba River, which is the nearest gravitation source to the city site, conveying the water a distance of about thirteen and a half miles. The honorable member for Gippsland did not tell us anything about this matter in his speech. He assured us that there was an abundant supply of water in the Bombala district, but he did not inform us that in the case of Dalgety it had to be conveyed thirteen and a half miles.

Mr. McLEAN.—But Bombala has a river which for many years would provide the city with a sufficient supply of water.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I am speaking of the primary supply, and not of the supply in the distant future. The primary supply for Dalgety would serve only a population of 50,000. But even that supply would

require to be conveyed a distance of thirteen and a half miles. I submit that if the honorable member had desired to be fair he would have placed these figures before the Committee.

Mr. McLEAN.—That eight miles in the case of Lyndhurst refers only to a temporary supply for the workmen.

Mr. POYNTON.—The Dalgety scheme is a gravitation scheme. The honorable member said that it was a pumping scheme.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK. — A pumping scheme there would probably cost as much as would the Lyndhurst scheme. I submit that a fact which can be tested only in 200 or 300 years' time is not very important in the determination of this question. I would further point out that the devotees of other sites, whilst emphasizing every possible drawback in connexion with the Lyndhurst site, have quietly kept in the background all these disadvantages attaching to other sites. The honorable member for Gippsland spoke of the presence of minerals on the line of railway leading towards Bombala from the Victorian side. Is he aware that there is a mineral belt surrounding the Lyndhurst site?

Mr. McLEAN.—But Lyndhurst is connected with a line of railway. I spoke of minerals in connexion with the construction of a railway.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Is the honorable member aware that one of the richest mineral belts in Australia—possibly in the whole world—surrounds the Lyndhurst site?

Mr. McLEAN.—I hope that it is more real than is its water supply.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK. — Does the honorable member know that there is an abundance of gold all through that district? Is he aware that the cross country between Blayney and Harden is supposed to be full of rich copper ore, and that close to the Lyndhurst site—certainly within twenty miles of it—are to be found the iron deposits of Cadia, which are alleged to be the best in Australia?

Mr. McLEAN.—I did not speak of mineral deposits as an attraction in connexion with the Seat of Government, but as an incentive to the construction of a railway.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—These minerals, not being far removed from the Lyndhurst site, would constitute a splendid backing for a big city.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—Why is Lyndhurst not a big city now instead of being a one-horse town?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The honorable member knows the reason as well as I do. He is aware that no iron is being produced in Australia, although the deposits exist there. He also knows that the reason the copper deposits are not being exploited is because of the very defective Mining on Private Lands Act in New South Wales. Nevertheless, these rich deposits are to be found in the western district, and unmistakably they would form a big backing for Lyndhurst—if that place be selected—and one which must make it the most valuable site of all. The honorable member spoke of another possibility, and held it up as a menace to the Committee. He conceived a time—far distant, I hope—when New South Wales might come into conflict with the Federal authority, and when it naturally would be terrible if we could not reach the Federal Capital without going through her territory. That is a harmonious and Federal argument to advance. What a fine Federal spirit is shown in the suggestion that we should contemplate a time—and prepare for it by taking steps to avoid any difficulty—when there shall be such bitter and dire enmity between one State and all the others as to preclude even the possibility of our travelling over the railways of that one State! I should be ashamed to seriously advance such an argument.

Mr. McLEAN.—The honorable member might some day be Premier of New South Wales, and we know his provincialism.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—My provincialism is a little less than that of the honorable member, but I do not persist as he does in mouthing my patriotism. I am not continually denouncing every other honorable member as a provincialist. The honorable member has succeeded in making the champion provincial speech of the debate.

Mr. McLEAN.—The honorable member's index finger looks rather threatening when he shakes it at one.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I do not wish to threaten the honorable member; it would be useless to do so. The honorable member may talk about provincialism as much as he pleases, but I have yet to learn that patriotism is a quality that one must constantly asseverate. In connexion with this matter, actions speak louder than words, and the attitude taken up by the honorable member during this debate has shown that he is a provincialist.

Mr. McLEAN.—Is one guilty of provincialism in advocating the rights of all the States?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—No.

Mr. McLEAN.—That is all that I have done.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—It is only fair to advocate the rights of all the States as long as the compact made in the Constitution is substantially honoured.

Mr. McLEAN.—I hold that we must keep to that compact.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I am prepared to consider, so far as I am able, every State in the Union, as long as the arrangement in the bond is honoured. I do not think that the honorable member is prepared to honour it.

Mr. McLEAN.—I wish to see the most central site selected.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I am inclined to think that the honorable member in some of his proposals is outraging that arrangement. Let me refer for a moment to the Upper Murray site. It is nearer to almost any other State than it is to Sydney, and I have yet to learn that the compact arrived at was not a substantial concession to New South Wales.

Mr. SKENE.—Not to Sydney.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—It was, in effect, a substantial concession to Sydney, because the agitation centred in that city.

Mr. KELLY.—Is not Sydney the centre of the coast line, and therefore the centre of the most populated portion of New South Wales?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I submit that Lyndhurst is the most central site suggested. If we turn from the present to the future we must recognise that it will be the most accessible site.

Mr. McLEAN.—By means of a camel service?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I hope that, so far as this matter is concerned, we have left the days of camel services behind. If Lyndhurst were selected, the Capital would be within 600 or 700 miles of Brisbane, whereas if the site favoured by the honorable member for Gippsland were chosen the Capital would be 1,000 miles from that city.

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—That would be too bad.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Then, again, Lyndhurst is more accessible from Melbourne than any of the sites mentioned by the honorable member.

Mr. McLEAN.—The site which I specially mentioned is about midway between Brisbane and Adelaide. Then there is Perth, beyond Adelaide again, to consider.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I am now speaking of means of communication. The honorable member has probably in mind, not a camel route, but one which would have to be traversed by means of a balloon.

Mr. McLEAN.—I am speaking of a water service.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I have in mind, not a camel route, but a railway service. I am afraid the honorable member for Gippsland is taking the radial distances which would have to be negotiated by ships or balloons, or some such means of locomotion. I am speaking of available means of communication, and I repeat that Lyndhurst is nearer Victoria and Queensland than is any of the other sites which have yet been mentioned. Now, what is the position of Western Australia? If the transcontinental railway be constructed, as perhaps it will be, in the future, Lyndhurst will be nearer Western Australia than is any of the other sites suggested during this debate. My main point is, therefore, that Lyndhurst is the one central site proposed, because it affords the maximum means of convenience and accessibility to almost every State in the group, excepting, perhaps, Tasmania and South Australia. The last-named State, of course, cannot hope to secure the degree of convenience that would accrue to others from the selection of Lyndhurst; but having regard to the great bulk of the population, and considering the drift of population, Lyndhurst is the point which gives most accessibility and centrality. What of its climate? I have not heard any one impugn it. No one has disputed that its climate is excellent, and I would also point out that it has an adequate water supply. I say no more than that. I am not going to urge that the water supply of Lyndhurst is as good as that of Bombala, or that there are millions of tons of water daily running to waste in the district. I simply assert that there is an adequate supply at Lyndhurst for all the future requirements of the Capital. There is as much water there as we shall ever require, and we should, therefore, experience no difficulty in that respect in selecting it. The fact that it has an abundance of water, and an excellent climate, and boasts of centrality and accessibility, such as no other site furnishes, seems to me to point unmistakably to Lyndhurst as the

proper site for the location of the Federal Capital. I have no desire to say anything about the Upper Murray site; except that we heard the other day a great deal about its beauties and its climate. I have yet to learn, however, that we should select a site merely because of its picturesque-ness. No one has pointed out more clearly that has the right honorable member for East Sydney, that persons will not go to the Federal Capital merely to enjoy its scenery; they will go there, for the main part, to do business, and if we provide them with business conveniences the rest may very well be left to take care of itself. The honorable member for Southern Melbourne gave his whole case away on Friday last, when he told us that, although Edinburgh was the prettiest city in the world, the galaxy of witty men and pretty women of which it boasted left it for the fogs of London, because the capital was the social centre. I therefore say that we ought not to give undue importance to the consideration of beautiful surroundings. If we can secure them in addition to the factors I have named, well and good, but they are embellishments pure and simple, and not the essentials of a good Capital Site. The honorable member for Hume told us that there was an abundance of fish available in the Upper Murray, and that if one cared he might make a catch every morning. As a commentary on this statement, I might mention that I read in the report of the Water Commission which met a little while ago, that there are no fish in the river—that the stream is so muddy that the fish have been absolutely destroyed.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Where was this?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—In the Upper Murray—in these parts.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Why not talk a little sense?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK. — Because the honorable member has a monopoly of it. He never opens his mouth but he puts his foot in it.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—And the honorable member never opens his mouth without making an ass of himself.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I must ask that that scandalous remark shall be withdrawn.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I withdraw it.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The honorable member will find evidence in support of all that I have said in regard to the destruction of fish in the report of the Commission,

provided that he has the intelligence to understand it.

Mr. KENNEDY.—The fish have been destroyed at a point considerably below the site proposed.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I have no desire to refer to any other statement made by the honorable member who preceded me, except to say that I think his speech showed that he had already made up his mind as to the desirableness of a particular site, and that all his arguments were built up to support that predilection.

Mr. McLEAN.—I shall vote for the district which I supported before.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The honorable member simply left out of sight every qualification that would commend any other site, and at the same time took care to emphasize every good point associated with the site which he favours. On the other hand, looking at the question as impartially as I am able to do—and I hope that I regard the matter as one who has just as little to gain from it as has any other honorable member—I hold that Lyndhurst is the most desirable site. It is immaterial to me where the Capital is established; but looking to the future of Australia, and to the convenience of the people principally interested in the Federal site, I think that Lyndhurst more than any other site offers the advantages of accessibility and centrality. Its climate is unquestioned; its scenery is good; its water supply is adequate, and it possesses, therefore, all the materials essential to the building up of a large, prosperous, and up-to-date city.

Mr. SKENE (Grampians).—I shall labour under a disadvantage in dealing with this question, because the site which I favour has not been done justice in the matter of inspection. I am sure that had it been inspected as closely as have the other sites it would have stood very much higher in the estimation of a good many honorable members. Some honorable members, notably, the right honorable member for East Sydney, the right honorable member for Swan, and the honorable member for Eden-Monaro, have expressed their surprise that the Upper Murray site should have been at the last moment dragged in for our consideration; they do not appear to have heard before of the Upper Murray as a suggested site.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—We expressed, not surprise, but astonishment.

Mr. SKENE.—I should like to know where these honorable members were on the

25th September, 1902, when the honorable member for Hume, who was then Minister of Home Affairs, moved that a Committee of experts be appointed to examine and report upon sites in the localities of Albury, Bombala, Lake George, Orange, and Tumut. On that occasion—at the very initiation of the proposal to inspect the various sites—the honorable member, having referred to Tumut, proceeded to discuss the Upper Murray site. He said—

Tumut is one of the prettiest and most fertile valleys in New South Wales. It will be noticed that there is no proposal in regard to the Upper Murray, though, in my opinion, the finest and most beautiful valley in Australia is to be there found—it is Tumut on a triple scale—and I hope that later on honorable members will take the opportunity of visiting the district.

At a later stage, he said—

I now come to the Bombala site, and have to say that Dalgety is not amongst the places which it is proposed to refer to experts.

I wish to draw the attention of the Committee to the fact that in the first place the Minister did not propose that Dalgety should be inspected, but contemplated taking honorable members on a visit of inspection to the Upper Murray.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—Why was not the Upper Murray site subjected to the same scrutiny as was Dalgety?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Because the honorable member was so persistent.

Mr. SKENE.—I also should like to have some information on that point. On the same day, whilst the then Minister of Home Affairs was speaking, I interjected—and the report will be found in *Hansard*, Vol. XII., page 16135—

Will the inspection of the Albury site include an inspection of the Upper Murray site?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—No; there is no need for that, because the water supply of Albury is an assured one.

Then the report proceeds—

Mr. SKENE.—The honorable gentleman spoke very favorably of the Upper Murray site as being a very picturesque place.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—The matter is a very delicate one for me to refer to, inasmuch as there are two sites in my electorate which have already been put forward as suitable for the Federal Capital.

Mr. SKENE.—Might not the Commissioners be allowed to report upon the whole locality within a certain distance of any proposed site?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I hope that I shall not be called upon to give an opinion upon the Upper Murray site, but I intend to ask a few members of the House to visit it during the summer months, and I shall be guided by what they think of it, and of the probability of any site so far south being selected.

Mr. SKENE.—But the Albury site is equally far south.

I then urged upon the Minister that those sites should be inspected together, Dalgety with Bombala, and the Upper Murray with Albury. Coming to the next session of Parliament, an inspection was made of these different sites, with the exception of the Upper Murray site, an inspection of which had been promised. I then tried to find out the reason why Dalgety had been inspected, when there was no promise that it would be inspected, and why the Upper Murray had not been inspected, although a promise had been made that it would be. I do not know where honorable members were on that occasion. That was a year afterwards, in September, 1903.

Mr. CROUCH.—Was it not an attempt to get the honorable member's vote for Tumut by a subterfuge?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—That is an unworthy suggestion of any member of the Committee. The honorable and learned member ought to be ashamed of himself.

Mr. SKENE.—I mention these matters, because it has been suggested that the Upper Murray site is a new site. I desire to show that from the very beginning I have persistently urged that this site should be inspected, because I heard it so well spoken of. On the 7th October, 1903, I moved—

That after the word "Tumut" the words "including the Upper Murray" be inserted.

I said then—

I am led to move this amendment by the fact that when the proposal to refer the various sites to a Commission of experts was under discussion the present Minister for Trade and Customs referred to the Upper Murray site, and made a promise from which he can hardly escape.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I have not endeavoured to escape from any promise.

Mr. SKENE.—Quite so.

I do not know why I said "quite so" then. Because afterwards it was not quite so, and the site was not inspected. I was ruled out of order on that particular amendment, and I afterwards proposed—

That the schedule be amended by the insertion of the words "Upper Murray."

After debate that amendment was negatived, but what I have quoted shows clearly that, so far from this being a new matter, the selection of the Upper Murray site has been considered from the very beginning. If such sites as Lyndhurst and Dalgety, which were absolutely rejected by this House on the last occasion when this matter was before

it, are to be brought in, surely the Upper Murray site may well be brought in along with them. We are not selecting a Capital Site for to-day or to-morrow, but for all time, and I certainly think that it would be well even now, if there is a site which honorable members may consider better than those which have been so thoroughly surveyed, that we should have a thorough survey of that site. There is no disguising the fact that political considerations will weigh a great deal in this matter. It is a great pity that it should be so, but it is nevertheless the fact. The right honorable member for East Sydney the other night accused the supporters of the Upper Murray site of being desirous of getting as far away from Sydney as possible. I have possibly been the most persistent in endeavouring to secure the selection of this site, but I deny altogether that I have ever had any idea of doing an injustice to Sydney or to any other part of the Commonwealth. "Let the gall'd jade wince." I am the keeper of my own conscience, and I intend to vote upon this matter upon what I conscientiously believe to be broad national grounds.

Mr. McLEAN.—The honorable member voted in favour of Sydney itself last session.

Mr. SKENE.—I remember that I tried to introduce an amendment of the kind.

Mr. FULLER.—The honorable member knew that that was impossible.

Mr. SKENE.—One thing I should like to know is what Sydney has specially to do with this matter. Our compact is with New South Wales, and not with Sydney. To my mind there are only two conceivable ways of looking at the compact. From the very beginning of the agitation for Federation I have taken a very considerable interest in the matter of the probable Capital Site. I know that in 1891 or 1892 I read an article in the *Nineteenth Century*, written by the right honorable member for East Sydney, in which the right honorable gentleman gave several reasons why New South Wales was not likely to come into the Federation. With one exception all the reasons stated at the time seemed to be arguable, and that one was the uncertainty as to the site of the Federal Capital. The right honorable gentleman was afterwards successful in getting a clause put into the Constitution, providing that the Capital should be in New South Wales. I say, there are only two conceivable ideas which can occur to one with

regard to that. New South Wales is the oldest and most populous of the States, and returns the greatest number of representatives to this House. I have it on the authority of the President of the Senate, Sir Richard Baker, that the proposal was made in the first Convention, that Ballarat should be the Capital. I do not know whether it was actually proposed that Ballarat should be the Capital, but, at any rate, it was suggested.

Mr. CONROY.—I can assure the honorable member that Sir Edmund Barton put it that there would be substantial agreement, and that the spirit of the Constitution would be carried out.

Mr. SKENE.—I propose to give honorable members my view of the matter, and, if I understand it at all, it is my desire to carry out the spirit of the Constitution as generously as possible. In my view there are only two ways of looking at the question. Ballarat having been suggested in the Convention as the possible Capital, naturally the representatives of New South Wales saw that there would be a chance of their having to travel a long distance out of their own State to reach the Seat of Government. The Premier of that State at the time, the right honorable member for East Sydney—very properly, I think—made a proposal that the Capital should be in New South Wales, simply in order to prevent New South Wales representatives having to travel a great distance out of their own State to reach the Capital.

Mr. CONROY.—No, no.

Mr. SKENE.—Will the honorable member allow me for a moment. I ask what is the alternative. Is it not what the honorable member for Parramatta has just repudiated—that preference should be given to the city of Sydney, that the protection of distance should be considered in the interests of the trade and commerce of Sydney? That would be an outrage upon all the principles professed by the Leader of the Opposition, the right honorable member for East Sydney, and the honorable member for Parramatta.

Mr. CONROY.—It was really thought that the Capital should be Sydney, as being the oldest city in Australia.

Mr. SKENE.—That was suggested originally; but we have now to deal with the restriction of distance from Sydney. There are but the two ways of looking at the matter—that the representatives of New South Wales, being the largest body of representatives returned to this Parliament,

should not have to travel to a distance out of their own State, or that there should be protection afforded to the trade and commerce of New South Wales, a suggestion which the honorable member for Parramatta has repudiated, and, I think, rightly repudiated.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I repudiate it only to this extent: I am prepared to say now that New South Wales thought she was going to get some slight trading advantage from the arrangement.

Mr. SKENE.—Then I must say that I do not think the honorable member can produce a single scrap of documentary evidence in support of his contention. I have sought for it, and I have listened to the right honorable member for East Sydney without discovering anything of the kind. I asked the right honorable member for Balaclava his reason for agreeing to the 100-miles limit from Sydney, and he told me that it was simply because he did not believe in having the Federal Capital in a big city.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—According to the report of an interview with him, which appeared in the press a little time ago, the right honorable member said that his reason was to exclude the district of Mossvale.

Mr. SKENE.—The honorable gentleman has told me that his objection was to the Federal Capital being fixed in a big city. According to my reading of the compact, it is perfectly in accordance with national instinct that the Capital should be in New South Wales. The representatives of New South Wales being in a majority in this Parliament, should not be dragged out of their own State to attend the Federal Parliament, as they would have to be if Ballarat were chosen as the site for the Federal city. But to say that the object in selecting the site is to give a preference in trade or commerce to New South Wales is almost an outrage upon decency.

Mr. CONROY.—But, apart from that, has not New South Wales to give up certain territory to secure any advantage there may be from the selection of a site in that State?

Mr. SKENE.—New South Wales may or may not give up territory. She has only to give up territory which happens to be Crown lands. The New South Wales Government is not supposed to purchase land for us if we require a Capital Site in

that State. If New South Wales is not prepared to carry out the compact I say let her not do it, and we can purchase land on which to establish the Capital. In suggesting the site on the Upper Murray, it never entered into my mind, and I had no intention at all of suggesting a site which would remove the Capital to a distance from Sydney. In making the suggestion, I thought I was doing what was best in the interests of the people of Australia.

Mr. CONROY.—I do not think the honorable member could find anybody in New South Wales who does not think the proposal a departure from the spirit of the Constitution.

Mr. SKENE.—I cannot help what the people of New South Wales may think in that way. I have not the remotest idea as to how the matter was put before them, but I may say that, in travelling by the train in New South Wales, I met one very intelligent man, a railway conductor, who told me that, as he understood it, the intention was that the Government of New South Wales should select the Capital. He assured me that that was the way the matter had been put before him.

Mr. CONROY.—I accept that interpretation. Does the honorable member think that the State Government of New South Wales would select the Upper Murray site?

Mr. SKENE.—The honorable and learned member spoke of the way in which the matter had been put before the people of New South Wales, and I have mentioned that one man stated the way in which it was put before him.

Mr. CONROY.—What is the difference in climate between Albury and Welaregang?

Mr. SKENE.—I shall deal with that directly. The two things which I considered particularly were accessibility, not for to-day, but under reasonable conditions for a reasonable time, and a gravitation water supply.

Mr. WILKS.—On the ground of accessibility we should take Lyndhurst as being most nearly the centre of population.

Mr. SKENE.—It may be in the future.

Mr. WILKS.—It is, on the figures for to-day.

Mr. SKENE.—I do not know that, but I believe that Sir George Clarke was right when he said that probably the bulk of the population of Australia would be confined to the fringe of coast lands.

Mr. CONROY.—I rather agree with that.

Mr. SKENE.—If we take the country from Brisbane right round to Adelaide, we shall find that that is the case, and in that view Lyndhurst is further north than the centre of population will eventually be.

Mr. CONROY.—I do not know that. If we consider the Northern Coast district of New South Wales, and the Southern Coast district of Queensland, including the Darling Downs, I think we shall find that the centre of population will be north of Sydney.

Mr. SKENE.—I have no desire, in arguing this matter, to depreciate any State, but I may say that Queensland has not been regarded favorably, from a financial point of view, by Victorian people, for many years past. Possibly I am doing Queensland an injustice.

Mr. DAVID THOMSON.—We must not say a word against Queensland.

Mr. SKENE.—All I know is that there has been a tremendous lot of Victorian money lost in Queensland. If the Victorian people had the money they have lost in Queensland and in western New South Wales they could pay the whole of the Victorian debt.

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—We must not forget the money which Victorian people have made in those States.

Mr. SKENE.—When I was first called upon to consider the question, I regarded it from the point of view of accessibility, and the prospects of a gravitation water supply. Proceeding, as it were, from the Sydney end, the first place I came upon that in any way "filled the bill" was Tumut. That site was first reported on favorably by Mr. Oliver, who gave it second place, and, I believe, it was given first place by the Royal Commission. I should be very glad if a site, with all the advantages which I have described, could be found nearer Sydney; but I think I shall be able to show that the Upper Murray site is not so unfair to the interests of that city as some honorable members seem to suppose. Some honorable members have made wild statements about the cost of a railway line from Tumut to the suggested site of the Capital.

Mr. CONROY.—Would the honorable member suggest a site at Tooma itself?

Mr. SKENE.—I do not say that the site should be at Tooma; there are other places in that district. What I am contending now is that the district which I favour has not been sufficiently inspected; and I

know that my friend, the honorable and learned member for Werriwa, in discussing this matter, pointed out that, so far as railways are concerned, the difficulties are not so great if one runs with the stream than they are if one has to go across country. I am told that in the direction of Germanton to Tumberumba there is an easy horse road for a team with a considerable load.

Mr. DAVID THOMSON.—There are no engineering difficulties on that road.

Mr. SKENE.—The railway from Tumut to the proposed site, if selected, in my opinion, is the only one likely to be made for years, and its completion would mean that Sydney would be brought sixty-eight miles nearer the site than Melbourne. The distance from Melbourne to Tumut would be 390 miles, and from Sydney to Tumut, 322 miles—a difference of sixty-eight miles. On the other hand, the distance from Sydney to the site by way of Tumut would be 368 miles, and from Melbourne *via* Germanton, 293 miles—a difference in favour of Melbourne of seventy-five miles. It must be remembered, however, that there is a break of gauge at Albury, and that that break is likely to continue for a considerable number of years. A further consideration is that the State Government of New South Wales would have the construction of such a line in their own hands; and it is likely that for a great many years to come—during which the Capital would be building, and the greatest amount of money would be spent on the carriage of material from the port of Sydney—the advantage would be entirely with New South Wales.

Mr. CONROY.—Could not a line be made *via* Tallangatta?

Mr. SKENE.—But to take the best we can, in the light of Mr. Chesterman's report—341 miles from Sydney and 278 miles from Melbourne, both being expensive routes to construct—the distance in favour of Melbourne would be only 63 miles.

Mr. CONROY.—I can assure the honorable member that a line through that country would cost 75 per cent. extra for surveying.

Mr. SKENE.—The possibility is that the line would be no more difficult to make than one from the other side. But I am taking the shortest route—that is a route which is only twenty-seven miles shorter than by way of Cootamundra. By that short route the distance would be 341 miles from Sydney, and 279 miles from Melbourne, or a difference of 63 miles.

Mr. CONROY.—Why should New South Wales undertake this work in order to give pleasant outings?

Mr. SKENE.—Because such a line would open up a country for the supply of her own markets.

Mr. CONROY.—The line would not pay.

Mr. SKENE.—The honorable member says that such a line will not pay; but the fact is that the New South Wales Government are now constructing railways of the kind without the incentive of a Federal Capital. Not only have the New South Wales Government made a railway to Germanton, but they have surveyed the route for some distance beyond to the Gap. I fancy I shall be supported by the honorable member for Hume when I say that the line has not stopped at Germanton, but has been surveyed up to a place called the Gap.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Yes, to a place eighteen miles further on.

Mr. CONROY.—The line would not pay for axle grease.

Mr. SKENE.—All I know is that the other day the people in that district claimed to have sent away a larger number of bags of wheat than had been sent from any district in the Commonwealth; and I have already pointed out that the New South Wales Government are building a line without any idea of a Federal Capital. Such a work would present no engineering difficulty; but my own idea is that the line would be constructed from the Tumut side. The Victorians would still have a long distance to travel, even if a line were made *via* Tallangatta.

Mr. CONROY.—The line would be just as expensive one way as the other.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—The honorable and learned member does not know anything about the matter.

Mr. SKENE.—The right honorable member for East Sydney urged that the Upper Murray site was inaccessible, and he went on to contrast it with the site at Dalgety, to which the provision of railway communication would be easier. But if the Southern Monaro country is equal in quality to the other country which is being opened up by the line from Germanton, it is curious that construction should have stopped at the entry to the promised land for so many years.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—It has stopped there for sixteen or seventeen years.

Mr. SKENE.—I was there twelve or fourteen years ago, and the line has not been extended since. If the country had been worthy of a railway, there is no doubt that the New South Wales Government would have provided communication before now. What I want to point out is that railways are being pushed into the Upper Murray district, but not into Eden-Monaro.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Where are railways being pushed into the Upper Murray district?

Mr. SKENE.—From Culcairn, on to Germanton, and up the Murray; and Eden-Monaro cannot have a particularly good record, or, otherwise, the railway Commissioners, who are constructing railways into the furthest parts of the State, would have turned their attention to those districts. The Railway Commissioners have taken good care to get the trade of the Murray and the Murrumbidgee for the New South Wales railways; and there is no doubt that if the Eden-Monaro country had been considered good enough, it would have been provided with railways long ago. There was one contention of the right honorable member for East Sydney, which hardly holds water from a national point of view. The right honorable member could not understand our selecting a place which was simply picturesque, or beautiful to the eye; his opinion was that we should have a place where a large population would gather, and employment would be afforded.

Mr. McLEAN.—If the wealthy and leisured classes are brought to a place, business men will soon follow.

Mr. SKENE.—That is so. The Constitution—and, indeed, the House, according to the vote on the amendment of the honorable member for Corangamite—is against the Capital Site being in a large city; and, that being so, is there any sense in suggesting or contending that the Capital should be in a place where a large population will gather? If we are to follow the example of the United States, quite a different place will be selected.

Mr. CONROY.—Was it policy or jealousy which led to the exclusion of Sydney?

Mr. SKENE.—I think it was possibly a matter of jealousy at the commencement, but it has become a matter of policy; because when an honorable member moved an amendment the object of which was to effect an alteration of the Constitution in this respect, not a single New South Wales representative voted for it, notwithstanding

that the supporters of that proposal were favorable to placing the Capital in Sydney. Some honorable members who at one time favoured the Capital being placed in Sydney have since told me that they are now opposed to that idea.

Mr. CONROY.—I do not think so; they apprehended some danger from altering the Constitution.

Mr. SKENE.—I cannot imagine any better place for a Capital city than a site which would be fairly accessible, as Tooma would become in a very short time, and one which would be an attractive place of residence for the leisured classes. It is a central site, about equidistant between the two great centres of Australia, Melbourne and Sydney. Some honorable members may ridicule the idea of establishing a city where the leisured classes might choose to reside, but I am quite sure that the tradespeople of the place would not consider it to be a disadvantage to have there a leisured class—I do not say necessarily a wealthy class, but a class of retired people. It might be a place where men of letters, painters, and sculptors would take up their abode.

Mr. CONROY.—Such people mostly frequent the great commercial centres.

Mr. SKENE.—I do not think that is the case in regard to Washington. I am assured that Washington is now one of the most cosmopolitan cities in the world. There are residing there not only people of artistic and literary tastes, who have long been settled in the neighbourhood, but also people who have been attracted from different parts of the world.

Mr. CONROY.—There are more blacks than whites there, are there not? It is cosmopolitan in that sense!

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The honorable member for Grampians is perfectly right.

Mr. SKENE.—I was at Washington myself in 1867, and I did not admire the city much at that time. But since then, I understand, it has made rapid progress, and is now one of the great cities of the world. It has been stated that Washington was not meant to be a commercial centre, but I am not sure that it was not intended to be the commercial capital of the United States, because it was placed upon the tidal waters of the Potomac, on Chesapeake Bay, in a situation where it was quite possible that it might become a great commercial capital. We ought to establish a Capital where probably people of light and learning would choose to reside, and where perhaps

some retired politicians in their old age might vegetate, and now and then give to budding politicians the advantage of their advice. The right honorable member for East Sydney found no fault with the Upper Murray site, except on the ground of inaccessibility. In respect to climate, it is in every way satisfactory. We can have any climate we like there. We can have land from 1,100 feet above sea level at Welaregang, to 1,600 or 2,000 feet a few miles away. We could even go up to 3,000 feet. There is an excellent water supply.

Mr. CONROY.—Where can we get water at that height?

Mr. SKENE. — There is no question about the water supply, I believe. I am told that from the Tooma River alone we could have a gravitation supply sufficient for the needs of a very large city.

Mr. CONROY.—If it is on the flats. But can we get a water supply there at a height of 1,500 feet?

Mr. SKENE.—I believe that we can. Mr. Chesterman, in his report, says, without any reservoirs, that we can obtain a sufficient supply for a population of 50,000 people, and that we would be able to add to it to any extent by utilizing streams further up the river. The honorable member for Gippsland gave this site credit for having all the qualifications except that of a port. I think that it would be very well served indeed by the two ports of Sydney and Melbourne. We need not trouble about a port for the purposes of the Capital city. I really cannot see that a port would be an advantage to the Federal Territory. If we had a port at Eden, it would only afford another point of attack. We already have a large coastline to defend.

Mr. McLEAN.—It is only by means of water that we can give fair play to Queensland and South Australia, in a commercial sense.

Mr. SKENE. — I dissent from the honorable member's view in that respect. It is not necessary, in my opinion, to consider the Capital city in a commercial sense at all. It is not intended to be a commercial city. The idea in leaving a large city is that we should locate the Federal Capital away from a large population.

Mr. McLEAN.—Then why do we need a large territory?

Mr. SKENE.—We may require a large territory for the purpose of water supply. But it seems to me to be an absurdity for

those who contend that we should run away from a large city, to talk about establishing another large city with a port of its own. In any case, it could become nothing more than a coasting port. I have heard it said that it might become the port for the Eastern States, but that would really be impossible.

Mr. JOHNSON.—To what port is the honorable member now referring?

Mr. SKENE.—To the port of Eden. I have also heard it said that Washington was at one time considered likely to become one of the principal ports of the United States. But the difference of a few days—perhaps not more than a few hours—in the voyage between Europe and the United States, gave New York the opportunity of becoming the great commercial centre of America; and if the port of Eden were the finest in the world, from its situation it would not attract the traffic which now goes to Sydney.

Mr. JOHNSON.—Twofold Bay is practically an open roadstead.

Mr. SKENE.—But my point is that, even if it were the finest port imaginable, it would make no difference to the trade routes of the Pacific, which would not pass by Sydney. If the Panama Canal is completed, vessels coming westward would have to clear the North Cape of New Zealand, and the trade route would be diverted so close to Sydney that the port of Eden could never derive any benefit. So that in that respect there is no advantage in the Federal Capital having a port at Eden. But, in addition to that, Captain Mahan told us, in one of his articles at the time of the Behring Sea dispute, that Canada's safety consisted in the liability to attack of the coastal cities of the United States on the Atlantic by the British Navy. That would be the case here. The idea suggested by Mr. Oliver, in his report, that we could establish an arsenal at Twofold Bay, is the most absurd that could be put forward. In that case we should have to maintain a strong force to defend the arsenal. To do so we should have to take away our ships from defending our large cities, such as Sydney and Melbourne, and use them to defend another port, established for no useful purpose whatever that I can see. Because members of the Federal Parliament would certainly travel overland to the Capital city. I attach considerable importance, as the honorable member for Gippsland also does, to the view of this

matter taken by the Senate. I attach importance to it for the reason that the members of the Senate do not represent small sections of the community in any of the States. They are elected on a broad basis by the States as States, and are therefore more likely to have a free hand in dealing with this question. In the House of Representatives we cannot discuss it without political and local considerations arising.

Mr. McLEAN.—The Senate represents the whole of Australia.

Mr. SKENE.—That is so; and the senators represent Australia in equal numbers for each State. Inasmuch also as they represent the States as States, and not particular electorates, they are not so likely to have a Capital site in my own back yard; to favour one particular site as against others. Therefore I attach considerable importance to their opinion. But, so far as my own personal view goes, I attach greatest importance to the questions of accessibility and the possibility of having a gravitation water scheme. While I do not believe personally in the Monaro sites, as not being equal to the Upper Murray site, still, if the site which I intend to vote for is not adopted, the Monaro sites would be next in favour, so far as I am concerned. I do not intend to dip into the future, and to argue as to where the centre of population is likely to be in years to come. It may be at Lyndhurst. It is all a matter of guess-work. I regret that the House did not afford an opportunity to honorable members to more carefully inspect the site which I favour in regard to water supply. If it were fully considered in that respect, I feel sure that it would grow in favour amongst honorable members, and would stand a much better chance than it now has of being selected. But still a number of honorable members have inspected the site for themselves, and those with whom I have had any conversation have been disposed to support it. In the end I think it likely that it may receive that consideration which it certainly deserves.

Mr. WILKS (Dalley).—I am one of those unfortunates who do not happen to have a Capital Site in my own back yard; therefore, there is no need for me to indulge in rhapsodies with regard to any particular locality. We have had a certain amount of word painting as to the merits of the various sites that are favoured. I do not pretend to have much of the æsthetic faculty in my composition, and am, therefore, rather disposed to confine myself to

discussing the question on the lines which have been followed by the honorable member for Gippsland, who presented to us what he termed a practical sketch of the requirements. But, before expressing my views at length, I should like to say that I deeply regret—not only for the sake of New South Wales, but for the sake of all Australia—that the 100-miles limit has been placed in the Constitution. The members of the Premiers' Conference inserted that provision in consequence of a sharp piece of diplomacy, which was practised by the right honorable member for Balaclava on behalf of the State of Victoria. He saw the opportunity of driving a sharp bargain, but the right honorable member for East Sydney, with his usual kindness of disposition, gave himself away when he allowed such a stipulation to be made. At that time, it will be remembered, it was questionable whether Federation would be accomplished. New South Wales had repulsed the overtures of the other States, and it was thought that if the Capital were conceded to New South Wales she would be induced to enter the Federation. The Constitution was altered, and, as a result, it was accepted by all the States. We should have no beating about the bush with regard to the 100-miles limit. However the electors in other parts of Australia regarded it, it is certain that the electors of New South Wales considered that the Capital was to be as close as possible to the largest centre of that State. The honorable member for Gippsland tells us that he would rather vote for placing the Capital at Sydney than at Lyndhurst.

Mr. McLEAN.—I would a hundred times rather vote for Sydney than Lyndhurst.

Mr. WILKS.—I am glad that the honorable member makes that admission.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Would the honorable member sooner vote for Sydney than Bombala?

Mr. McLEAN.—Bombala would be more central than Sydney, but Sydney would be a better site than Lyndhurst.

Mr. WILKS. — The people of New South Wales supposed that the Capital would be established as near as possible to Sydney, consistently with the 100-miles limit. Every one must regret that such a site as Moss Vale, Exeter, and the surrounding district, is debarred, because it possesses all the qualities of accessibility, centrality, and all the special physical features which it is claimed are of primary importance. But we cannot now obtain that,

although it is only a few miles short of the 100-mile limit, and, therefore, we have to go further afield. The first consideration with the honorable member for Gippsland was centrality. That is a well-sounding word, and makes a good head-line. I wish to know whether he means centrality in regard to population, or centrality in regard to geographical area. If he means the former, I think I can show him that he is departing very much from the centre and extending himself to the circumference.

Mr. McLEAN.—I mean centrality in regard to the different States.

Mr. WILKS.—According to the first census which was ever taken in Australia, in 1861, the centre of population was in the neighbourhood of Albury; but census returns for 1901 show that it had shifted to the neighbourhood of Lyndhurst; that is 125 miles north of Albury; and the tendency is still to the northward. The honorable member for Grampians, a representative of Victoria, has admitted that in a rough way the trend of population is to the east and north-east shores of Australia. That is unquestionably so, so far as Queensland and New South Wales are concerned.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Does the honorable member think that it will always be in that direction?

Mr. WILKS.—If the right honorable member will permit me, I will put my case in my own way. My power as a seer is no stronger than in his. I am dealing with matters of fact—with statistics. We know that as regards the occupation of land Victorian electors—even electors from Gippsland—have within very recent weeks, taken themselves away, not to the north-east portions of Victoria, but to the north-east portions of New South Wales. With that commercial acumen, which all Victorians possess, these men seek “fresh woods and pastures new,” not on the south coast of New South Wales, but on the north coast of New South Wales and in Queensland. It is the constant rainfall which visits the north-east coast of New South Wales, and the southern districts of Queensland, which attracts population to the luxurious districts to be seen there. Any one who is acquainted with those districts—and no one knows them better than does the Prime Minister—must admit that, in point of fertility, no soil excels that which he has seen on the north-east coast of New South Wales, and the southern coast of Queensland.

Mr. WATSON.—Hear, hear.

Mr. WILKS.—The honorable gentleman knows, by practical experience, that it is so. Naturally, the bone and sinew of the country—the farming class—will drift in that direction. I am now appealing, not to a representative of New South Wales, on behalf of a particular site, but to a representative of Victoria, whom I ask, on lines of centrality, to give his first choice, not to Bombala or Dalgety, but, unquestionably, to Lyndhurst, which is today the centre of population. In reply to the right honorable member for Swan who has practically asked “what concern is that to Western Australia,” I may mention that Lyndhurst and Kalgoorlie are in about the same latitude. I wish to take another view of the question of centrality. I take it that the regard of the honorable member for Gippsland, and those who use that well-sounding word, plus what they term accessibility, is for the population of to-day. If accessibility is to be applied as a test in the choice of a site, let us consider the accessibility of Lyndhurst, not from the standpoint of a Sydney or Melbourne man, but from the standpoint of an Australian. At the present time Lyndhurst can be approached by railway more cheaply and expeditiously than can any other site. Again, let us consider the possibilities of bringing Lyndhurst into closer touch with Queensland. For several years prior to the establishment of the Commonwealth, the Government of New South Wales had seriously considered the question of connecting the Great Northern Railway at Werris Creek with the Great Western Railway at Wellington or Dubbo. The cross-country line would be a connecting link for the Queenslander, who would not be compelled to take the long journey which he otherwise would have to take to Tooma, or Dalgety, or Bombala. The accessibility of Lyndhurst to Victoria by means of existing railway communication has been established here time after time. Let us now consider the accessibility of Lyndhurst to South Australia. The construction of a railway from Cobarto Broken Hill has been seriously considered by the Government of New South Wales. The construction of that line is not beyond the realms of possibility. A survey of the line has been made. I cannot say that the money has been voted yet, but there has been a strong agitation in favour of its construction.

Sir LANGDON BONYTHON.—Does the honorable member think that South Australia wishes that railway to be constructed?

Mr. WILKS.—New South Wales, with its rich deposits at Broken Hill, has not been a bad friend to South Australia. Broken Hill has supplied a good deal of trade to South Australia, and if the honorable member means to imply that the South Australians are afraid that they would lose that trade by the construction of a line to Cobar, to connect with the existing railway system at that point, let me tell him frankly and openly that their Federal spirit is a sham. That is a harsh word to use; but if, when I am fighting for a Capital Site for Australia, and trying to show the accessibility of Lyndhurst to South Australia by that route, I am met with the question, "Do I think that South Australians wish that railway to be constructed?"—

Sir LANGDON BONYTHON.—With fair railway rates New South Wales could never divert the Broken Hill trade from Adelaide.

Mr. WILKS.—If that is the only fear which the honorable member has, let me remind him that this Parliament have the power to create an Inter-State Commission, which could destroy any advantage which New South Wales may get from cutting railway rates. Apparently, he fears that South Australians are not concerned in fixing a site which could be made accessible to them and to others—generally accessible to Australia. If the representatives of every State are proceeding on the basis that their people are trying to make as much out of the Federation as they can, and to obtain their pound of flesh every time, let them not pretend to feelings of horror when they are told New South Wales wishes the Capital Site to be fixed. Let them not decry New South Wales for requesting that the Capital Site shall be located near the port of Sydney. If one State is to fight because she thinks she will lose a commercial, and another State fights because she thinks that Sydney will gain another advantage, that says very little for their Federal spirit. I trust, however, that we have not yet come to that stage. We, as politicians, may engage in such battles. We may think it right to fight for one State as against another, but I do not think that the electors of Australia, once they were satisfied that the best available site had been chosen, would bother very much whether one State or another gained in commerce. The average elector, whether he be in

Richmond, in Victoria, or in Balmain, in New South Wales, or in a suburb of South Australia or Western Australia, knows that wherever it may be fixed, it will be of very little concern to him individually. Our concern should be to choose a site in the interests not so much of the people of this day as of future generations. The trend of population, in the course of forty or fifty years will not be south of Lyndhurst, but north of that point. If centrality of population is to be the primary consideration in fixing a site, I say to those honorable members who wish the Capital to be taken south, that the centre of population to-day is Lyndhurst, and that the centre in a few years will be nearer to Queensland. I hold the view that the great rival of New South Wales in years to come will be Queensland. If I were starting life again it would be to Queensland that I should go, and I think that the young people of Australia would be acting wisely if they were to establish their homes in that great State. For these reasons I think that Lyndhurst is about as far south as any representative of Queensland can go, or any representative of New South Wales can be expected to go. Let us now consider the physical features—water supply, productiveness of soil, and mineral resources—on which the honorable member for Gippsland laid great stress. It has been demonstrated here by the report of an expert that Lyndhurst, although not so favorably situated as Dalgety in that regard, has, for all practical purposes to-day, a storage capacity sufficient to supply with water the population that will exist in the Federal Capital in a couple of hundred years from this time. That statement has not been contradicted. It has been made, not by a representative of the State, but by no less an authority than the Engineer-in-Chief for Water Conservation in New South Wales, who, by reason of his technical knowledge, was asked to report on the water resources of various sites. His report is of such a character that no one can say that Lyndhurst is devoid of a water supply which would meet the requirements of the population of, not only to-day, but of 200 or 300 years from this time. The productiveness of the soil at Lyndhurst has been discussed by its representative here. I do not wish to throw on the table a sample of the greatest pumpkin or the largest potato which has ever been grown, and say to honorable members—"Look at what Lyndhurst will grow.

You will get potatoes and pumpkins of such a size that your domestic accounts will be smaller and smaller; in fact, the green-grocer will be paying you instead of your paying him, if you go and live there." I do not intend to present an argument of this character, that it would pay a green-grocer to give honorable members so much a week instead of taking their orders, the vegetables grown in the district being so heavy that it would cost too much to convey them from house to house. We do not need to produce for your edification, Mr. Chairman, the well known potato or pumpkin which has travelled all round the shows of Australia, appearing in one place to represent the products of Gippsland, in another to show the fertility of the country surrounding Ballarat, and in another as an example of what can be grown near Adelaide. Still, the honorable member for Macquarie has not left us without knowledge as to the productiveness of the soil in and around Lyndhurst. What he said may be supported by a reference to the condition of the people in that district. Some of the most prosperous landholders in Australia reside in the Lyndhurst district. Theirs is not an intermittent prosperity, nor is it prosperity occasioned by a gold mining rush. It is solid prosperity which has endured for many years. Bathurst is one of the most important country towns of New South Wales. Not only is the whole district settled by a wealthy pastoral and farming class, but it has also great mineral resources. I would point out here that in the present utilitarian state of feeling, we are not likely to extravagantly expend millions of pounds in housing the future Federal politicians and Federal officers. Personally I am not so accustomed to dwelling in marble halls that I would feel it necessary to construct for the Federal Parliament a building which would be a replica of this. The country cannot afford such expenditure. What we desire is the happy mean between Spartan simplicity and Oriental extravagance. But even if we erected gorgeous palaces for public officers, the Seat of Government would not attract a large population. The building operations there would, of course, bring many mechanics and artisans to the place, who would enjoy an ephemeral prosperity; but to attract a large permanent population the Federal Capital must be situated in a district which will afford opportunities for the obtaining of a livelihood. Lynd-

Mr Wilks.

hurst is such a district. "Earth is here so kind, that just tickle her with a hoe and she laughs with a harvest."

Mr. McLEAN.—The Commissioners say that the good land in the district is fifty miles from the proposed site.

Mr. WILKS.—They mean the best of the land. It is all good land there, though some may be better, and some best. No doubt the honorable member has heard of the man who was not addicted to the habits of temperance, and who, when he heard a reference to bad beer, said, "There is no such thing as bad beer. There is good beer, and better beer, but no bad beer." I do not take that attitude in reference to beer, but I would apply the remark to the land in the Lyndhurst district. It is all good land. An agriculturist has only to supply energy in order to get a return from it. Its pastoral capabilities, too, are shown by the number of wealthy families in the district who follow pastoral pursuits. But, of course, not every man in Melbourne or Sydney can afford to buy a station or to purchase a farm, though there are many persons who would be glad to move to the Seat of Government if they could find work to do there. The Lyndhurst district is one which would give employment to a great number of people, because, in addition to its pastoral and agricultural resources, it has great mineral resources. Within an easy distance of the proposed site are large coal-fields, and rich copper mines. The whole district may be described as a network of the jewels of the earth. I do not wish to rhapsodize, however. As I said in my opening remarks, I envy the Ruskin-like powers of description possessed by some of those who spoke last week. It would, indeed, require the descriptive faculty of a Ruskin or a Sir Walter Scott to do justice to this site. But if the honorable member for Gippsland had visited the district he would have seen that, notwithstanding the advantages possessed by the southern sites, Lyndhurst is still more favorably situated. The districts in the north-eastern corner of New South Wales, and in the southern parts of Queensland, are daily attracting large numbers of people. I can understand the attachment of the honorable member for Gippsland to the electorate which he represents; but people are leaving that district to go, not to Bombala, but to the places further north which I have mentioned.

Mr. McLEAN.—That is because there is land for sale there. I admit that the land

on the Richmond River is good land ; but it is not always a good sign when you find the people of a district anxious to sell.

Mr. WILKS.—The honorable member is a canny Scot, possessing all the virtues and all the shrewdness of his race ; but he finds my argument difficult to answer. It is well known that within the last six months certain of his own people formed a syndicate and purchased the Kyogle estate, in northern New South Wales, for about £150,000. This estate has since been cut up into farms, which are now being sold at very high prices.

Mr. McLEAN.—Does the honorable member call the prices high ?

Mr. WILKS.—Yes, for farm land.

Mr. McLEAN.—I am told that it is excellent land, but that it is being bought for prices which are being given for the worst land in Gippsland.

Mr. WILKS.—Proximity to a market has a good deal to do with the price of land. But I do not wish to be led off on a side track. The point I am making is that the people of Gippsland, who know what good land is, and farmers from other parts of Australia, are going, not to the Bombala district, but further north, to take up farms and to make homes for themselves. Lyndhurst is practically the centre of the present population of Australia, and as population increases its centre will shift, not further south, but further north. The honorable member for Gippsland spoke against the selection of the Lyndhurst site also for the reason that if that site were chosen the result would be the aggrandizement of the port of Sydney. But that argument is at once met by the statement that if Tooma were chosen the result would be the aggrandizement of the port of Melbourne. In dealing with a matter of this kind, one must be very careful not to throw stones, because, while it may be easy to break the windows of other sites, there is always a great risk of getting the window of one's own site broken as well.

Mr. McLEAN.—The site I advocated is situated midway between Sydney and Melbourne.

Mr. WILKS.—If the site the honorable member advocated were chosen, we should have to travel either by balloon or airship, because there are mountain ranges to be negotiated, and to construct a railway there would involve an expenditure of about £4,000,000. In considering this question, it should be recollected that the average individual prefers

to travel by coach, rail, or steamer, rather than by balloon or air-ship. The honorable member for Gippsland, I repeat, has argued that if Lyndhurst be selected, all the trade of the Capital will go to Sydney. What would honorable members think if I turned round and declared, "Oh, the Tooma site is a grand one. Potatoes will grow there better than in any other part of the world. So also will cabbages and pumpkins—in fact, everything is greener there than it is elsewhere, but if we select that site all the trade will go to Port Phillip" ? If we all entertain views of that sort, and are struggling for commercial gain, the city of Sydney should be protected equally with that of Melbourne. Let us understand whether we are fighting for commercial gain or for the establishment of a Federal city, for the benefit of the population not only of to-day, but of the future. To institute comparisons between sites from the point of view of centrality, accessibility, &c., is of no use, if our arguments when boiled down mean that we object to a site because its selection will mean that its trade will go to Melbourne or Sydney. If that is the view which is entertained, I can quite understand the anxiety of the Victorian press, and of many honorable members, to secure delay in the settlement of this question. I venture to say, however, that, if the feeling of the people of Australia could be tested, it would be found that they have sufficient breadth of mind—irrespective of the State from which they come—to enable them to respect their brothers and sisters in other portions of the Union, and to induce them to say that they desire in the interests of all to see the most suitable site selected. The honorable member for Gippsland has urged that if we choose the Lyndhurst site, gain will result to Sydney. Do I understand that he has decided to support the claims of Bombala ? I know that, to a large extent, he represents Victorian opinion in this House, and Victorian sentiment outside of it. Consequently, I wish to know whether he has decided to stand by the Bombala site ?

Mr. McLEAN.—I intend to support one of the Monaro sites.

Mr. WILKS.—The honorable member is a generous sort of mortal, who practically says, "Here are two apples. I will take this one, and you may exercise your own choice as to which of the remainder you will have." He has decided to support the Bombala site. In the first place,

I suppose, that site, by a sheer accident, is situated just on the border-line of Victoria. In the second place, the honorable member must be aware from the reports of experts, that New South Wales would require to spend millions of pounds to connect it by rail with existing lines.

Mr. MCLEAN.—Does the honorable member know that the railway already runs into the Monaro district?

Mr. WILKS.—I ought to know exactly how far the railway runs into that country, seeing that upon one occasion I was laid up in the Cooma hospital for ten days. The fact is that I strained my eyesight so seriously in an endeavour to discover the beauties of the Bombala site that I was compelled to enter the hospital at Cooma, which is the present terminus of the railway.

Mr. BAMFORD.—It is a beautiful little place.

Mr. WILKS.—Yes; next to Lyndhurst, it is one of the prettiest little towns I know. The honorable member for Gippsland has argued in favour of the selection of Bombala, on the ground that it possesses a seaport. But I would point out that Twofold Bay is fifty miles distant, and that between it and the Bombala site there are mountains to climb, as precipitous as are those to be found in Gippsland. During the course of this debate we have heard a good deal in reference to climate. Honorable members appear to be very desirous to secure a cool climate. I do not know whether they expect to experience a very warm climate in the future, but, possibly, that may be the true explanation. Though during the parliamentary visit of inspection there, I was unable to attend the festivities at Bombala, I had an opportunity of asking one of its residents what the townspeople did during the summer months. His reply was that everybody who could afford it went to the seaside. Upon being questioned as to why they did this, he informed me that during the summer the climate of Bombala was too warm to permit of their remaining there.

Mr. BAMFORD.—The honorable member for Eden-Monaro did not say so.

Mr. WILKS.—No; he could not be expected to say so. As the honorable member for Grampians has pointed out, if we desire to obtain a port in connexion with the Federal Capital, we shall have to pay for it, and we shall also require to spend money in fortifying and otherwise defending it. I wish, further, to impress upon

honorable members that Twofold Bay is such a well-sheltered harbor that during all the gales experienced upon the coast of New South Wales, no vessel ever seeks shelter there.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—That is absolutely incorrect. During almost every heavy gale two or three boats seek shelter there.

Mr. WILKS.—Two or three fishing boats. An ordinary sized steamer cannot enter it. One of the Union Steamship Company's boats was unable to turn there because the channel was not deep enough.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN. — Why, it is deeper than is Sydney harbor.

Mr. WILKS.—The steamer of which I am speaking had to go astern until she had got safely out of the harbor. To make that port a harbor of shelter over a million pounds sterling would require to be spent in the construction of a breakwater, and we all know that when once a Government commences to build breakwaters there is practically no end to the bills which have to be met. Moreover, apart from railway construction, millions of pounds would require to be expended to make it even an ordinary port of shelter. I have nothing to urge against the selection of the Monaro site, save that it would involve an extravagant outlay. The Melbourne press is continually crying out about extravagant Federal expenditure, and, in order to bolster up a case in opposition to the choice of what it calls a "bush" capital, it has dragged in millions of pounds for the construction of such works as the trans-continental railway. I freely present the journals of this city with further reasons for the rejection of the Bombala site. Its selection, I claim, would involve an excessive expenditure in dredging the harbor, so as to make it afford a safe anchorage, also a large outlay in constructing breakwaters, and in fortifying it. I wish now to give one other illustration of the weakness of Twofold Bay. It is scarcely necessary to point out that the vessels of the Australian Auxiliary Squadron never use it, either for manœuvring purposes or for shell practice. They use Jervis Bay, which, from the point of view of safety and dimensions, offers even better facilities than does Port Jackson. If representatives from other parts of Australia merely desire to secure a beautiful harbor of large dimensions, and one capable of sheltering any class of vessel in

the world, I would recommend them to visit Jervis Bay. The Lake George site, the claims of which have not been considered on the present occasion, is situated within forty miles of that port, and the intervening country presents no engineering difficulties in the way of railway construction. If their only desire is to secure a territory possessing a suitable port, so that, in the event of a conflict between the Federal authority and the State, it will be possible to reach the Capital without passing through State territory, then let me recommend them to Jervis Bay. Desperate as we are, however—and ready as we are to fly off the handle—I do not think the time will ever come when, because of conflict between the Federal authority and the State, it will be dangerous for residents of the Federal territory to travel over that State. We are fairly bad, it is true, but we are not a lot of Bashi-bazouks, and there is no cause to fear anything in that direction. If any honorable member fears that at some time or other there may be a struggle to the death between the representatives of the Commonwealth and of the State of New South Wales, and therefore desires that the Federal territory, shall have independent means of access, I respectfully recommend him to support the selection of a site near Jervis Bay.

Mr. SKENE.—Is Jervis Bay beyond the 100-miles limit?

Mr. WILKS.—I think it is.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—No.

Mr. WILKS.—I believe that it is more than 100 miles from Sydney.

Mr. BAMFORD.—Will the honorable member propose its selection?

Mr. WILKS.—No; for the reason that I do not wish any further delay to take place. The people of New South Wales have been fooled quite long enough, and the sooner we make a selection the better. It is often said that it was a "bargain" that the Federal Capital should be in New South Wales. I decline to use that word in this connexion. It was not a mere bargain, but the recognition of an absolute right.

Mr. SKENE.—To a certain extent that is so.

Mr. WILKS.—I am glad to have that admission from a representative of Victoria. Do not let us say that it was a concession to New South Wales. A fig for any concession. The people of New South Wales are not going on their bended knees

to ask for any favour; they ask for the recognition of a constitutional right.

Mr. POYNTON.—Neither are the other States going on their bended knees to New South Wales.

Mr. WILKS.—There is no necessity for any ill-feeling. In dealing with this matter I do not intend to have regard to any question of State against State, or to study the convenience of Brown of to-day as against the inconvenience of Jones of to-morrow. Some reference has been made to the position taken up by the press. If the press of Australia find it to the interests of Australia to report the proceedings of the Federal Parliament, then, wherever the Seat of Government may be, they will do so. It matters not whether a report, or a leading article dealing with the proceedings of the Parliament, be written in an office, in the back blocks, or in the sanctum of Syme, in Collins-street, Melbourne; it is bound to be circulated wherever it is written and published. I do not think that the question of expense will be considered by the press in relation to the publication of the debates of this Parliament. They will give such publicity to our proceedings as may be considered desirable. In urging that Lyndhurst should be selected, I am actuated by a desire to conserve the interests of the whole Commonwealth. Lyndhurst is to-day the centre of population in Australia, and the point cannot be taken further south. It is easy of access, and on that ground I claim the votes of the representatives of Queensland, South Australia, and Victoria. I put aside all considerations as to the commercial advantage which might accrue to Sydney, Melbourne, or any other city, from the selection of a particular site; but would point out that if Lyndhurst were selected, no expense would be incurred in providing a means of communication by railway. The existing railways supply all wants in that respect. With the construction of a railway from Cobar to Broken Hill, South Australia will be directly tapped, while Lyndhurst will be placed in touch with Queensland by the construction of a railway from Werris Creek. I am not so moulded that I can soar into rhapsodies about the picturesqueness of the country, but I would remind honorable members that some of the most romantic sights in Australia are within easy distance of Lyndhurst. The Blue Mountains, which are close at hand, are unexcelled in point of interest and beauty by any other part of Australia. Visitors from all parts of Australia,

as well 'as from the old world, make their pilgrimages to the many beauty spots with which they abound, so that if we are seeking for picturesque country we shall find it at our very doors.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Lyndhurst is also close to the Jenolan Caves.

Mr. WILKS.—That is so, and to many other points of interest, to which men of business in the capital may resort in their leisure moments. After all, the Federal Capital is not likely to be a sort of Elysium where the people will wander about the streets, from early morn to dewy eve, with garlands of flowers around their hats, spending their days in picnicing. It will take them all their time to bustle round and earn a living. I do not anticipate that the effects of the scenery will be such as to cause a new class of people to arise. The troubles which prevail here will prevail there, but if we select Lyndhurst, those who have the means and the leisure will be able to satisfy their love of the beautiful by visiting the show places of the Blue Mountains. So much for the question of picturesqueness. I wish to emphasize the point that Lyndhurst can sustain a large population. The development of its pastoral, agricultural, and mineral resources, will provide employment for a very large industrial class. I therefore appeal to those who fly the banner of the industrial classes to a greater extent than does any other party in the House, to vote for this site. Can any honorable member point to any other site at which the industrial classes would find a more ready means of employment than will be forthcoming in and around Lyndhurst? The raw material exists there in abundance, and those who believe that a certain policy is necessary for the development of our resources, should avail themselves of this opportunity to experiment under favorable conditions. Some reference has been made to the climatic conditions of the several sites. There are some who are anxious that as cool a spot as possible should be selected, in order to make up that which they will probably lack in the future; and to these I would point out that the mean temperature of Lyndhurst is better than is that of any other site.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—There is no rhapsody about that.

Mr. WILKS.—It is no figure of speech. My statement is supported by the figures of the Government meteorologist.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—The honorable member can double spades on that.

Mr. WILKS.—The honorable member uses a simile which I shall not attempt to bridge. The Government meteorologist shows that the heat is not so great, and the cold certainly not so intense at Lyndhurst as it is at Bombala and Dalgety—that the climate is not so warm as is the climate of the other sites. The mean temperature is certainly better. If those who oppose the selection of this site do so chiefly on the ground that Sydney would be benefited by it, I can only say that it is time that the capital of New South Wales received some advantage from the Federation. If poor old Sydney is, however, to depend upon the Federal Capital for her existence, she had better put up her shutters. But we all know that she can live without the Federal Capital. A city of the stability of good old Sydney has no occasion to rest upon the establishment of the Seat of Government close at hand. New South Wales is not in the national Insolvency Court, although I must admit that Federation has dragged her pretty close to it. The Federal spirit so overwhelmed the people of that State that they almost lost their mental balance, and supported extravagant expenditure to such an extent that the State has now to cut down her public outlay.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The people of every State are saying the same thing.

Mr. WILKS.—I shall not allow the right honorable member for Swan or any other honorable member to suggest that Sydney is anxious to live on the charity of Western Australia, or of any other State. New South Wales does not intend, any more than does Victoria or Queensland, to live on the mere sufferance, so to speak, of the representative of any State.

Mr. McDONALD.—Queensland is not asking for any concession from the Commonwealth.

Mr. WILKS.—She has done very well. She has obtained that for which she chiefly entered the Union—the abolition of coloured labour, and New South Wales played a serious part, if we measure everything by pounds, shillings, and pence, in assisting Queensland to that end.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—She helped to give Queensland a heavy duty on sugar.

Mr. TUDOR.—The representatives of New South Wales did not assist in passing that duty.

Mr. WILKS.—No honorable member was more earnest in advocating the abolition

of black labour than were the representatives of New South Wales.

Mr. TUDOR.—But the representatives of New South Wales did not vote for the sugar duty.

Mr. WILKS.—We wished to get rid of one evil without creating another. To those who say that Lyndhurst is favoured by some honorable members because its selection would be advantageous to Sydney, I would reply that Sydney seeks no benefit in that direction. She merely demands a recognition of her right. I believe that if a referendum of the people of Australia were taken on the matter, Sydney itself would be chosen as the Capital Site. When it is suggested that some honorable members support Lyndhurst because of some possible trade gain to Sydney, I can only say that, if there were a trade gain to Sydney, that city would be absolutely entitled to it. For years before Federation New South Wales had her doors open to the people of the other States. She did not keep out their products, but invited them to send their products into New South Wales. The only response we get now is to be told that those who advocate the selection of Lyndhurst as the Capital Site do so because some paltry portion of trade might gravitate to Sydney. We know that last session some honorable members tried to drag the Federal territory right down to the borders of Victoria. The site chosen by this House was Tumut; but some honorable members were not satisfied with that, and they insisted upon defining an elongated Federal area, which might be compared to the patch upon the nether garments of a schoolboy. It ran from Dan to Beersheba—from one end of the country to the other. They insisted that the Federal territory should extend to the Murray, and there were some honorable members who, if they could have done so, would have brought it in a straight line to the very confines of Melbourne. In spite of this, we are now told that those who propose to vote for Lyndhurst do so in order to secure a trade advantage to Sydney. I say a fig for all these professions of Federal sentiment's. If honorable members mean business, and are Federal, they should not merely profess a spirit of Federalism, but should act in a Federal manner. I am prepared to act in the interests of the people of all the States. Specious arguments were offered last session, when Tumut was chosen as the Capital Site, for extending the Federal territory to the Murray River. It was said that it was necessary to secure

a doorway to the Federal Capital for the people of Victoria. I ask whether there should not be a doorway also for the people of Queensland, Western Australia, and South Australia? Why should there be a doorway for the people of one State only? These things cannot well be forgotten; but I trust that since last session our disposition has undergone a change, and that there will now be no more of the struggle to have the Federal Capital placed in the backyard, so to speak, of Victoria. I hope that honorable members will be concerned to select a site that will be suitable for the whole of Australia, and, in that view, I respectfully suggest that Lyndhurst should be the site selected. Last session I voted for Tumut, on its record, and without seeing it. But having seen Tumut since, I must admit that this session my second choice will be Dalgety. I do not now propose to say why and wherefore. At the first ballot last session I voted for Lyndhurst, and on that occasion there were twenty-five straight-out votes given for the selection of that site. No other site has had equal voting in its favour. The supporters of other sites were, by combination, successful in destroying its chance of selection; but no other site on a straight-out vote secured as much support as did Lyndhurst. Believing that Lyndhurst is practically in the centre of the population of Australia, I am not prepared to go to the Victorian border for a site. I am not prepared in any case to go nearer to the Victorian border than Dalgety, which, I think, is distant forty miles from Bombala. I ask honorable members to be guided in their selection by considerations of centrality, accessibility, and the physical features which have been referred to by the honorable member for Gippsland. That honorable member can now have no fear about an adequate water supply at Lyndhurst, and I cannot, therefore, see how he can fail to vote for the selection of that site. One argument used by the honorable member I could not understand, and that was his objection to Lyndhurst, on the ground that certain trade would go to the port of Sydney. I ask honorable members to consider what the trade involved would be worth. Is it likely to be of such value that Melbourne cannot live without it, or that Sydney without it must perish in the national Bankruptcy Court? If the only argument of the honorable member for

Gippsland against the selection of Lyndhurst is the advantage that would be given to the port of Sydney, I can recommend to him the port of Jervis Bay, which is one of the best ports in Australia, and which is within forty miles of an excellent site. For the reasons I have given, I trust that Lyndhurst will be the site chosen; but I still think that, in the interests of Australia, it would have been better if the limitation of 100 miles from Sydney had never found a place in the Constitution, because, not in Sydney itself, but at Moss Vale, Exeter, and round that district a site might have been selected which would be unexcelled in Australia.

Mr. BATCHELOR (Boothby—Minister of Home Affairs).—If honorable members have no desire to further discuss the sites, the next step will be to report progress, and we propose to ask the House to-morrow to take a ballot. If honorable members will look at the notice-paper, they will see that the order of the day No. 2, "Seat of Government Bill: ballot to determine site," appears after the order of the day. "Seat of Government Bill." That order will be reversed to-morrow if I am given to understand that honorable members have concluded the debate upon the sites, and, in that event, we shall take the ballot the first thing to-morrow.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE (Hume).—I do not know what the Minister desires in this matter, but I think there will be an opportunity to further discuss the question.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—After the ballot, the honorable member means?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—No; before the ballot.

The CHAIRMAN.—The resolution distinctly states that the ballot is to be taken without discussion.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I know that a number of honorable members intended to speak. I wish to speak myself, but I should be better prepared to do so after dinner. I do not know what is in the wind, but it appears to me that two or three honorable members who were going to speak have, for some reason or another, drawn back.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—Let us divide.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—It is useless to talk about a division. It was not intended that there should be a division on this clause, but that we should know when the debate on it had been concluded. If there is to be an adjournment now I cannot allow the matter to go without saying a few

words. I have listened during the debate to some statements that are absolutely incorrect. Some were made by way of interjection, and some directly by different speakers. There are those who have attempted to cast blame upon me particularly, because the site which has of late been brought under notice was not previously brought under the attention of honorable members. The honorable member for Grampians in the able speech which he has delivered has shown clearly what I previously said. I did not know that I had stated in this House that my objection to supporting this site, at the time when I was Minister of Home Affairs, was because it was so far south. But I knew that that was in my mind, and I thought also, that the people of Sydney might object to the selection of such a site. I stated at the time to which reference was made, that Tumut is situated in one of the finest and richest valleys in New South Wales, and in my humble opinion it was one of the sites that would give satisfaction as a Federal Capital. But I then stated also, that the Upper Murray was for scenery, for extent of good land, and for water supply, probably the finest valley that there is in Australia. I can now repeat what I then stated. I have travelled over a very large part of Australia; I have explored the continent as much as most men, and I say that for picturesqueness I have never seen a valley which could compare with the Upper Murray Valley. When we deal with the matter on a previous occasion Tumut, with its extent of rich land, its fine views, and its magnificent water supply, appeared to me to be an ideal spot on which to locate the Federal Capital. In addition to other qualifications, it is practically half-way between Sydney and Melbourne. Those were the reasons which mainly induced me to throw all the energy I could into securing the selection of that particular site. I cannot understand how any honorable member can state as the honorable member for Dalley has done, that he voted last session for Tumut, but that on this occasion, having seen the district, he will not vote for it. I can only say that the honorable member must have a very dim eye for the picturesque, must have a very poor knowledge of the difference between good and bad soil, and can have no idea of the importance of a good water supply for the Federal Capital. I wish now to refer to the way in which certain sites were decided on for inspection.

That has been referred to in debate, and referred to with an evident want of knowledge. The origin of the selection of these sites was my appointment of the late Mr. Alex. Oliver considerably before the members of the Federal Government were chosen, and, certainly, before the Federal Parliament was elected. My object then, as head of the Government of New South Wales, was to select some person who knew the country fairly well, and who, taking time by the forelock, would inspect the best sites. After his appointment, Mr. Oliver inserted notices in the press, which were circulated throughout New South Wales, asking all those who knew a particularly good site to communicate with him. There were, I think, forty or fifty sites, perhaps more, in regard to which there was reasonable anticipation of their being inspected.

Mr. McLEAN.—Mr. Oliver gave us the best report we have yet had.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I must differ from the honorable member for Gippsland. Mr. Oliver's report was absolutely incorrect in some particulars, and I regret very much that he was induced, or allowed, to issue a report by way of a criticism on the report of the Royal Commission.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—The criticism was well deserved.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—The report of Mr. Oliver showed that he was not the Alexander Oliver he was in the full prime and vigour of his life. Mr. Oliver's report was a petulant, unfair, and uncalled-for attack, and, certainly, did his well-earned reputation no good in his last days. I regret very much that Mr. Oliver ever made that second report; and, further, it has been clearly proved that in regard to his first report he was in one or two instances absolutely wrong, as he acknowledged, in the face of the report of the Royal Commission subsequently appointed by the Federal Government.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN. — Mr. Oliver carefully reported the details as he understood them, but when he found out the true facts he simply gave them.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—That is to some extent correct; but I took the trouble to inquire how it was that Mr. Oliver dropped into so many errors. I inquired from one or two of the leading heads of Departments in New South Wales, and the reply given to me was that Mr. Oliver, either for the reason that he did not want to spend too much money, or for some

other reason, did not obtain the best officers to make inquiries and report. There were none so competent as the heads of Departments to instruct him as to the officers from whom information could be best obtained; but what I have stated was the reason given to me as the one which caused Mr. Oliver to fall into so many serious errors—errors which were pointed out by the Commission subsequently appointed. Mr. Oliver selected the sites which he conceived to be eligible, and reported accordingly; and I do think that he was extremely unfair in regard to Albury, Corowa, and the Murray districts generally. It was most unfair to those districts that he should put them on one side, simply for the reason that they were, in his opinion, too far from Sydney. As a matter of fact, I may point out to the honorable member for Gippsland that Bombala, or any other outlandish place in that neighbourhood, is further south than Albury.

Mr. McLEAN.—Bombala is exactly midway between Melbourne and Sydney.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—The honorable member for Hume ought to know the opinion of the House in regard to Albury.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Mr. Oliver had a good deal to do with forming the opinion of the House in regard to Albury. I shall not go to the honorable member for Eden-Monaro for an opinion on any place other than Bombala; the honorable member seems to lose his temper whenever he discusses the matter, and that is never a wise thing to do. I could not allow this question to be discussed without saying a word or two in regard to Mr. Oliver's report on Albury and the Murray districts. Mr. Oliver does not show in his report that Albury is not a suitable site. He does not show that at Albury there is any absence of water supply, or that the climate is objectionable—he simply gives the one reason that the place is too far south of Sydney. Finally, he recommended Bombala, having spent about a week or ten days there.

Mr. CROUCH.—Mr. Oliver said that Tumut had a good climate.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—How long did the Royal Commission spend at Twofold Bay? Ten minutes?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I think the Commission stayed long enough at Twofold Bay to get a good idea of the place. I have been there many times, and I know the district almost as well as does my honorable friend who represents it in this

Parliament. I know that one can get a good idea of the place in a few hours. All this, however, is by the way. The honorable and learned member for Corio has suggested that Mr. Oliver said that Tumut has a good climate; and so it has. It is unfortunate that some people wish, without justification, to vilify Tumut in every way; and in regard to this particular district there has been a good deal of unfairness. Tumut, though not extensive, is one of the finest valleys on the Continent, and it possesses a climate in which people, who have lived for many years in hotter districts, can reside without injury to their constitution. That, I need not say, is not possible at Bombala or Dalgety, where only those of iron constitution can survive.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—After members of Parliament visited Tumut, that site became out of the question.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I would suggest that the honorable member for Eden-Monaro address the House after I have finished. The honorable member has jibed at me a good deal, but I am not going to get out of temper. It is unfortunate that the weather was warm on the day when most honorable members went to Tumut. But though there may occasionally be a hot day, still any man, woman, or child who has lived in a hot climate for many years can live there without danger or fear. That cannot be said concerning the Monaro country. Statements have been made regarding the Tumut climate, and the unhealthiness of the neighbourhood, that are not capable of being verified; but an impression has been produced owing to which I fear there is not much hope of Tumut being selected by the House.

Mr. MAHON.—Do not lose heart.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I am not losing heart. I never did in my life. But I cannot shut my eyes to facts. Honorable members can see from the map that the Bombala and Dalgety sites are much further from Sydney than either the Welaregang or Tumut sites. In fact, Bombala is forty-nine miles further south than Welaregang, and Dalgety is twenty-six miles further south.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—Dalgety is closer to Sydney than Welaregang.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—The honorable member has repeated that statement many times, and it may be that he is right, taking the route of the present railway, which runs direct to Goulburn, then takes a direction right away west from the coast, from

whence it comes round to Cootamundra. Following that line round the distance is perhaps further, but not if we take a direct line. Honorable members can measure the distance for themselves upon the map. In a direct line I do not think there is a difference of much more than a mile or two. If the railway communication were anything like direct, it would be found that Welaregang was much more accessible to Sydney than is Dalgety or Bombala. It is not to be supposed that, for all time, the railway will remain as it now exists. Surveys have been made taking off at various points along the line between Goulburn and Cooma, and also at points to Cootamundra; and though it might be an expensive railway, it is possible to make a line direct to Welaregang through Tumut. But, in the state of our finances, and at this early stage of the history of the Federal Capital, I do not think that it is necessary to construct a railway at great cost in the most direct way. It may be left for future decision as to what railways are to be constructed between the Capital Site and the various States of Australia. I will deal as rapidly as possible with the various suggested sites, though much of what I have to say will, no doubt, be a repetition of what I said on the previous occasion. The harbor at Eden or Twofold Bay is, I admit, a pretty little place, but it would take a large sum of money to make it practically useful for a number of ships.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—What was the honorable member's statement in the New South Wales Parliament as to the necessity for building a railway to Twofold Bay?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—The honorable member has not quoted my statement.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—I will quote it.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I dare say the honorable member will quote something that was said in connexion with some project that I was dealing with at that particular time.

Mr. MAHON.—Perhaps there was logging going on.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—No, there was not; but I think there was some idea of running a railway through to Melbourne.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—The honorable member wanted to tap the Monaro country. He said it was magnificent country, with a good port.

Mr. REID.—And that it would hold all the navies in the world!

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Twofold Bay could be made, with a great deal of expense, a good harbor. But at the present time it is not a good extensive harbor for numbers of large ships. I say, advisedly, that one of the large ships that are now engaged in the Australian trade, such as the Peninsular and Oriental and Orient boats, and even the largest of our coastal vessels, would find great difficulty in getting shelter anywhere near the wharf in Twofold Bay. I do not believe that such a vessel could even get to the wharf. But I think there is a plan in existence showing how breakwaters could be built at a cost of something over £1,000,000, to make it a good harbor for a few large ships.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—For the coasting trade.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Yes. I totally dissent from those honorable members who advocate the Monaro site on account of the harbor. The world to-day is building its principal capital cities away from harbors or seaboard. Recent wars have proved that a Seat of Government should not be near a harbor where it can be easily attacked by an enemy. I do not see that there is any necessity or utility, for the sake of a harbor, to select a spot which is not nearly so good as some other places that have been suggested. When we had made the harbor, at a cost of about £1,200,000, we should have to construct a railway to climb country like the side of a house. The railway would have to run up 2,000 feet. The distance in a direct line is about fifty miles, but as the line would have to wind in and out, so as to obtain possible grades, the fifty miles would be extended to something like eighty-five. In addition to that, the Monaro tableland—referring especially to Bombala and the neighbourhood—is degrees colder than any other tableland in Australia. The reason why it is so cold is that the prevailing winds during the winter are westerly. Blizzards blow over the snow-capped mountains of Kosciusko and the Bogongs. The wind on the tableland is keen enough to destroy any man who is getting on in years, and who has come from a warmer climate. It is not a good place to which to send representatives from Queensland and Western Australia. In regard to the quality of the soil, there are little valleys here and there which contain good land, but taking the average, the Bombala country is poor. It is an

unhealthy country so far as stock is concerned. A railway would have been built there long ago had it not been realized that the country was so poor. It was not a question of money that prevented New South Wales extending her railway system to the Monaro tableland. If the country had been as valuable as has been described, the line would have been constructed. It is not a difficult country through which to build a line from Sydney.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—The honorable member as Premier of New South Wales introduced a motion favorable to the construction of the line.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I am not sure whether I did, but certainly Parliament did not authorize the construction of the railway. I am now thinking of the time when the line was extended to Cooma. What was to prevent its being carried on to Bombala? The traffic about Cooma is so small they cannot afford to maintain a refreshment room at the railway station. I cannot understand anyone saying that country of that kind is suitable for a Federal Capital. There have been opportunities for the development of the country about Cooma within reasonable distance of the railway terminus, but it has not developed, and closer settlement has not prospered, simply because it could not take place to the advantage of the settler. The honorable member for Gippsland has spoken of the wheat crops of the neighbourhood. There is no wheat production of any consequence.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—What does the mill crush then? Sand?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—The people there do not grow enough wheat to eat.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—That is absurd.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—It is not; they import a large proportion of their flour, and they do not export to any extent. Indeed, I do not know that they export flour at all. Close to Bombala there are, no doubt, patches of black soil country, where almost anything will grow. But they are not extensive; and, taking the tableland as a whole, it is a very poor place for agricultural settlement. Coming to Dalgety, I admit that I have not seen the proposed site. It may be that some of the land in the neighbourhood is better than I have understood. But I have never known granite country in New South Wales to be first class. It is not good for stock. I will direct the attention of the Victorian representatives to some of

the country on the Ballarat or the Bendigo line—I forget which. I went to look at it some time ago. It is granite country. I found that the stock and the sheep were unhealthy, and it was not heavy carrying. Granite country, as a rule, is poor. Dalgety may be a pretty site, and it is possible to get a good water supply from the Snowy River, which, of course, is fed by the snows of Mt. Kosciusko.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—The honorable member admits that it is possible?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—It is possible, but I believe, although I have not seen it, that it would be necessary to go for a considerable distance up the river to get a sufficient fall for a gravitation scheme. I oppose a site on the coldest table-land, when there is no necessity to go there. To connect the table-land with Cooma and to continue the railway through Bombala to Melbourne, would be a gigantic undertaking, involving a huge expense. On the last occasion on which this question was discussed I produced the surveys, from the Survey Office of Victoria, of two proposed lines from Bairnsdale to Bombala. They are called four surveys, but in reality there are only two, with deviations. The grades of the first survey which was made were one in thirty. I believe that in New South Wales there is only one grade of that kind, and an effort is being made to get rid of it—it has always been a bugbear to the Southern Railway. On the Western Railway there was a grade of one in thirty, but the Railway Commissioners made a tunnel, at great expense, in order to get rid of the Penrith Zigzag. It was found from the surveys above referred to that the curves were from 5 to 8 inches radius, and every one knows that it is absolutely impossible to run a fast train on a line with such curves and grades. When I looked at the second survey I thought that an improvement had been made, but I found that it had grades of one in forty with better curves. It did not go, however, to Bombala, but to a place called Bondi, which is 1,000 feet below Bombala.

Mr. WATSON.—It did not climb the mountain at all.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—No. It would be necessary to go from Bondi to Bombala, in about twenty-four miles I think, and rise to a height of 1,000 feet.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—There is a Bondi

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I know that. If the right honorable gentleman will look at the surveys, he will find that what I have stated is quite correct. I am not quite sure that, in order to reach that height in the distance, it would not be necessary to adopt a zigzag, as had to be done in New South Wales. But the expense would be enormous. I venture to think that before the railway connexion to Bairnsdale, Cooma, and Eden was completed, and a harbor made at Twofold Bay suitable for any large quantity of shipping, it would cost at the very least £6,000,000. That is a very great stumbling block, even if the other objections I have named did not exist.

Mr. KING O'MALLEY.—Could we not have a chute down to Twofold Bay?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—The wheat which is grown there could be put in a chute at the top of the mountain and shot down to Eden. That is about the only way in which it could be got down with ease and comfort. I have no doubt that Dalgety is a better place than Bombala for the reason that the water supply is better—probably it is good—and it is so much closer to the mountain that I believe that the excessively cold winds which strike on the table-land of Bombala would, to a large extent, blow over Dalgety, and lose their extreme cold and bitterness.

Mr. KING O'MALLEY.—But the land at Dalgety is very poor.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—It is poor everywhere, except in patches.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—But the honorable member has not been there.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I have never known any granite country which was much good.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—It is not all granite country.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I am not saying much about Dalgety, because I have not been there, and I only know of it from hearsay. If there was a place other than those I have been strongly in favour of that I should have been inclined to vote for, had it been amongst those submitted, it would have been Lake George. I believe that it is next best to Tumut, and that for two reasons it would give greater satisfaction than almost any other site which has been suggested.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—It is second to Lyndhurst.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Lyndhurst is absolutely the worst site of all, as I shall point out presently. The reason why Lake George, to my mind, would be a good site, is that the land is fairly good for agriculture, and there is the possibility of making almost an inland sea. At a very small expense, I believe, the waters of the Murrumbidgee River could be turned into it, and a dam could be erected at the lower end, thus making an inland sea.

Mr. KING O'MALLEY.—How is the climate there?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—At times it is hot in the summer; but the climate is good. It also has this advantage, that by constructing a railway of about seventy miles, we could tap Jervis Bay, which, as a harbor, is, I believe, second only to Port Jackson. Lyndhurst is, I repeat, the worst site of all. There is nothing to recommend it to honorable members. The land is not very good. There are spots of basalt land, which are reasonably good, but, taken as a whole, the land is not good. And, despite what was said by the honorable member for Macquarie the other night, there is a grave difficulty about getting anything like a reasonably cheap or substantial water supply. That, in my opinion, is a first essential. I do not take the view, as some honorable members do, that we should not go west because it would be near Sydney, or because the trade would go through Sydney. I believe that if this House had the opportunity, and the room-limits did not exist, Sydney would be selected, even now. Therefore, I do not think that there is much argument in the fact that the western district is close to Sydney. But the Lyndhurst site is not good. If a site is to be selected in the west, let it be about Orange or Bathurst, or perhaps between Orange and Wellington, where good land and a better water supply could be got than at Lyndhurst. But of all the places in the west—and I know the west as well as most honorable members do—Lyndhurst is the worst site, and it would not have been heard of but for the efforts of my friend, Mr. Biddulph, who, to his credit be it said, in the interests of the district, has fought very long and very hard to try to prove, not that water will run uphill, but that water exists where it does not. The credit is due to him for having brought this spot so prominently forward, and kept it in evidence so long. But if honorable members are determined to go west, certainly let them go to Orange, or between

Orange and Wellington, where they could find a site which would be worthy of the location of the Federal Capital.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The honorable member said that Lyndhurst was the best site of all.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I beg the honorable member's pardon, I did not.

Mr. CROUCH.—The honorable member said in the Sydney *Daily Telegraph* that he would rather have Lyndhurst than any other site in New South Wales.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I do not think the *Daily Telegraph* stated that; but if it did, it only keeps up its reputation of scarcely ever telling the truth about me.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The honorable member would not have been Premier of New South Wales if it had not been for that newspaper.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I have repeatedly said that at Orange a suitable site could be found.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The honorable member said in this House that the western site was the best.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—That is not Lyndhurst. I am repeating what I have said before.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—Let it pass. The honorable member has had fifteen sites suggested in his own district.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—And each one of them is a better site than Bombala. I do not know what is likely to happen in regard to the western site, but if that area be selected, I should do my level best to prevent the Federal Capital being located at Lyndhurst. I should like to see some other spot chosen.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Will the honorable member support the selection of Orange?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—If the western area were selected, I should support Orange a long way before Lyndhurst.

Mr. FULLER.—Is the honorable member going to vote for Tooma?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—The honorable member will know when I sit down. I wish to say a few words in indorsement of what has been said regarding the railway connexion. I desire to be fair, and trust that, on an important question of this kind, honorable members will at least give me the credit—though I have beautiful sites in my own electorate—of voting for the site I conceive to be the best, irrespective of whose electorate it is in. If the leader of the Opposition and those who are supporting a western site had not opposed my project to

extend the railway from Cobar to Wilcannia, and thence to Broken Hill, and from Wellington to Werris Creek, those lines would have been in existence to-day.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—No.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—They must come.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The honorable member knows better than that.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I think I know as much about the policy of railway construction for New South Wales as the honorable member does.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I think I know more about that particular railway than the honorable member does.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Of course the honorable member knows everything, and he does not credit any one else with knowing anything. I brought the project twice before the Public Works Committee, and tried to get it sanctioned by the State Parliament. Had it not been for the opposition I received from honorable members who sat on the left hand of the Speaker, and who are now saying so much in favour of a western district site, those railways would have been constructed as I desired, and there would have been very little doubt now as to the minds of the majority of honorable members.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The honorable member never wished to construct it, or else it would have been done.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—The honorable member forgets, I suppose, that when the river was “up,” I took the responsibility of ordering sleepers and rails to Wilcannia, with a view to commence the construction of a railway from Cobar to Wilcannia, and a railway from Wilcannia to Broken Hill simultaneously. I do not know whether the honorable member was one of those who opposed me, but the Opposition at that time fought me to that extent that I could not carry out my plans.

Mr. KELLY.—Does the honorable member think that these railways will be built?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—The honorable member is younger than I am; but I think I shall live to see them built. I suggested—and a plan of the route is now lying in my private safe in Sydney—that this railway, if constructed, would be a connecting link with Albany.

Mr. KELLY.—Is not that a very strong argument in favour of Lyndhurst?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Only on the strength of communication. I am pointing out that those honorable members who are

now so anxious to prove that this railway construction would do good to Lyndhurst opposed my proposal, and practically prevented me from carrying it out.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—They did not.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—The honorable member may be of that opinion, but the records show otherwise.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—On what date was that?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—It was done on three occasions—once when I ordered sleepers and rails to Wilcannia, and twice when I brought the matter before Parliament, a proposal to build a line from Werris Creek to the western line, and a line from Cobar to Broken Hill, *via* Wilcannia. I do not think it can be proved that a good water supply could be obtained for a large population at Lyndhurst without incurring a great expense and risk. If an eastern site be preferred by honorable members, do not go to Lyndhurst, but go to some other place. Now, let me deal with the last site to which reference has been made, the Welaregang site. I have given my reasons why that site was not brought forward when the honorable member for Grampians desired that it should be, and it is useless to repeat them; but of all the sites there is none to compare with it, either for picturesqueness, extent of good soil, facilities for building, or water supply. Before dealing with it, I wish to say in regard to the Tumut site that if there were any chance of it being selected—and I still have the lingering hope that it may be chosen before the matter is finally settled—

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—Now the cat is out of the bag!

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—The vacant laughter of honorable members does not prove anything. Despite what has been said to the contrary, the water supply available at Tumut comes next after that available at the Upper Murray site. The river there is snow fed, and it was proved by the Commissioners that the largest, purest, and cheapest water supply available at any of the sites investigated is that at the Tumut site.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—It cannot be the largest supply available. It cannot be so large as the supply available at Dalgety.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I will not speak authoritatively; but my opinion is that the Commissioners reported that it is

the largest, the purest, and the most continuous supply obtainable. Only a short time has been available for the examination of the Upper Murray site; but I appeal to those who have seen it, a few of whom may intend, for various reasons, to vote for other sites, to say whether it does not stand out prominently as that which should be chosen. I do not say that it is a site which is favoured by the people of Sydney; but it is favoured by a large section of those who live in the southern and south-western districts, and possibly, in the western district of New South Wales. A great many of the people of Sydney are opposed to the selection of the Upper Murray site, not because it is not a beautiful spot, unequalled for its scenery, and the extent of its good land, but because it is too near to Melbourne. If there were a similar site at Cootamundra, at Yass, or in some other part of that district, it would be chosen by them at once; there would not be two opinions held in regard to it. I think honorable members who have visited it are unanimous in stating that it is the finest site that has yet been seen. We are considering the selection of a site for the Seat of Government for all time. The growth of the Federal Capital will not be very much within our lives. But if we are to choose a site which 100 years hence will reflect credit upon us, we must ignore local jealousies, which will have died out long before that time comes. I am afraid, however, that a number of honorable members, in dealing with this question, are influenced by the local jealousies, instead of looking to the future.

Mr. FULLER.—The honorable member is the strongest evidence of the truth of his statement.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I do not admit that I am. Mr. Surveyor Chesterman, who has known this district perhaps longer than any other surveyor in New South Wales, is an exceptionally cautious man. He resided in the Upper Murray district for four or five years, and in his report refers to the beauty of the place, and to its excellent water supply. He says that about twelve miles from the site, and at a height of between 2,000 and 3,000 feet, water could be turned on to the Federal city from the Tooma River without the need for conservation works, until a supply for perhaps over 100,000 people was required. But, besides the Tooma River, which is snow-fed from one side of Mount Kosciusko, there are other streams

from which water could be obtained. One of these is the Pound Creek, whose waters command the site by an elevation of nearly 2,500 feet, and the Mannus Creek, which is always running. The only creek where water could not be used for a town supply, though there is plenty of it, is the Tumberumba Creek. I have been told that the honorable member for North Sydney is in possession of a letter in which it is stated that there is no pure water in the Upper Murray, because the dredging operations in the higher parts of the river have covered the flats with debris, and destroyed the purity of the stream.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I quoted a report, not a letter.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I have been told that there is in existence a letter containing the statement to which I refer. If there be such a letter, let it be produced. The waters of the Tumberumba Creek are thick with sludge, but that is the only water-course there which has been polluted by mining operations. The Tumberumba Creek joins the Tooma River about eight or ten miles below the offtake of the water supply, and below the watershed of that river and the creeks which flow into it. The statement only shows the length to which persons will go to detract from the strong points of a site to whose selection they are opposed. There is no purer water in Australia than the water of these creeks. Except for a few months in Autumn, when the snow does not lie, and they are supplied with rain water, they are snow-fed. I do not think it redounds to the credit of certain honorable members that they tried to prevent further information being obtained in regard to this site. The House should be given all the information that can be procured. The delay of a month, or of six months, or of a year, or of several years is of no consequence while information is lacking in regard to such an important question as this. I have in my possession a telegram which arrived to-day from the surveyor who has been sent to examine the site. I wished to ascertain the height of the spot where the two main heads of the Murray junction, and the surveyor telegraphs—

Approximate height Swampy Plain River, where river enters gorge 1,340 feet. Present discharge here approximately 440 cubic feet per second.

That is about 26,000 cubic feet per minute. The river is in its normal condition.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—What is the height of the take-off?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—The spot referred to is not the position of the take-off, but a place about the Murray Gates, where there is a junction of two streams.

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—What is the height of the proposed site?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—It ranges from 1,000 to 1,600 feet.

Mr. KELLY.—Is it 1,600 feet high at a distance of fourteen miles from the river?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—It is 1,600 feet three or four miles from the river. It is much higher at the spot referred to by the honorable member. There are parts within the site itself which have an elevation of as much as 1,600 feet.

Mr. CROUCH.—Then, it is really on the top of a mountain?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—No; it is at the bottom of the mountain. From the Murray the land rises between 300 and 400 feet in about two miles. From that point onward one traverses an undulating table-land.

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—Is Mr. Surveyor Chesterman correct in saying that the proposed site is three miles from the river?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—It commences between two and three miles from the river. Welaregang homestead is about two miles from the river. It is about two miles in a direct line from Tintaldra township to Welaregang, and there is a rise of between 200 and 300 feet in that distance. Then one comes to an undulating plateau, seven or eight miles in extent from its commencement to the further side where the hills rise higher, and seven or eight miles across.

Mr. SKENE.—About forty-nine square miles altogether.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—That is the area available for city building sites. The telegram from which I am quoting continues—

Exact gauging impossible without proper appliances. Approximate height at junction of Swampy Plain and Indi rivers, near Bringenbrong ford, is 930 feet. Between here and Murray Gates most of fall is at upper end.

Mr. SKENE.—What does that mean?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Proceeding towards the Murray Gates the country is pretty level for about half the distance, and then begins to rise rapidly; but the average rise from the ford to the Murray Gates is about thirty feet per mile. In that short distance there is a rise to 1,340

feet, and I think that another four or five miles gives a rise to between 1,700 and 1,800 feet. That is a sufficient height to enable the whole of the Murray waters to be diverted to any portion of the Capital Site. Moreover, the stream is pure and fresh, unpolluted by sludge. It is necessarily of immense volume, being the head water of the greatest river in Australia. If those who are disposed to be sceptical will peruse the report of the New South Wales Water Commission of 1883 or 1884, they will find that a scheme is there propounded for impounding the waters of the Murray somewhere about this point, and for carrying them by means of canals down to Urana, Jerilderie, and Yanko Creeks, and other places. If it be possible to do that, how much easier would it be to divert, not only from the Tooma River, but also from the Murray, a sufficient quantity of water to irrigate land and supply an immense city, without spending a single shilling, except for pipes? I trust that these facts will convince honorable members that an ample supply of water is obtainable upon the Upper Murray. I do not know that there is any necessity for me to say much more, except in regard to railway communication. As far as Tumut is concerned, that town already possesses railway communication, *via* Cootamundra, and I claim that a line could easily be constructed from the Gadara Gap, about ten miles from Tumut, *via* the Gilmore and another creek, and the Batlow Gap to Welaregang, at a very reasonable cost.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—There is a rise of 1,000 feet between Tumut and Batlow.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—But Tumut is a long way below the top of the Gadara Gap, to which the railway now extends. No difficulty would be experienced in constructing a railway from the top of that gap to the head of the Gilmore Creek on the saddle between Tumberumba Creek and the head waters of the Murrumbidgee. There would be no trouble encountered in constructing such a line, except over about four miles of country along the Mannus Creek, where a deviation would be rendered necessary. Mr. Chesterman, who spent some time in examining this country, declares that it would be possible to build such a railway without incurring any extraordinary outlay.

Mr. CONROY. — Does the honorable member say that it could be constructed

without involving any extraordinary expenditure?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Yes. It could be built at a cost of from £4,000 to £5,000 per mile.

Mr. CONROY.—In my opinion such a work would cost from £10,000 to £12,000 per mile.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I do not think that the honorable and learned member has examined the country.

Mr. CONROY.—It is quite true that there may be a gap of the existence of which I have no knowledge.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—There is such a gap. Mr. Chesterman has carefully examined the route, and, except over some four miles of country in the vicinity of Mannus Creek, he estimates that a railway could easily be constructed with easy grades and good curves. He does not commit himself to the exact cost of such an undertaking, but in his report he declares that the country is of a character that will permit of a railway being constructed.

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—He throws some doubt upon it.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—From Gadara he describes how to get to the Batlow Gap, and from there to the Tumberumba Creek. The top of the Batlow Gap is from 2,000 feet to 3,000 feet above sea level. Along the mountains, between Tumut and Adelong, there is only one difficult place, at which a tunnel would require to be made—

Mr. CONROY.—I do not think there is any gap under 3,000 feet high.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Oh, yes. The Batlow Gap is only a few feet higher than the site of that name. Then a survey has been made of a railway from Tallangatta to Tintaldra. I admit that such an undertaking would be expensive. It would cost about £9,000 per mile. Another survey has been made from Huon's Lane right up to the Victorian side of the Upper Murray site. The cost of constructing that line was estimated at £8,500 per mile, but the engineers responsible for its survey affirm that at the time they framed their estimate, the price of material was extremely high, and that the work could now be carried out for very much less.

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—For 25 per cent. less.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—Did the honorable member tell his colleagues of this beautiful site?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—In detail, I do not suppose that I did, but I stated my opinion in this House.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—The honorable member for Eden-Monaro seems to have been quite ignorant of it.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—The honorable member for Eden-Monaro is so enthusiastic in his advocacy of the claims of a particular site that it is useless to talk to him about the qualifications of any other. The most magnificent site in the world would not be equal to that of Bombala in his judgment. I repeat that Tooma possesses every essential to a Capital Site. It is not out of the world. I join issue with the leader of the Opposition when he declares that we do not want a beautiful site for a Federal Capital, and that we should go to the bed-rock of commerce. He affirmed that it did not matter whether a site was ugly or not.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—He never said anything of the sort.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I have described from memory as well as I can the methods by which this country could be opened up. I also think that if the Victorian Premier were alive to the situation he would obtain a survey of a railway from Beechworth to the Upper Murray. No doubt it would be a troublesome line to construct, but it would constitute the most direct route from Melbourne. In addition to that, the present railway from Culcairn to Germanton was intended to be the base of a line which was designed to run right into this particular site. The country has been examined and reported upon, and a flying survey has been made of a line to the top of the Yarra Gap, which is the highest point to be crossed in getting to the Upper Murray site. That line was designed and the base of it constructed before there was any prospect of Tooma being chosen as the Federal Capital Site. Why was a portion of it constructed? For the purpose of developing a country which had been too long reserved for fattening cattle and carrying sheep, because the settlers could not get their produce to market for lack of railway communication. In that country 100 acres would make an admirable farm for any family. If it were irrigated—especially the flats and the higher lands—as they easily could be, fifty acres would prove a fortune to any family. The intention is to carry a line of railway over the Yarra Gap, down the Jingellic Creek to the river, and then across the Victorian border.

whence it could be constructed on the Victorian side over flat country, to right opposite the Welaregang site.

Mr. CONROY.—I thought that it would run up to Tumberumba?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—No. There is another matter to which I must refer before concluding my remarks. It has reference to my late colleague, the right honorable member for Swan. My experience has been that no Minister failed to listen to any representations that were made to him by a colleague. When the right honorable member for Swan visited Bombala, Dalgety, Tumut, and Tumberumba, I wired to him—

Sir JOHN FORREST.—To whom did the honorable member wire?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I wired either to the right honorable member or to the honorable and learned member for Ballarat, the then Prime Minister. At any rate, the right honorable member for Swan saw the telegram, which urged them to visit the Welaregang site before returning to Melbourne. I was even denied the courtesy of being informed as to the date when they would be in the Tumut district, my electorate. It was only from outside sources that I obtained that information. I pressed them to examine this particular site, but for some unaccountable reason they did not visit it. Had they done so, I feel sure that they would have had their eyes opened like the proverbial kittens.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—Where did the honorable member send the telegram?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I sent one wire to Tumut and another to Tumberumba. I felt very much annoyed at the attitude which was assumed towards me in connexion with this matter.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I wonder that the honorable member did not resign.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—No doubt the honorable member for Macquarie, with his high-spirited temperament, would have resigned upon any small matter.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The honorable member did not send a telegram to me.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I telegraphed to the then Prime Minister, who was with the right honorable member, and I think also to the right honorable member.

Mr. PAGE.—Perhaps the honorable member for Eden-Monaro obtained possession of the telegram.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—That interjection reminds me of a little story which I must tell the Committee. A number of

honorable members recently accompanied me on a visit of inspection to the Upper Murray site, and when we had journeyed some distance I was told that one of the drivers of the conveyances, by which we were travelling, was speaking most disparagingly of the Upper Murray, Tooma, and other sites in the district. When I asked the man what he knew about the district, he replied, "Well, I know that it is not a very good place in which to hump your swag, or to lie under a wire fence at night." To this I rejoined, "But who are you?" "Oh!" he replied, "I am a cousin of Mr. Chapman's."

Mr. CARPENTER.—That is true.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Yes; the honorable member heard the remark. When I made this discovery I began to think that there was some deep-laid scheme to endeavour to influence members of the party against the sites in the Tumut district.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—The honorable member for Eden-Monaro says that he has no cousin in that district.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Then he had better communicate with the police, because that was the statement made by this man.

Mr. CARPENTER.—And he said that he was not ashamed of it.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—That is so. As an instance of the longevity of residents, I would inform the Committee that I received this evening a telegram stating that an old lady, who had lived in the district for fifty years, died yesterday at the age of 102, and that her husband died twelve years ago at the age of 103. If the right honorable member for Swan wishes to see a site selected in which we shall be able to build up a race of fine, stalwart men—a people who will practically live for ever, as he no doubt would like to do—this is the district which he should favour.

Mr. HUTCHISON.—Were the couple referred to the first persons to be buried in the district?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I do not know; but one does not see many graves in that part of the country. I saw only one. The selection of Tumut would be free from the objections attaching to the choosing of many other sites, because it is midway between Melbourne and Sydney. I advocated its selection before, and do so now. If we are to make such a selection that no sting so far as local considerations are concerned will attach to it, too much cannot be said in support of that site. But if honorable members object to vote for it, we have

a right to select Welaregang, which is fifty miles nearer the centre of New South Wales than is either Bombala or Dalgety. It is all very well to say that Dalgety is only twenty miles distant from a railway, but if the productiveness of the soil there were as great as has been described—if the land were as good and the climate as suitable for the growth of various crops as are the soil and climate of Tooma—its development would have been so great that instead of having, as at present, only a few farms, it would be literally studded with them.

Mr. CONROY.—How is it that the Upper Murray district is not studded with farms?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—It would be if it were within twenty-five miles of a railway line, but as a matter of fact it is seventy-five miles from one.

Mr. CONROY.—What about Bombala?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—The Cooma country is very much like that of Bombala, and, if the land were good, it would be leased or sold in farm lots; but that is not the case.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—We have towns in the Southern Monaro district, but there are only sleepy hollows in the district which the honorable member favours.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—If the honorable member had been with us on the occasion of our recent visit, and had dared to speak of Tooma as a sleepy hollow after our experience on the first night of our sojourn in the district, he would have been ducked in the river. At one small place we saw a dozen young men, not one of whom was over twenty-four or twenty-five years of age.

Mr. McLEAN.—The old people had all died off, I presume?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—No; as I have already shown, the residents of the district live to a ripe old age; but not one of these young men was under six feet, and they were all fine, well set up, stalwart fellows.

Mr. McLEAN.—If the honorable member goes to Bombala he will find that the residents live until they are eighty or ninety years of age.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I thought that the honorable member was going to say that I would find that they were eighty or ninety feet high. I remember meeting a young man who came from a place right under Mount Kosciusko, who was 6 feet 10 inches in height. I do not wish to unduly detain the Committee, and should not have spoken

at such great length but that I felt that I was called upon to make a full statement of the claims of the district which I favour. I am disappointed to learn that some honorable members who voted last session for Tumut are now, for no visible reason, turning against their first love. If they refuse to vote for Tumut, then I would point out that, although Welaregang is on the Victorian border, the fact that it is so situated will be forgotten before we are very much older, and that there is no site that can in any degree compare with it.

Mr. JOHNSON (Lang).—It is greatly to be regretted that the consideration of so important a matter as this has proceeded upon personal, rather than upon national, grounds. Three honorable members have, so to speak, eligible sites to dispose of to the Committee, and each one appears to have made it a point to voice the claims of the particular site which he favours as against those of any other district. That is a most unfortunate position for such members of the Committee as may perhaps be unacquainted with the country in which the several sites are situated. So far as I am concerned, I may say that, in dealing with this question, I am absolutely free from all personal or provincial bias. It is immaterial to me whether the site selected be in the west, the south, or the south-eastern district; with me the main consideration is that we shall select the best site within the area to which we are limited. Unfortunately, as I have already pointed out, the 100-miles limit provided for by the Constitution has excluded from selection what, in my opinion, are the best sites, which would otherwise have been available for inspection, and from which perhaps a selection would have been made. We are, therefore, reduced to the necessity of selecting one of the less eligible sites which are offering in other parts of the State, and under these conditions it seems to me that we should put aside all considerations as to whether a site is in a district represented by one honorable member or in that represented by another. We should deal with the question from a broad national stand-point, and determine which is really the best site to select in the interests of the Commonwealth. It is in that spirit that I have approached this question, and have given it consideration. I happen to know the various localities in which the sites under discussion are situated. The climatic conditions of the Southern Monaro district form the basis of

one of my objections to it. I have passed over that part of the country. I have on several occasions made a trip from Bega to Dalgety, thence to Bombala, and, *via* Nimitybelle, to Cooma. On one memorable occasion in mid-summer—when a great heat wave passed over Sydney, and the temperature recorded in that city was about 106 degrees in the shade—I was almost frozen whilst travelling by coach over the ranges in the Southern Monaro district.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I should think so.

Mr. JOHNSON.—Such were the climatic conditions that, although this was about Christmas time—midsummer—I and a number of others who were travelling outside the coach, were so frozen after travelling all night that on reaching Nimitybelle at 6 a.m. we were very glad to avail ourselves of a huge log fire which was burning at the hotel at which we stayed, and to literally thaw while breakfast was being prepared. I do not say that that was a normal experience. It may be that the weather was exceptionally cold for that time of the year; but it struck me that as it was so cold in midsummer, I should not particularly care to pass the winter there. That the cold was so intense there, even in mid-summer, may perhaps be a recommendation to those who favour a frigid climate. On another occasion I spent a summer in the Tumut district, and can only say that I never desire to do so again. For the greater part of the time the temperature was 90 degrees, even after sundown, and it was difficult to obtain anything like rest, either by night or by day.

Mr. WATSON.—Why not have gone to Batlow, where there is an elevation of 1,500 feet?

Mr. JOHNSON.—I have been to Batlow as well as to Welaregang; I am familiar with the whole of that part of the country, and I know that Welaregang is more open. Tumut is completely surrounded by hills, and there in the summer time one lives in an atmosphere of steam. That is my objection to the Tumut site. If Welaregang were more accessible, I should be strongly inclined to favour it, at any rate from an artistic stand-point. There is no doubt that it boasts of a fine stretch of country and a magnificent backing for a Federal city. I am not so confident, however, about the abundance of its water supply as some honorable members seem to be. It must be remembered, of course, that the reports which we are now receiving may

not, perhaps, give us a fair indication of what the water supply always is in the several districts. Let us, for instance, take the case of Lyndhurst. We have ample evidence from the Chief Engineer of Water Conservation in New South Wales, Mr. Wade, that the Lyndhurst district possesses a splendid water supply, and yet we have the statement of the right honorable member for Swan that when he visited it the creeks were dry. He inspected the district, however, after a period of prolonged drought, and I do not know what was the water supply in the Welaregang district under those conditions. It was not visited by honorable members immediately after a prolonged season of drought, but after more favorable weather conditions had been prevailing. The honorable member for Eden-Monaro referred to the temperature of Lyndhurst as having been on one occasion 98 degrees in the shade. I understand that that is the highest reading on record there. A higher reading has been recorded in Sydney. There the temperature frequently rises in mid-summer to 95 and 98 degrees, and it rose on the memorable occasion to which I have just referred to 106 degrees in the shade. There is an important difference between the climatic conditions existing under these temperatures in the two districts. A temperature of 90 degrees in the shade in Sydney would, perhaps, be more oppressive on account of the greater amount of humidity in the atmosphere than a temperature of 95 or even 98 degrees at Lyndhurst, where the atmosphere is very much drier. It is probable that Lyndhurst, with a temperature of 98 degrees, would not be so enervating as Sydney, with a temperature of 90 degrees or 92 degrees. The honorable member for Hume has several times emphasized his preference for Orange as a western site, and particularly as regards the facilities there afforded for a water supply. I have to confess that what troubled me most on visiting Lyndhurst was the water supply. There were so many conflicting reports upon the matter that I determined to write to a person whom I knew to be well acquainted with the district, and who happens to be a surveyor and civil engineer. I asked him to give me his private opinion, and the fullest information he could supply on the matter. Owing to the position which he occupies I am not at liberty to disclose his name, but I submit his opinion to honorable members for what, in their opinion, it

may be worth. This gentleman is a professional expert, and I am personally confident that I can trust his judgment and his impartiality. He says in his letter to me—

If all the gravitation supplies around Lyndhurst are considered, water for 150,000 persons will be available, but of this all would not be used for actual drinking purposes unless filtered. I refer to one source, the Belubula River. I contend that this river could be dammed back eleven miles with a 110 feet breast, and that a lake seven miles long would result from a 100 feet breast. This could be conducted one and a half miles, and let drop a sheer fall of 400 feet, and then again, after creating horse-power, conveyed for six miles into the proposed artificial lake at Mandurama. The same thing could be done with regard to Coombing Creek. In Coombing Creek there is a supply for 40,000. In the Belubula for 60,000 or 70,000. But, apart from these, a supply from Brown's Creek (granite drift country) would do for years for drinking purposes. Then there are Cadia, Flyers, Fciltimber, Mandurama, Ponds Creeks, and a large pumping supply can be had from Hell's Hole, west of Carcoar, on the Belubula—but the Abercrombie and Fish Rivers would, of course, give an additional pumping supply of unlimited quantities.

That report, taken in conjunction with Mr. Wade's report, sets at rest all doubt that there was in my mind as to the adequacy of the water supply to be obtained at Lyndhurst. With regard to Orange, which is so favoured by the honorable member for Hume, it was pointed out by the late Mr. Alexander Oliver that it is a suitable site, and yet it has a considerably greater altitude than Lyndhurst, and its catchment area is not one twenty-fifth of that of the Lyndhurst site for gravitation purposes. If Orange is a suitable site, then, viewed from the stand-point of the water supply alone, Lyndhurst must be a 25 per cent. better site. The honorable member for Hume has expressed doubts as to building material being available in the vicinity of Lyndhurst; but I find that there is an abundance of building material available in the district, whilst at Lithgow, not very far away, iron can be had, and pottery cement. I find that in the neighbourhood of Lyndhurst, if the reports of experts are to be relied on, there is to be found slate, freestone, marble, granite, trachite, porphyry, and basalt. When the honorable member for Hume was a Minister in New South Wales he received a deputation from marble masons, who asked him to give a preference to the local over the imported marble, in order to encourage the working of local deposits. Special reference was made to the marble found in the neighbourhood of Lyndhurst, and the honorable gentleman then expressed the

opinion, after an examination of this marble, that it was in every way equal, if not superior, to the marble imported from Carrara. Although the honorable gentleman has here expressed a doubt as to whether there is any stone suitable for building purposes in the Lyndhurst district, we have his own words to prove that he was previously aware of the fact that such stone did exist in the district. I do not regard Lyndhurst as an ideal Capital Site. I do not think it is an ideal site; but it is, in my judgment, the best of the three sites available. In my opinion, its great recommendation is its accessibility.

MR. POYNTON.—Has the honorable member seen the Eden-Monaro district?

MR. JOHNSON.—Yes, I know that district well. The honorable member must have been asleep surely, or he must have known that I related some of my experiences in that district but a few minutes since. It must not be forgotten that if a selection of a site is made in the Eden-Monaro district thirty-one miles of railway will have to be built in New South Wales through a country that is not particularly good for railway construction, as many engineering difficulties would have to be surmounted, and there would also require to be constructed 183 miles of railway to connect with Bairnsdale, on the Victorian side; that is to say, 214 miles of railway construction would be involved if the selection were made in that district. I am not sure that even a survey has been made for a railway to the site suggested at Welaregang; but reference has been made to the fact that a railway has already been extended in that direction as far as Germanton. That line is not a paying line at the present time, and it must be remembered that it was constructed against the advice of the Railway Commissioners. There is a question of considerable cost involved, and the honorable and learned member for Werriwa has roughly estimated that it would take something like from £10,000 to £12,000 per mile to construct a railway there. In the case of Lyndhurst, we could have fifty different sites selected, all equally eligible, and all on the railway line itself. I may add that population is trending in that direction, and that the Western site must soon become the centre of the population of New South Wales. It has a further advantage in the fact that it is on a loop line now connecting the Southern and Western lines of railway; in a short time it will be in direct communication with the Northern

line by means of a line from Wellington to Werris Creek, or Dubbo to Werris Creek. When that line is completed, a person will be able to go directly from the farthest point north, to which railway communication extends in Queensland, right away to Adelaide or Broken Hill, without ever going near Sydney. Lyndhurst then is on a line which, when the Werris Creek connexion is completed, will unite the three main trunk lines of the Commonwealth, and I submit that that is a most important feature in considering the selection of a site for the Federal Capital. A great deal had been made by some honorable members, and particularly by the honorable member for Gippsland, of the alleged great advantages of Twofold Bay as a shipping port.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—A breakwater could be built there for £150,000.

Mr. JOHNSON.—I desire to point out that the port itself is not sufficiently capacious to justify the construction of a breakwater there at any cost. It is so very small that I do not know why it should be dignified with the name of a port in the sense of immensity which has been conveyed by the speech of the honorable member for Gippsland. I say that without any disparagement of the Southern Monaro sites. Honorable members who may be induced to vote for a Southern Monaro site on the ground that the Federal territory would include a port should not be misled. I have visited Twofold Bay many times; I am perfectly familiar with the port, and I know what I am speaking about. I say that it cannot possibly be regarded seriously as a port at all, because it is to all intents and purposes little better than an open roadstead, with just a little point of land jutting out, and affording sufficient protection for a wharf, at which two small steamers can be berthed. Beyond that there is no port accommodation at the place. There is certainly an area of water deep enough to afford safe anchorage in the southern and north-western bights for vessels of no great tonnage, but so far as the rest of the port itself is concerned, it is absolutely exposed to every wind from the Pacific. A breakwater at this place would, in my opinion, be absolutely useless as a protection. It would be of no more value than was the breakwater which was recently washed away at Byron Bay, and upon which so many thousands of pounds were absolutely thrown away. If a breakwater could be successfully built at Twofold Bay, the

port would not be good enough as a refuge for vessels of large draught; nor could it be made a port of any size for shipping such as one might expect would be required for the trade of a port connected with so important a place as the Federal Capital.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—Boyd's attempt to make Twofold Bay a port was one of the greatest failures in Australian settlement.

Mr. JOHNSON.—Unquestionably, because there are no facilities for a port there. None of the large new steamers from, say, Western Australia could go into Twofold Bay and berth alongside the wharf at Eden; the most they could do would be to anchor and tranship passengers and cargo into smaller boats. Honorable members who have had the experience of an eastern swell there, and of transhipping under such conditions, will not want to repeat it.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—I suppose the honorable member knows that all the authorities say quite to the contrary?

Mr. JOHNSON.—I am speaking from my own personal knowledge.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—Does the honorable member place his observation above that of the authorities?

Mr. JOHNSON.—I am speaking from my own experience; I do not care what the authorities say. Twofold Bay is only about the size of one of the coves in Sydney Harbor.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—There are forty acres of Twofold Bay.

Mr. JOHNSON.—So there are at Neutral Bay; but the latter is only a small portion of Sydney Harbor.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—Twofold Bay is only a tortuous channel.

Mr. JOHNSON.—There are only two and a half miles in the bay, including the shallow water. The depth of water a little distance beyond the end of the wharf is about five fathoms, but in the open and exposed area as much as twelve fathoms. I admit, can be obtained. But no sensible mariner would dream of attempting to ride out an easterly gale in such an exposed position. If, however, honorable members desire a site in that neighbourhood, there is a splendid stretch of virgin country, all practically Crown land, at the back of Jervis Bay, which is a well sheltered harbor.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—The difficulty there is the water supply.

Mr. JOHNSON.—I dare say some trouble might be experienced on that score.

Mr. CONROY.—Is the honorable member speaking of the Lake George site?

Mr. JOHNSON.—I am speaking of a stretch of country between Lake George and Jervis Bay. Lake George is about seventy miles from Jervis Bay, in a direct line.

Mr. CONROY.—Jervis Bay is the only good port, with the exception of Port Jackson, from Rockhampton to Adelaide.

Mr. JOHNSON. — Unquestionably. Since we are not to have a Capital Site at a fortified place or a naval station, it would be unwise to select a territory with a port. Such a situation would involve a tremendous amount of expense on fortifications, and in the maintenance of a naval station, and, in addition, we should be open to attack, especially in the case of Twofold Bay. In the latter case, an enemy's ship would not need to come near the bay, but might remain five or six miles distant, and from there reduce the place to ashes in no time, in the same way as Alexandria was bombarded by the British some years ago. Honorable members have, in my opinion, laid too much stress on Twofold Bay as an ideal port for the Federal Capital. Unless they have taken the trouble to visit the place I am sure they will in the future be very much disappointed at the character of the port the advantage of which they urge as one of the main reasons for the selection of this site. It would be much better if, in their advocacy of the Southern Monaro sites, they were to altogether eliminate all calculations as to a port, which may be at once said to be absolutely impracticable. I cannot avoid coming to the conclusion that, from every point of view, Lyndhurst is the best site of those under discussion, and that is the site for which I shall vote.

Mr. HUTCHISON (Hindmarsh).—Although I should like to see this question expeditiously settled, I do not feel inclined, on so important a matter, to give a silent vote. If I were to consult my own convenience, and that of South Australian members generally, I should not be anxious to have the question settled for a long time to come. It is convenient to South Australian members to be able to visit their homes at the end of each week; but I recognise that a bond, which ought to be carried out, was entered into with New South Wales. It is nothing to me in what part of New South Wales the Federal Territory is situated, further than that I desire to see the site selected which will be most advantageous from every point of view.

It stands to reason that wherever the Federal Capital may be located in New South Wales, the parliamentary representatives from Western Australia, Queensland, and South Australia will have to make their homes there during the session; they will not be able to visit their respective States each week as at present. Under the circumstances all the talk about short cuts to this place and the other does not influence me. It does not matter to me whether the Federal Capital be 100 miles, 200 miles, or even 300 miles east, west, north, or south, so long as we select the best position. But to-day I heard the honorable member for Parramatta speak of an attempt on the part of honorable members to break the agreement entered into with New South Wales. So far as the majority of representatives from the different States are concerned, there is not, in my opinion, any such desire or attempt. I do find, however, that there is a desire and an attempt on the part of the representatives of New South Wales to dictate to this Parliament, not only where the territory shall be, but what its limits shall be; and this in spite of the fact that it is clearly laid down in the Constitution that the Commonwealth Parliament is to select territory, and to determine its area. At any rate, I am prepared to carry out the bargain, and I hope that New South Wales will act towards the Commonwealth in the same generous manner that the electors of the Commonwealth have acted towards that State.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—On the argument of the honorable member, is there anything to prevent the Commonwealth taking the whole of New South Wales?

Mr. HUTCHISON.—I want to take only what is proposed by the Government—the small slice of 900 square miles out of an enormous territory.

Mr. REID.—The honorable member is too generous!

Mr. HUTCHISON.—We have been too generous to New South Wales. There was so little Federal spirit amongst many of the people of that State that they had to be treated like spoiled children, and offered a gift to induce them to enter the Federation.

Mr. REID.—New South Wales took South Australian wheat for fifty years without placing any duty on it.

Mr. HUTCHISON.—The right honorable member would not have continued such a policy if he had not thought that New

South Wales reaped the greatest benefit. Why should not South Australia, Queensland, and Tasmania have concessions in the same way as New South Wales and Western Australia? However, we are ready to carry out the bargain; and if New South Wales is not prepared to fulfil her part, then this House will be compelled to do the next best thing. To induce New South Wales to enter the Federation, this Parliament was deprived of its undoubted right to select the Federal Capital in any part of the Commonwealth considered most suitable. But while I do not grumble about the concessions offered to New South Wales and Western Australia, I must take exception to the attitude assumed by the Premier and the Attorney-General of New South Wales, who, in spite of the clear provisions of the Constitution, desire not only to dictate the extent, but the situation of the territory. I refuse to be a party to tolerating that kind of thing.

Mr. BROWN.—The Premier and the Attorney-General of New South Wales were asked to do that by the late Prime Minister.

Mr. REID.—And more than once.

Mr. HUTCHISON.—They have not been asked to do it by this Parliament, which was elected to carry out the Constitution in letter and spirit.

Mr. REID.—This Parliament cannot communicate with the New South Wales Government; only the Commonwealth Government can do that.

Mr. HUTCHISON.—Why should we communicate with the New South Wales Government further than to point out the decision of the Federal Parliament as to the situation and area? New South Wales will reap all the advantage of having the Federal Territory within her border; at any rate, if the right honorable member for East Sydney had not thought there was an advantage the bargain as to the Federal Capital would never have been made. Whether that bargain be wise or unwise, it has been made, and we must stand by it; and the right honorable gentleman who had much to do with it ought to see that his State performs its share.

Mr. CONROY.—Does the honorable member think that a site on the Upper Murray would give any advantage to New South Wales?

Mr. HUTCHISON.—I wish honorable members had taken the trouble to inspect all the sites. I do not profess to be an expert, but I like to make my own observations, and then obtain the opinion of

experts. I had no prejudice in regard to any of the sites, but from what I had heard and read my idea was that Dalgety was the best. I visited the various places, and thought Lyndhurst looked very well. Then, I thought that Orange was magnificent so far as scenery, soil, and climate were concerned, and that Bombala would do. Dalgety, however, I regarded as the best site of all, though I had to admit that the soil there did not come up to my expectations. I am glad to say that the expert knowledge of the right honorable member for Swan more than bears out my opinion in regard to Dalgety. But I should have been disappointed, indeed, had I been asked to cast my vote without an opportunity to visit the Tooma district, which, to my untutored observation at any rate, seems far superior even to Dalgety. The soil of the Tooma district appears excellent, and the site can be easily made accessible. However, I do not think there is anything in the arguments as to accessibility.

Mr. CONROY.—Does the honorable member consider that the selection of the Tooma site would confer any advantage on New South Wales?

Mr. HUTCHISON.—Undoubtedly.

Mr. CONROY.—In what way?

Mr. HUTCHISON.—No matter in what part of New South Wales the Federal Territory is situated, it must be of decided advantage to that State.

Mr. CONROY.—How is that?

Mr. HUTCHISON.—Honorable members, particularly those from New South Wales, seem desirous to so hedge round the Federal territory that every penny spent on the carriage of goods or passengers shall go into the coffers of that State. There seems to be a fear that a neighbouring State may also share in the advantage.

Mr. REID.—Where otherwise is the advantage to New South Wales?

Mr. HUTCHISON.—It has been decided that the Capital shall be in New South Wales, and I hope that it will be established at the earliest possible moment. For my part, I shall place no hindrance in the way of the decision of the question within the next few days.

Mr. PAGE.—Why should not New South Wales benefit?

Mr. CONROY.—If the honorable member for Hindmarsh represented Queensland, could he not point to other places even more beautiful than those he has mentioned?

Mr. HUTCHISON.—I could tell the honorable and learned member of places

in Queensland and South Australia just as admirably suited for the Federal Capital as any I have seen. That, however, is beside the question; we do not want the bargain altered. The honorable member for Maranoa has asked why New South Wales should receive any concession.

Mr. PAGE.—I ask why she should not benefit?

Mr. HUTCHISON.—I do not see why New South Wales should benefit, further than we were willing, as citizens of this great Commonwealth, to approve of the section of the Constitution which enables her to do so. Except for that section she would not have formed part of the union, and I should have been very sorry indeed if New South Wales had remained outside.

Mr. CONROY.—How can New South Wales benefit if the Capital Site is placed right away from her centre, and in a part which practically belongs to another State?

Mr. HUTCHISON.—Wherever the Federal territory is situated, there will be communication with Sydney and with the other States capitals. New South Wales will necessarily be a considerable gainer. There will be tourists from all parts to visit the Capital. I trust that it is going to be a Capital worth going to see, and an object lesson to the world at large. It ought to be. I also trust that it will be situated in territory that is fit for closer settlement. We should not have merely a small area for purposes of building allotments, but contiguous to the city there should be land available for settlement, so that the maintenance of the Federal Capital and territory will cost nothing to the taxpayers. There is no reason why that should not be so. The honorable member for Parramatta has told us that the principal considerations are centrality, accessibility, and climate. But there are other considerations, which are equally important. We also want to have good soil and a good water supply. Dalgely has a magnificent water supply. Any amateur can see that it has a magnificent background for a Capital. It is an excellent site in many ways. It is a better site than Bombala. But Tooma possesses all the advantages that Dalgely possesses, and over and above it seems to have a surpassingly superior soil.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—Does the honorable member know what the records of the climate are?

Mr. CONROY.—Does he know what the height of the site is?

Mr. HUTCHISON.—The land is supposed to run from 1,100 feet to 1,900 feet above sea level, within a comparatively few miles.

Mr. CONROY.—Where would the Capital site be?

Mr. HUTCHISON.—If I had the choosing it would be about Welaregang. At that spot it would be about 1,100 feet above sea level.

Mr. CONROY.—Does the honorable member know that it is possible to grow tobacco there?

Mr. HUTCHISON.—I am very glad to hear that, because if tobacco can be grown there it is a proof that almost anything else will grow, and that it will be possible to grow the fruit and other produce required by the Capital city within a few miles of the site.

Mr. CONROY.—I mention the growth of tobacco in order to show the heat.

Mr. HUTCHISON.—The honorable and learned member's object is to show that the climate is bad. But we have a report from Mr. Chesterman, an expert, who says that he has lived for five years in the district; and any expert who has lived for that time in a district is quite competent to tell us what its qualifications are. He says nothing about intense heat, and nothing about intense cold. I went there almost in the depth of winter, and found the climate magnificent. It was warm during the day-time, and extremely cold at night, just as it is at Melbourne, Adelaide, and other places. There is a great deal to be said against going to too cold a country for the purpose of establishing a Seat of Government, especially as we have representatives from warm climates like Queensland and parts of Western Australia. But I believe that in a cold climate we can grow stronger and more brainy men and women than in hot climates. That is proved from the experience of the highlands of India, Scotland, and other countries. Men and women grown in the highlands are, as a rule, a stronger and superior race from every point of view. It would be wise to have our Capital situated in a cool climate, but not in an extremely cold climate. Nothing has been advanced during this debate to convince me that any suggested site is superior to Tooma. I am sorry that so few members took the trouble to visit that district.

Mr. REID.—Who unearthed it?

Mr. HUTCHISON.—Last session the honorable member for Grampians was able

to give the House a very great deal of information about Tooma, but other honorable members did not take the trouble to see whether his information could be substantiated.

Mr. REID.—If Tumut had not fallen out of the running we should never have heard of Tooma.

Mr. HUTCHISON.—Possibly. But when I went to Tumut I was very unfavorably impressed with the district.

Mr. CONROY.—I assure the honorable member that at Welaregang the heat on some days is just the same as at Tumut.

Mr. HUTCHISON.—But the point is that we have at Welaregang good soil and a good water supply. It is true that we also have a water supply and a good climate at Tumut. But we must have a territory that can be utilized for closer settlement. I wish the Commonwealth to secure a territory that will yield a revenue sufficient to cover the whole cost of establishing the Capital and developing it.

Mr. CONROY.—Is the honorable member aware that practical people living there do not think the land worth more than £3 an acre?

Mr. HUTCHISON.—I do not care what they think. We shall not have to pay more than the experts say the land is worth. The honorable and learned member knows very well that where there is no railway communication land, as a rule, is very cheap. What is the value of the land, even at Lyndhurst, where there is a railway right into the heart of the country? The price of land is no guarantee of its value until there is railway communication. No matter how rich land may be, it is practically valueless without railway communication. As a rule, it is only used for growing and fattening stock, when, probably, it would carry hundreds and thousands of families. We shall get railway communication to the Federal territory, so soon as it is acquired by the Commonwealth.

Mr. CONROY.—Who is going to find the money for the New South Wales Government to construct the railway?

Mr. HUTCHISON.—If the New South Wales Government have that wisdom for which I give them credit, they will recognise that in opening up the country, either at Tooma or at Dalgety, they will be entering upon a paying undertaking. I only wish that, in the State to which I belong, we had more country as rich as some of the land I passed through in New South Wales, that has no railway communication. The

sooner railway communication is afforded to some of these outlying portions of the country the better it will be for the revenue of the mother State. I deplore the spirit that seems to animate some honorable members in discussing this question. They appear to consider more what their constituents will think of the votes they give than of what future generations will think of the choice we are making. With me it does not weigh in the slightest degree in whose electorate the site chosen may be. The honorable member for Eden-Monaro suggested the other day that people in his part of the country are accusing some of the members of the party to which I have the honour to belong, of changing their opinions with the change of Government. I would remind him that the Prime Minister favoured Tumut. But Tumut never had any chance of securing a vote from me. I favoured Dalgety while the honorable member was a member of the late Government. I now favour Tooma, because I have seen it since the honorable member ceased to be a member of the Government. I support Tooma simply because I consider that, up to the present time, it is the very best site which I have seen.

Mr. CONROY.—Does the honorable member think that the selection of Tooma would confer an advantage upon New South Wales?

Mr. HUTCHISON. — Most undoubtedly. No matter in what part of New South Wales the Capital is situated, it will confer an advantage upon that State.

Mr. CONROY.—Let the honorable member look at the map and see whether that is so.

Mr. HUTCHISON.—The face of the map is going to be considerably altered when we have selected the territory. Does not the honorable and learned member know of parts of New South Wales where railways have been built, and where the face of the country has, in consequence, been changed in a remarkable manner? That has been our experience in South Australia also. So soon as you build a railway you induce closer settlement. So soon as you have closer settlement you have considerable additions to the revenue, not only through the railways, but through the Customs. But I do not want to go into that subject, which is foreign to the matter under discussion. Without saying more, I trust that honorable members who have not seen the Tooma site before making up their minds to vote for other sites which

they have seen, will either ask the Government to give them an opportunity of seeing Tooma, or obtain all the information they can possibly get. If that be done, I feel sure that when the matter is put to the vote, those who hitherto voted for other sites will be of the same mind as myself. I am sorry that the right honorable member for East Sydney, who has asked when Tooma was introduced, did not visit that site. When was Dalgety first proposed?

Mr. REID.—The first expedition visited Dalgety; I was there.

Mr. HUTCHISON.—Although the first expedition visited Dalgety, very little was heard of it last session. It was not voted upon at that time. To-day Dalgety is very strongly in the running as a place likely to be selected, but there is no reason why Tooma should not finally be selected if it is found to be superior.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—Does the honorable member think there is any chance of securing a settlement of the question if Tooma is chosen?

Mr. HUTCHISON.—Certainly.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—Does not the honorable member know that the selection of Tooma means postponing the settlement of the question?

Mr. HUTCHISON.—I do not know anything of the kind. It is just possible that the honorable member would like that to eventuate, if he thought that the Eden-Monaro district would not be in the running.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—The honorable member has no warrant for saying that.

Mr. HUTCHISON.—The honorable member asked for an expression of my opinion, and I do not think that it will be found to be very far wrong in this instance. A good deal has been urged to induce honorable members to give the Tooma site more consideration than it has received. It is not the fault of the honorable member for Grampians that it did not receive better consideration. But now that honorable members have heard of its merits, I trust that they will follow my example, and give it their first vote. If it is not selected, I shall be prepared to vote for Dalgety, and even if I am defeated in that vote, so anxious am I that this question shall be settled, that I shall be prepared to vote for what in my opinion is the most undesirable of the other sites which have been favoured so far, and that is Lyndhurst. I shall do anything to carry out

the bargain which was made with New South Wales.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS (South Sydney).—I do not think that I should have risen to speak again on this subject, but for the attitude taken up by the last speaker with regard to the great majority of the representatives of New South Wales, who, he seems to consider, are not actuated by those honest intentions which he claims for himself. Seeing that my view of this question is in some respects very like his own, I cannot understand why he should not allow to us that credit for honesty of intention and purpose which he is perfectly justified in claiming for himself.

Mr. HUTCHISON.—I allow it to some of them.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—It is quite a mistake for the honorable member to think that there is any organization on the part of any representatives of New South Wales to get this question decided in any particular manner. Of all the representatives from the different States, there are none so much divided as are the representatives of New South Wales. The Prime Minister differs from me; I differ from the honorable member for Eden-Monaro, and the honorable member for Hume is supporting at the last moment a third site, which was not discovered until a few weeks ago. I agree with all those honorable members who have urged that this matter should be viewed from a national Australian stand-point. I agree that honorable members should be actuated by the highest motives in deciding this question. I claim to be actuated by none but the very highest motives. It will always happen that we shall estimate differently the various reasons which should actuate us, and one reason which has been little thought of by many honorable members, is the question of ways and means, or the economy of doing this thing. We find that one of the strongest reasons for deciding this question in one way, other things being equal, as they very nearly are, is the desire to secure a Capital of which we shall be proud without saddling the nation with any extravagant debt. If in one case we can get a really good Capital, with a fine climate and fair circumstances all round, without expending a single penny, except upon the site itself, and if in another case we should have to spend millions of pounds on a railway, and, perhaps, more millions on fortifications, and incur all sorts of other expenditures before it could be made of any

use, we should be largely guided by that consideration, although I have just as great an ideal to aim at as have those who picture the glories of this or that site. It has frequently happened that while the site of a city looked very grand with its snow-clad mountains in the distance, it did not look nearly so beautiful when it came to be occupied. It has also frequently happened that an ordinary looking building site has, by the art and hand of man, been converted into a thing of beauty. It is very easy to imagine that in their primitive state the sites of many Australian cities looked rather miserable.

Mr. HUTCHISON.—That cannot be said of the city of Adelaide.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—No; the city of Adelaide is remarkably well placed for looking at, although it is ill placed in other respects. When the honorable member talks about how the people of New South Wales should look on the settlement of this question, and says he is willing to give us the whole of the bond as it were, he would appear to be willing to grant us what he recognises we ought to have; but the gift is not offered in a spirit which will tend to foster Federal ideas, although he puts that as his aim. The honorable member has misread the Constitution if he thinks that this Parliament is entitled to approach New South Wales and say, "You are to have the Federal territory in your State, but we shall demand as much land as we like, and we shall have it where we like." The honorable member is mistaken if he thinks that any such demand can be made with any hope of being successful. When it is proposed to take a piece off the end of the territory of New South Wales, and to make that piece very much larger than any one ever anticipated it would be made, we are not keeping the compact with that State, but deliberately breaking it in spirit. I believe that such an idea could not be carried out without either an alteration of the Constitution or an appeal to the popular vote of New South Wales.

Mr. HUTCHISON.—Why was not the area definitely stated in the Constitution?

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—Before I have finished I hope to be able to show the honorable member that there is something in my argument. When he talks about New South Wales having demanded something from the Federation which the other States did not get, he knows full well that this was absolutely a matter of com-

promise, which the greatest advocates of Federation in my State had to force themselves to consent to in order to get the majority of its people to accept the Constitution Bill. The honorable member knows full well, as other honorable members do, that at the first referendum, notwithstanding the eloquent efforts of a number of gentlemen who sit in this House, and many thousands who are not here, notwithstanding all the organized effort which was made to get the people of New South Wales to join in this great Federal movement, the people were so convinced that they occupied a position of strength, and could run independently better than any other Colony in the group, that it was utterly impossible to get them to consent to the State entering the union. Much against the wish of those who desired to bring about Federation, just as heartily as did the honorable member for Hindmarsh or any other honorable member we had to consent to the alteration of the Constitution in some respects, one, and perhaps the most popular being that the Seat of Government should be in territory within that State. Of course we do not know exactly what transpired at the Conference of Premiers in Melbourne, but I believe that the first proposal was that the Federal Capital should not be located within a distance of 200 miles of Sydney, so great was the effort to keep the Seat of Government from being in that city, and that ultimately the distance limit was reduced to 100 miles, for the simple purpose of preventing the city of Sydney enjoying any benefit from having the Federal Capital in its midst. I think I shall be able to show the honorable member for Hindmarsh, who seems to have taken the greatest interest in this point of the argument, that in the case of very many of the sites which have been proposed New South Wales could get no benefit from the Federal Government, and that all the benefit would go to Victoria from first to last. That is not keeping the spirit of the compact with the people of New South Wales. I do not think that the honorable member for Hindmarsh can accuse me of being actuated by any spirit of greed in the matter, or by any desire to see Sydney benefit at the expense of any other city in the Federation, because, from first to last I have refused to consent to any proposal to amend the Constitution so as to place the Seat of Government in Sydney. At the first session of last Parliament a representative of South Australia submitted

proposal of that kind, and it was opposed by me most strenuously, and, I believe, by practically all the representatives of New South Wales. When a similar proposal was brought forward in this session it was scouted; as the honorable member will recollect, it commanded only three votes. It seems to be quite clear that the representatives of New South Wales do not desire to get the expenditure of Federal money in Sydney, and, therefore, they cannot rightly be accused of desiring to get that expenditure in a remote part of the State. Honorable members can fairly dismiss from their consideration any idea that the people of New South Wales, or their representatives, are simply actuated by a desire to get the Seat of Government located in some territory where the expenditure of money, the prestige, and so forth, would benefit that State to the detriment of other States, or even to the advantage of Sydney.

Mr. HUTCHISON.—Then why are they interfering with where we shall place the Capital?

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—Because they have a right to interfere. They have as much right to interfere in the settlement of this question as have the representatives of any other State.

Mr. HUTCHISON.—I do not admit it.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—Under the Constitution New South Wales has statutory rights, and the representatives of its people here have to see that those rights—a privilege which no other State has—are carried out fairly and in the spirit. I think I shall be able to show that some of the proposals which have been made would not carry out that compact fairly and in the spirit. As the honorable member knows, we have had a great many sites to think of. I must say that amongst all the sites which have been considered here I still recollect one, if not two, which seem to me to be better than any of the others suggested but which have not been considered. When the honorable member tells some of us that we have no right to approach the settlement of this question without asking the Government to postpone the consideration of this Bill in order to allow us an opportunity of seeing the Tooma site, I can, in my turn, ask him if he has seen the Queanbeyan site, and, if not, why he does not ask the Government to consent to an adjournment until he has had an opportunity to visit that site?

Mr. HUTCHISON.—Because I understand that it was ruled out by the House.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—No; it has not been voted on. Of all the sites I have seen, the Queanbeyan site seems to be that which ought to have had the strenuous support of honorable members from all States. It seems to be perfectly healthy, to have good soil, and to possess a splendid water supply. With two hills in a vast plain, and surrounding hills in the background, it is an ideal site, which ought to have been placed in the forefront.

Mr. HUTCHISON.—Why is it not placed in the forefront?

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—Because it did not get a friend like those three or four honorable members who have battled so valiantly for different sites. It had a friend in me to the extent of having mentioned its qualifications when the previous Bill was being considered. I argued then that it did not receive the attention that it should have commanded. It is situated in the middle of a branch line.

Mr. TUDOR.—In what electorate is it?

Mr. CONROY.—It is just outside the boundary of my electorate.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—It seems to be a sort of no man's land, like that inhabited by the Irishman who lived on the boundaries of two districts, and voted for both, and paid taxes in neither. The site I speak of has never had a fair show. The members of the parliamentary party who visited the various sites arrived at Queanbeyan very early on Sunday morning, and the leader of the Opposition, with characteristic rectitude, would not agree to the inspection of any site on that day, contending that we should go to church. In the afternoon I, with some half-dozen others, having wandered a little further from our pious upbringing than the right honorable gentleman had done, thought it no desecration of the Sabbath to climb one of the hills in the district, and take a good look at the site. We were delighted at the prospect which opened before us. We saw then as fitting a location for a large city as I have ever met with anywhere. I took notes of the features of the locality, and marked my impressions with regard to it upon a map, afterwards consulting privately with the engineers, who informed me that an excellent water supply could be obtained there. But, although that site had been reported on by the first Commission, and by several experts, no consideration was given to it when the last

Bill was in Committee. I should have been ready to visit the Tooma site if it had been specified in the first itinerary. But it is not convenient for a business man who attends the meetings of Parliament day by day, to go off on these excursions. In my opinion, there are already a sufficient number of admirable sites to select from, and in making a selection, great consideration should be given to the question of cost. I think that the building of the Federal Capital should be paid for with money derived from the rental of the land in the Federal territory, without imposing any taxation on the people of the Commonwealth, and, other things being equal, I shall support that site in regard to which that arrangement is most likely to be carried out. When the last Bill was under consideration, the Bombala site received a great deal of support in this Chamber, and a majority of the members of the Senate voted for it. Since then, although the supporters of the Lyndhurst site, amongst whom I am glad to number myself, remain firm advocates of that site, the supporters of the Tumut, Bombala, and Dalgety sites have chopped and changed so much that we do not know now what votes they will receive. There has also been a change of opinion amongst the members of the other Chamber, who, in sending this Bill to us, do not provide for the selection of Bombala, but have agreed to a very roundabout clause, which gives the impression that they wish Dalgety to be selected, largely, I suppose, because the Snowy River flows so near that little township. Of course, the presence of such a river, which would give a perennial supply of pure drinking water, is an important consideration. I have always opposed the proposal to adopt the Bombala site, and to take in with it Twofold Bay and the country along the Victorian border for some considerable distance westward. The idea which some honorable members hold as to the need of some sort of buffer State between New South Wales and Victoria is an altogether wrong one. If we chose a territory which would have Twofold Bay as a port, it would be necessary in the first instance to spend a large sum of money in making a harbor there. At the present time, the place would be of no practical use as a port. I have twice had to take shelter there when travelling on small steamers from Tasmania to Sydney. No steamer of as much as 1,500 tons has gone into Twofold Bay during the last five years. It is only the

Mr. G. B. Edwards.

smaller vessels which go there, and they experience a certain amount of difficulty in getting in and out. Not only have we among our papers charts of the bay which give all the soundings, but we have also been placed in possession of the proposals of engineers for constructing training walls to scour out the silt, and a breakwater to protect the shipping. Various estimates have been given for making a serviceable harbor, and in each case the sum mentioned is considerable. But, in addition to making the bay serviceable as a port, it would require an extravagant outlay to fortify it, in order to defend the Capital from outside attacks. Very early in the history of Washington, English vessels proceeded up the river and sacked the city, the soldiery even entering the Capitol, desecrating the Speaker's chair, and tearing up the records. As we are bound to no particular district, why should we incur the risk of destruction by an enemy, in locating the Seat of Government near the sea coast? Furthermore, if we selected Bombala, we should have to make no fewer than three railways to give communication to the Capital. In the first place, it would be of no use to have a port forty or fifty miles away, unless it were connected with the Capital by railway. Then it would be necessary to extend the existing railway from Cooma to Bombala, in order to get rid of the present coach journey; and, finally, Victorian representatives would not be satisfied to journey all the way to Goulburn, and then to return via Cooma to Bombala; and, therefore, would agitate for an extension of the Gippsland line to the Capital. In this way many millions of pounds would be expended, apart from the cost of the city itself. The erection of public buildings, the making of streets, the beautifying of parks, the supplying of water, and other expenditure which is incidental in every case, will be sufficiently heavy to make it necessary for us to go very slowly at first, and nothing would justify the expenditure of millions of pounds in merely providing means of communication. Then, the proposal to take a strip of territory along the Victorian border is a complete breach of the bargain made with New South Wales. Section 123 of the Constitution provides that—

The Parliament of the Commonwealth may, with the consent of the Parliament of a State, and the approval of the majority of the electors of the State voting upon the question, increase, diminish, or otherwise alter the limits of the State, upon such terms and conditions as may

be agreed on, and may, with the like consent, make provision respecting the effect and operation of any increase or diminution or alteration of territory in relation to any State affected.

While New South Wales may, under section 125, cede a portion of her territory to the Commonwealth for the purposes of the Seat of Government, if the territory asked for is situated on the Victorian border it could not be granted without an alteration of the boundary of New South Wales, and that is strictly forbidden, unless the consent of the people of that State is obtained. Therefore, to obtain a site bounded on one side by the New South Wales border—and the argument applies both to the proposal of the Senate, and to the Tooma proposal—would involve an appeal to the people of New South Wales, who would not be likely to agree to the selection of a site much nearer to Melbourne than to Sydney, whose trade would go to the former city. I do not know why the people of New South Wales should be asked to do so. The advocates of the border sites say that it is necessary for the people of Victoria to have an open door into the Federal territory, so that they shall not be obliged to go through part of New South Wales to get there. But why should not the people of the other States also have an open door? Queensland, South Australia, and Tasmania would have no open door except by passing through Victoria. This policy of the open door, as applied to the selection of the Federal territory, is a pure myth. There is no necessity to have any open door whatever. The Federal territory would be there, and the Federal power would be behind it to enable the whole of the citizens of the Commonwealth to have free access to it. I do not see what necessity exists for having this territory situated alongside the borders of Victoria. It might reasonably be asked, "If the Seat of Government is located alongside the borders of Victoria, what benefit will New South Wales derive under this compact?" I hold that, under such circumstances, New South Wales might just as well cede that territory to Victoria, and inform her that the Federal Capital could be established in the ceded territory. That is the logical position. One honorable member has made a great deal of the benefit which New South Wales will derive by reason of having the Seat of Government located in that State. I am prepared to admit that it will obtain some benefit from that source. But the fact seems to

be overlooked that New South Wales is paying very handsomely for that benefit. Under the Constitution, she is compelled to hand over to the Commonwealth, without fee or charge, the whole of the Crown lands within the Federal territory. She is also obliged to surrender the Governmental rights of that territory, and we cannot yet say whether by so doing she will not sacrifice a share of her representation in this Parliament. Certainly she will lose the power of taxing the residents of that portion of the State. To my mind it is doubtful whether — if we ever settle the question of allocating the Customs revenue upon a *per capita* basis—she will not lose the product of the Excise and Customs duties, so far as they relate to persons resident within the Federal territory. If honorable members will look at this matter fairly they must conclude that New South Wales is giving a *quid pro quo* for the prestige of having the Federal Capital established in her midst. Outside the site at Queanbeyan, which I regret has not received more consideration, I have, from the first, favoured the site in the Western district, which has been misnamed the Lyndhurst site. To my mind, we ought to speak of it as the "western" site, because one side of Lyndhurst contains very uninteresting and unprepossessing country indeed. By some error the members who formed one of the parliamentary parties which inspected this area were driven to the poorest side of Lyndhurst, with the result that some grew so tired of the country that they saw no more of it. I claim that the western site—the Orange site—is one of the finest to be found in Australia. Certainly there is no site equal to it from the stand-point of that class of beauty for which we should look in the Federal Capital city. If we merely desired to obtain wild grandeur, there would be nothing to prevent us from selecting an area in the Blue Mountains—an area near the Leura Falls, in the vicinity of Katoomba—where, according to experienced travellers, is to be found some of the finest scenery in the world. But, in establishing a fine city, we do not look for that class of beauty. We do not want to tread upon the edge of a precipice or of an avalanche. The ideal site for a Capital city is that class of country which consists of beautiful undulating hills and plains, such as are to be found in the Orange district. I admit that, according to the reports of engineers, it is impossible to obtain a thoroughly adequate

water supply for a site higher than is the present town of Orange. But I would point out that between Orange and the proposed Lyndhurst site there are two or three areas sufficient to permit of the establishment of moderate-sized cities—areas which could be supplied with sufficient water—

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—For a million of people.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—Personally, I do not believe that a population of a million will ever be settled in the Federal Capital. No difficulty, however, would be experienced in obtaining sufficient water to supply the needs of all the people who are ever likely to be attracted there. The last report of Mr. Wade—a gentleman of considerable engineering skill, and an expert in the matter of water supply—has removed any lingering doubt which I may have entertained that the Orange site would not meet all the requirements of the future Capital. Its position is admirably central. Already, lines of railway have been proposed, which would converge from the different States at Lyndhurst. Consequently, as soon as we erected our first building, we could settle there. The honorable member for Gippsland spoke of the poor quality of the soil of the Lyndhurst district. I am perfectly certain that if the honorable member had visited that country, he would have been forced to admit, with his admirable practical knowledge of land, that there are very few parts of New South Wales which are capable of feeding such a large population. The honorable member quoted statistics comparing the yields derived from land in the Orange, Lyndhurst, and Bathurst districts with those obtained from the country around Bombala, very much to the detriment of the first-named district. I have from the first questioned these figures, and practical men have pointed out the utter impossibility of their being correct. For instance, the honorable member stated that the yield of maize in the Bathurst district was 12·3 bushels to the acre, whilst in Bombala it was no less than 40·3 bushels to the acre. That would be an enormous return even in a part of the country most suitable for the production of maize; but I undertake to say that in the Bombala district practically no maize is grown, except in the most favoured and well protected parts. What is the use of quoting statistics as to the yield per acre without taking into consideration the area under cultivation? If one sowed maize in a highly manured plot in an experimental farm he might secure a

return equal to 100 bushels to the acre in respect of a few square yards of land. Owing to the prolonged drought the yields have been notoriously bad in the Orange district of recent years, and if they be compared with those obtained from small sheltered patches in and about Bombala, the result may be detrimental to Orange.

Mr. KENNEDY.—The drought has not affected Lyndhurst.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—It affected that part of the country to a very material extent. The honorable member, like the honorable member for Gippsland, has had great practical experience in farming, and if he were to visit the Orange-Lyndhurst district, and then visit Dalgety and Bombala, and look at the granitic country which prevails there, he would readily determine which of these two districts would support the larger population per acre.

Mr. BROWN.—According to the Commissioners' report, there were only 4,207 acres under maize in the Bombala district, as against 6,938 acres under maize in the Lyndhurst district.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—Quite so. Any man of common sense who visits the two districts must readily admit that Lyndhurst is better suited to agricultural purposes. I am only an amateur farmer, although I have had some little experience in that direction; but the merest amateur would be able to say from an inspection of the two districts which is the better agricultural country. If he were to see Bathurst as we saw it on the morning of our last visit—if he were to look at the evidence of successful and profitable farming to be seen on every hand there—and then compare it with the vast stretches of land in the Monaro country, he would recognise that the Bombala district does not comprise land as well suited to agricultural purposes as is the land in the western district. Various statements have been made as to the climatic conditions of Lyndhurst, but we cannot get away from the minimum and maximum temperatures recorded—we cannot get away from the figures collated for a number of years past. From a consideration of them I am forced to the conclusion that the climate of the Orange and Lyndhurst districts is similar in almost all respects to the climate of Tasmania, which is held to be one of the healthiest and most perfect in the world. Lyndhurst possesses many advantages. It boasts of centrality; it is easy of access, possesses a good climate, and is already connected

with the railway system of the State. Every one who has visited the district admits that its soil is capable of supporting a larger number of persons per acre of cultivation than is any of the other sites. Then we have the fact that there is an abundant supply of building material in the neighbourhood, that it possesses deposits of coal and of iron, and an ample supply of building stone, and there should be some strong reason to justify the rejection of a district that is so admirably suited to the purposes of the Federal Capital. What is that strong reason? I have not yet touched very fully on the question of a water supply. I admit that in that respect Dalgety is the best of the sites.

Mr. KENNEDY.—Except Tooma.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—I believe that the Tooma water supply is practically inferior to that of Lyndhurst, in the sense that the water of many of the creeks there is polluted.

Mr. KENNEDY.—Who says it is?

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—In the report of the New South Wales Water Commission, a copy of which I saw in the chamber this afternoon, there is evidence that it is largely polluted by mining and sluicing operations carried on along the river. Evidence to that effect has been given by squatters and land-holders in the district.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—The honorable member, for his own sake, should not talk any more nonsense.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—I give the honorable member credit for that bluff honesty which is one of his chief characteristics, and he should give me some credit for honesty of motive, and allow me to conclude my remarks without interruptions of that kind. Unquestionably the best water supply is to be found at Dalgety.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—No.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—On the other hand, Dalgety has many drawbacks which are not associated with Lyndhurst, and, in view of the last report received from Mr. Wade, I am convinced that we shall obtain sufficient water not only to supply the domestic requirements of the population of the Federal Capital for very many years to come, but for irrigation purposes, and to allow of the formation of an artificial lake. In these circumstances, and seeing that, if Lyndhurst were selected, we should avoid the enormous initial outlay of connecting the Capital by railway that would be incurred in the case of some of the other sites, I intend to vote for that site all the

time. If I am beaten, I shall transfer my vote to Dalgety, because of the existence of the Snowy River there, which I consider is a very strong attraction.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH (Macquarie).—I wish to know whether the Minister of Home Affairs has received Mr. Wade's report on the water supply of Lyndhurst, and, if so, whether he will lay it on the table of the House?

Mr. BATCHELOR.—I shall lay the report on the table after we report progress.

Progress reported.

PAPER.

Mr. BATCHELOR laid upon the table the following paper:—

Report by Mr. L. A. B. Wade on the Lyndhurst Water Supply.

Ordered to be printed.

ADJOURNMENT.

REPORTS ON CAPITAL SITES.

Motion (by Mr. BATCHELOR) proposed—
That the House do now adjourn.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN (Eden-Monaro).—The honorable member for Macquarie asked a question just now as to whether the Government proposed to lay on the table a report from Mr. Wade. I presume that members of the Government were aware that the question was to be asked. There appears to me to be some little mystery about the matter, and I should like to ask members of the Government a question on the subject. Mr. Wade is the principal engineer of the Water Conservation Department of New South Wales. He was in attendance at this House last week, and he was prepared to give evidence at the bar of the House. While, in my opinion, it is very desirable that we should have all the information possible on the various sites, it appears to me that if the Government can have officers of such high standing as Mr. Wade in attendance day after day, they might be able also to get further information about the Upper Murray site. I am anxious that we should have the same information regarding the temperature, water supply, elevation, and other points with respect to that site that we have had regarding other sites. I am informed that Mr. Wade has again returned to Melbourne, and is within the precincts of the House. If that is so, I wish to know if it is the intention of the Government to call him to the

bar of the House? I should like also to know whether he is here at the request of the New South Wales Government? On the face of it, it would appear as though Mr. Wade were being brought here as a sort of special pleader for a particular site. I have not the least objection to that, and I do not question Mr. Wade's *bona fides* in the matter. But I should like to get at the bottom of his appearance here. I should like to know if it has been arranged by the Commonwealth Government, the New South Wales Government, or the honorable member for Macquarie. If he is here because of action taken by the Commonwealth Government, I ask Ministers whether they are prepared to take similar action to secure information from engineers who have reported upon other sites, that we may have a fair opportunity to examine them all at the bar of the House. It should be made clear who was responsible for bringing Mr. Wade to Melbourne last week, and for the submission of this hurried report at the last moment, when it might have been placed before honorable members months ago, and an opportunity afforded them to study it. I have a great desire to call Mr. Pridham, and I think it is well that we should have the opinion of Mr. Wade and Mr. Pridham also upon the Upper Murray site.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—There is no proposal to bring Mr. Wade to the bar of the House.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—I desire to know whether Mr. Wade is here at the instance of the Government of New South Wales, and whether, if it is intended that he should be brought to the bar of the House to give information, an opportunity will be given to test the feeling of honorable members on the question whether other officers should not also be in attendance at the Bar.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—The Government have already expressed their policy in that matter.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH (Macquarie).—I cannot understand the objection raised by the honorable member for Eden-Monaro. It is well known that when the question of the water supply to be obtained at various sites was under consideration, the honorable members for Eden-Monaro and Hume suggested that the water supply at Lyndhurst was not sufficient for the Federal Capital. When I heard that damaging statement made, I felt it to be my duty to have information on the subject placed before

honorable members that they might be able to consider the question in a reasonable way. It is but right that the fullest information with respect to every site should be given, and I fail to see what objection the honorable member for Eden-Monaro can have to the fullest information being supplied with respect to the Lyndhurst site. Mr. Wade is the officer upon whom devolved the duty of reporting upon nearly all the sites now under consideration, and I believe it was largely upon his opinions that the Commissioners founded their report. As I was quite willing that the fullest inquiry should be made concerning the water supply at Lyndhurst, I had no hesitation when I heard such a damaging statement in telegraphing to Mr. Waddell, the Premier of New South Wales, to get Mr. Wade to report on the water supply at Lyndhurst. I asked that Mr. Wade should supply the fullest information on the subject, and that he should submit it in writing. He did so, and I submitted it for the information of honorable members. Even then some honorable members appeared to question the accuracy of Mr. Wade's figures, and on last Friday I moved that he should be examined at the bar of the House. A full discussion took place, and the Prime Minister, in a very fair spirit, promised to ask the Government of New South Wales to allow Mr. Wade to make a full report upon the water supply of Lyndhurst, and that if such a report were forwarded he would lay it on the table of this House.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—I made that promise.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I believe that the Minister of Home Affairs also made the promise. In compliance with the request of the Commonwealth Government, the State Government of New South Wales authorized Mr. Wade to make such a report for the consideration of honorable members. I asked the Minister of Home Affairs just now whether he had received the report, and he replied that he had, and that he would lay it on the table. He has since done so. I fail to see what objection there can be to the fullest information being given on this question, especially in view of the fact that the water supply of Lyndhurst has been discussed in such an unfair way by the honorable member for Eden-Monaro and the honorable member for Hume. I feel sure that when honorable members read the report that has been submitted they will find that every statement which I made with regard to the water

supply of Lyndhurst is borne out by the statement made by the highest official authority on this subject in New South Wales.

Mr. BATCHELOR (Boothby—Minister of Home Affairs).—There is a certain amount of monotony about these proceedings. It has begun to be the regular custom now for the honorable member for Macquarie, the honorable member for Eden-Monaro, or the honorable member for Hume to ask that some information shall be given, and for the other two honorable members to immediately get up and protest.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I have not done that.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—Sometimes we have a request from two of those honorable members, with a protest from the third, and on other occasions the request is by one and the protest by the other two.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—The honorable gentleman cannot say that I have objected to the fullest information being given.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—The Government are prepared to give every possible information. I am sure that no honorable member can find fault with what they have done in this matter. They are willing that every information shall be given that can be given without delaying the progress of the Bill. We do not intend that there shall be delay, but any information which may be obtained in the meantime will be laid before honorable members, in accordance with what I conceive to be only the duty of the Government. I do not know whether the honorable member for Eden-Monaro is quite serious in the request he made just now for information. I think that he knows as well as any of us—indeed, I think it has been stated on the floor of the House—that Mr. Wade was here at the request, I understand, of the honorable member for Macquarie.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—Yes.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—And that Mr. Wade was sent here by the New South Wales Government.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—But not at the request of the Commonwealth.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—Mr. Wade was not here at the request of the Commonwealth Government, but, as he was here, it seemed to us that, if he were in possession of more information than we had previously received as to the water supply at Lyndhurst, it was only proper that that information should be furnished, seeing that, under the circumstances, it could be obtained so easily and without expense.

As to the report of Mr. Chesterman, that has been read this afternoon, showing the additional details.

Question resolved in the affirmative.

House adjourned at 10.33 p.m.

House of Representatives.

Wednesday, 3 August, 1904.

Mr. SPEAKER took the chair at 2.30 p.m., and read prayers.

COMMONWEALTH REFRESHMENT ROOM.

Mr. LEE (for Mr. EWING) asked the Treasurer, *upon notice*—

1. What is the average number of individuals who use the refreshment-room at the Commonwealth Parliament House during the sitting of Parliament?
2. What is the average expenditure per individual on spirits per month during the sitting of Parliament this session?
3. Are all spirits paid for by those consuming them?

Mr. WATSON.—The answers to the honorable member's questions are as follow:—

1. About 250.
2. 1s. 5d. per month, or about 4d. per week.
3. Yes. No free drinks or free meals are given to any person.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The refreshment-room is also the dining-room. The answer may be misleading if that is not stated.

Mr. WATSON.—Yes. The refreshment-room is also the dining-room. The figures represent the average expenditure, including what is spent at meal times.

SHIPPING PATROL OFFICERS.

Mr. R. EDWARDS (for Mr. G. B. EDWARDS) asked the Minister of Trade and Customs, *upon notice*—

1. Have any persons been recently appointed to fill the newly-created offices of shipping patrol officers in the Department of Trade and Customs at Sydney?
2. If so, were they previously on the list of temporary employés, and have they been exempted from the application of that part of the Public Service Act which requires all candidates for appointment to pass certain examinations, except in a few cases?
3. Are there any experienced men on the list of temporary employés in connexion with the Department of Trade and Customs at Sydney, and,

if so, is it intended to take such steps as may be necessary to permanently secure their useful and tried services in safeguarding and protecting the public revenue?

Mr. FISHER.—The answers to the honorable member's questions are as follow:—

1. Two shipping patrol officers have been appointed.

2. These officers were not on the list of temporary employés. They were officers selected by the Inspector-General of Police of New South Wales from the police force of that State as having special qualifications. They were exempted from the provisions of the Public Service Act relating to the examination of candidates.

3. It is not known that any are experienced men in the particular work referred to. Steps are being taken to appoint watchmen when application can be made by any of the present temporary employés in the ordinary way, and will be considered. All appointments must, however, be made under the provisions of the Public Service Act.

VANCOUVER MAIL SERVICE.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE asked the Postmaster-General, *upon notice*—

Whether the following statement, appearing in the *Argus*, is in substance correct, and whether the Government has any intention of altering or doing away with the Vancouver service subsidy and adding it to the Peninsular and Oriental and Orient contracts:—

“OCEAN MAIL CONTRACTS.

“*Position in Queensland.*

“Brisbane, Sunday.

“Mr. Morgan, when asked yesterday whether any action could be taken in regard to the mail contract and the extension of the service to Brisbane, pointed out that the Federal Government appeared to be intent on making a contract only for the conveyance of mails, rendering it necessary for the States to make provision for the extension of the service to their respective States. Mr. Morgan thought this could be done without very much extra cost, by doing away with the subsidy on the Vancouver service, and adding it to the amount now paid under the Peninsular and Oriental and Orient contracts. Thus they would be able to secure a service which would alternate with the Aberdeen service, and provide a regular fortnightly service from Brisbane. It transpired, in the course of conversation, that Mr. Morgan has been endeavouring to get the New Zealand Government to take over the Vancouver service. The New Zealand Government opened negotiations in the matter through the Federal Government, and Mr. Morgan expressed his willingness to agree to a proposal to transfer the service to New Zealand, but as far as he knows nothing has yet been decided, though the negotiations may be still going on with the company. It is presumed that the steamers in that event would follow the Pacific Cable route to New Zealand, and then go back to Sydney.”

Mr. MAHON.—The answer to the honorable member's question is as follows:—

Nothing is known of the statement referred to, except that the Government of New Zealand inquired through that of the Commonwealth in December last as to the willingness of Queensland to withdraw from the Vancouver mail contract, in order that the mail steamers might call at a New Zealand port instead of at Brisbane, on condition that the Government of New Zealand took over the liabilities of Queensland as a party to the contract. The Government of Queensland acquiesced in the proposal, and the Government of New Zealand was informed in February, but no further action has been taken. There is no intention of altering or doing away with the Vancouver mail service subsidy, beyond what has been stated, or of adding it to any other contracts.

VICTORIAN LETTER-CARRIERS.

Mr. MAUGER asked the Postmaster-General, *upon notice*—

1. Is it a fact that the letter-carriers of Victoria were paid a salary at the rate of £132 per annum for the month ending 31st of July?

2. Are they not entitled to receive a salary at the rate of £150 per annum, equivalent to £12 10s. per month—in accordance with the decision of the High Court of Australia in the action of *Bond v. The King*, which provided payment of a certain salary in accordance with State legislation, and which was deemed by the Court to be a right and privilege in accordance with the Constitution Act?

3. If not, what are the reasons?

Mr. MAHON.—The matter is being inquired into, and if the honorable member will repeat his question to-morrow, I hope then to be in a position to answer it.

WESTERN AUSTRALIAN FEDERAL ROLLS.

Mr. FOWLER asked the Minister of Home Affairs, *upon notice*—

1. Is it a fact that arrangements have been made for the printing of the Western Australian Federal Electoral Rolls in Melbourne?

2. If so, what are the reasons for this departure from the usual course of printing the rolls in the States to which they refer?

Mr. BATCHELOR.—The answers to the honorable member's questions are as follow:—

1. Yes.

2. The price asked by the Western Australian Government was £1 1s. 6d. per page of seventy-five names, which would have amounted to £1,862 19s. 6d.; after correspondence the price was reduced to 15s. per page, or more than twice as much as the work has actually been done for.

SEAT OF GOVERNMENT BILL.

In Committee (Consideration resumed from 2nd August, *vide* page 3809):

Clause 2 (Determination of Seat of Government).

Mr. HENRY WILLIS (Robertson).—In speaking to this clause, I feel bound to express the opinion—which I believe is shared by most honorable members—that the time has now arrived for the determination of the Seat of Government. It has been found that the question has been used, and, if not settled, is in the future likely to be still more largely used, for political purposes. Those within whose electorates proposed sites are situated—and it is only fair to mention that the Lyndhurst site is situated not far from the electorate which I represent—seem to make the question peculiarly their own. I have observed, too, that members of the Parliament of New South Wales, now that there is a general election at hand, are using it to secure popularity within the districts for which they wish to be returned. When this Parliament was last dealing with the Bill, the Government of New South Wales were given an opportunity to recommend a site, and to stamp it with the *imprimatur* of their approval; but they did not take advantage of that opportunity. Since then, however, there has been a change of Ministry, and the present Premier, who represents the State electorate of Carcoar, within which the Lyndhurst or Carcoar-Garland site is situated, is now displaying a great amount of energy in connexion with the matter. The question naturally occurs to one, why is it that when the subject was last under discussion in this Chamber, and the Lyndhurst site needed supporters, the honorable gentleman—who was at the time Treasurer of the State—did not show the zeal which he is now displaying? Is not the answer to be found in the fact that proposed sites are situated in a number of the New South Wales constituencies, and the See Government had not the moral courage to offend possible supporters by saying that they preferred some particular site, and offering that site to the Federal Government? In this Parliament we find that members who represent constituencies in which no proposed site is situated are advocating the postponement of the determination of the Seat of Government, in order to gain popularity, and the approval of the press.

Mr. WATKINS.—Does that apply to the honorable member?

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—It applies to me probably as much as to the honorable member for Newcastle. The honorable member was in favour of Lyndhurst, but he turned a somersault, and discovered that

Tooma was the best site. Now that an election is looming in the distance—and we are told that a dissolution may be expected—other honorable members are performing the same acrobatic feat, in order that they may gain popularity among their constituents, or secure the approval of the press.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—There is no election looming in the distance, is there?

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—If the honorable member reads to-day's newspapers, he will see that some persons think that a general election is not very far off. Why should the Victorian press be so anxious to prevent a settlement of this question? Why should they seek to induce members to break faith with New South Wales? Are they not favouring the selection of Albury, or Tooma, because either of those places would be very much closer to Melbourne than to any other State capital, and because they would be able to send their newspapers into the Federal city some hours before the daily journals published in Sydney, or any other capital city in the Commonwealth, could be delivered there? That is the chief object held in view by the newspaper proprietors when they urge that matters should be allowed to remain as they are, or endeavour to persuade honorable members to select a site which would not be regarded with favour by the people of New South Wales. They know that whilst they urge the selection of Albury or Tooma, there is no likelihood of the matter being settled, and that, so long as the people of New South Wales are dissatisfied with the choice made, the Seat of Government will remain in Melbourne. Despite the press, however, the representatives of Victoria should demonstrate that it is the intention of the people of that State to keep faith with New South Wales. The Kyabram movement in favour of public economy has been availed of to prejudice the minds of the electors against any expenditure upon the Federal Capital. I ask how it would be possible to establish the Seat of Government anywhere outside of the large centres of population without a large expenditure of public money? I am prepared to vote any sum that may be required for properly housing the Federal Parliament and Departments, and for laying out the Federal city, in order that the Commonwealth Government may have a suitable home, and I believe that such action will be approved by the common sense of the people. If a large sum be required it must be expended; but, at the same

time, it would be inadvisable to enter upon any unnecessary outlay. We should, if possible, choose a site in connexion with which only a reasonable expenditure will be required. Several such places have been offered by New South Wales, and I wish to refer to one or two which I regard as worthy of attention. There are other sites which are not entitled to any consideration whatever. Albury is so close to Victoria that if the Federal Capital were established there New South Wales would be called upon to practically grant to Victoria a large slice of her territory. No concession would be made to New South Wales in regard to the establishment of the Capital within her territory if she were called upon to provide a site embracing an area of 100 square miles on the borders of her territory. That would not be in accordance with the spirit of the compromise entered into between the representative of New South Wales and those of the other States. New South Wales was, at first, unwilling to enter the Federation unless the Capital were established at Sydney, but as a compromise it was agreed that, although the Capital city should be in New South Wales territory, it should not be located within 100 miles of the metropolis. I do not think that I am committing any breach of confidence in stating that at the Premiers' Conference the right honorable member for East Sydney suggested a limit of eighty miles as a fair compromise. But the right honorable member for Balaclava, the then Premier of Victoria, immediately replied that if such a limit were fixed, Moss Vale would become eligible as a site for the Federal city. He said that he could not consent to that, and urged that a limit of 100 miles from Sydney should be fixed. The right honorable member for Balaclava evidently contemplated that the Capital would be established very close to the 100 miles limit, and I think, therefore, that we should only be paying proper regard to the spirit of the compact if we endeavoured to select a site as near as possible to that limit.

AN HONORABLE MEMBER.—Should we not select the best site that can be found?

MR. HENRY WILLIS.—I believe that the best site for the Federal Capital might be found at some place immediately outside the 100 miles radius from Sydney. When the people of New South Wales voted at the first referendum, they decided against Federation by a large majority—taking into consideration the

statutory number of votes that had to be polled. They were then opposed to Federation, whereas all the other States were eager to bring it about. It was impossible to form the Union with out New South Wales, and the other States asked what she wanted, in order to induce her to join. The mother State then made the very simple request, "Give us the honour of having the Federal Capital within our territory; that is all we ask." That request was granted, and I now ask honorable members to carry out the compact then made, and agree to the establishment of the Federal Capital as near as possible to the 100 miles radius from Sydney. The people of New South Wales would never approve of Bombala, Tumut, or Albury and it would be a waste of time to select either of those sites. I heard this matter discussed in the last Parliament, and came to the conclusion that notwithstanding the adverse influence that was being exerted by the press honorable members were disposed to keep faith with New South Wales. I have yet to learn that honorable member will not do what they believe to be fair to the mother State, which entered the Federal union, quite content to trust the people of the Commonwealth through their representatives. A very great moral responsibility rests upon honorable members, and it is their duty to discharge that responsibility. Is it to be said that the other States having induced the people of New South Wales to join the Federation; that the first Commonwealth Parliament having immediately after it had assembled, imposed extra taxation upon them, amounting to £1,000,000—taxation which was not required for the cost of the ordinary government of that State—

MR. JOSEPH COOK.—The amount was nearer £1,500,000.

MR. HENRY WILLIS.—The people of New South Wales are willing to bear the burden for the sake of Federal union. There is only one thing which they ask of us. They say, "Give us the Federal Capital at a distance of not more than 100 miles from Sydney." That is a very simple request to make. Notwithstanding the provision contained in the Constitution, honorable members have not exhibited any undue eagerness to get away from Melbourne. Certainly this question has been kept alive, but no attempt was made to decide it until the end of the first Parliament. The responsibility which rests upon honorable

members is a real one, and one which should be discharged to the satisfaction of the people of New South Wales. During the course of this debate a great deal has been said concerning the very beautiful sites which are to be found adjacent to Victoria. Personally, I do not think that the Tooma site can possibly be superior to that of Table Top, which is situated close to Albury—a town which is already connected with the various State capitals by rail—and the altitude of which is quite as great as that of Tooma. Table Top is situated a few miles north of Albury, but although it is a very beautiful site indeed, it is an absolutely impossible one because of its distance from Sydney. The Tooma site, which is advocated so ably by the honorable member for Hume, is also a magnificent one. The honorable member for Newcastle has declared that when he visited it he had a perfectly open mind, but that, after having seen it, he concluded that no better site exists. I am willing to believe that it is an admirable site. The fact remains, however, that it is situated upon the border of New South Wales, and that it is inaccessible, whereas the Albury site is very accessible. Therefore, I claim that the expenditure which would require to be incurred in establishing the Federal Capital at Albury would be very much less than that which would be involved in establishing it at Tooma. I would further point out that while the water supply at the latter place might be very excellent, it would be drawn, not from the Murray, but from the Tooma River. A doubt also exists as to whether that supply is as good as it has been represented to be by the honorable member for Hume. While the Tooma site is no doubt a very excellent one, I do not believe that it is much superior to a hundred other sites which are to be found in various parts of New South Wales, and which can be had merely for the asking.

Mr. WATKINS.—Why did not the honorable member inspect the Tooma site?

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—That is a very fair question to put, and I think that my reply will be equally fair. I did not visit Tooma because I do not consider that it is just to ask the people of New South Wales to assent to the establishment of the Federal Capital upon the Murray River in that locality. During the early history of the Federal movement, the late Sir Henry Parkes frequently used to speak of the "Federal City." I am inclined to think

that he borrowed that phrase from the late Sir Hercules Robinson, who, upon one occasion, delivered a famous after-dinner speech in the Albury Town Hall. It is because of that speech, and because Albury was afterwards dubbed the "Federal City" of Australia, that a great deal of prestige has been associated with that particular locality. Personally, I cannot conceive that the Tooma site is very much superior to that of Table Top, which has an altitude of 1,500 feet, and which is situated within ten or fifteen miles of Albury.

Mr. GROOM.—Has the honorable member seen both sites?

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—I have not.

Mr. GROOM.—The Tooma site is vastly superior.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—The site at Albury would not constitute a fair compromise, and therefore cannot be accepted as a settlement of this somewhat vexed question, any more than can the Tooma site. If we want to obtain a magnificent water supply, there is another site which would, perhaps, prove acceptable to the people of New South Wales. The drainage in that case is from the opposite side of Mount Kosciusko—I refer to the Dalgety site—and it possesses a magnificent supply of the purest of water. In the opinion of geologists Mount Kosciusko is the oldest mountain in the world. From it we can obtain water at a season of the year when streams in many other parts of New South Wales are practically dry. The fall of the water is such that it might be possible to obtain motive power there at a very small cost indeed—power which would call into being a large manufacturing centre outside of the city area.

Mr. MAUGER.—We should require to impose protective duties before we could secure the establishment of any manufactures.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—The honorable member for Melbourne Ports declares that to induce the establishment of manufactures we should require to levy heavier protective duties. I would remind him that in America—where the protective tariff is higher than that of the Commonwealth, or than was the old Victorian Tariff—at the town of Niagara, where statutory authority is given to use the water from the famous falls of that name to the extent of 500,000 horse-power—notwithstanding the statement of the right honorable member for East Sydney to the contrary—manufactures are

springing up like mushrooms. All round the town of Niagara upon the United States side of the river, as also upon the Canadian side, manufactures are being established for the purpose of utilizing the water power available, because it is so cheap. Evidently the honorable member has not read the well-known book, "America at Work."

Mr. MAUGER.—Yes, I have.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—If so, the honorable member must have read the article entitled "Niagara in Harness." If he has read that article he must know that at Dalgety the water might be so diverted as to provide a fall quite equal to that obtained at the Falls of Niagara. I would direct his attention to the possibility that the suburbs of the Federal Capital, if it be established on this site, may be converted into very large manufacturing centres, assuming that the waters of the Snowy River be utilized to the fullest extent under the scheme advocated by Mr. Pridham. Dalgety is a magnificent site. It has an easterly aspect, and a water frontage, and if it were selected it would be possible to make an ornamental lake twenty or even forty miles in length. The land adjacent to the site is as good as any to be found within the several areas dealt with in the reports before us. I have heard it said that Dalgety comprises fluky country. It may be fluky country, and therefore unsuitable for sheep raising; but we desire to secure not a sheepwalk, but a site for a centre of population. The land could be so drained as to secure as large an area for settlement as is likely to be required. If opposition to the selection of Dalgety be based on the ground that it consists of fluky country, then we must give no consideration to Tooma, because I believe that a similar objection applies to it. The honorable member for Hume will admit that is so.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I do not admit anything of the kind.

Mr. GROOM.—Is the honorable member's assertion based on mere rumour or on a statement contained in one of the reports?

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—It is suggested by an honorable member that it was a mere fluke that Tooma was brought under our consideration. I am inclined to think that if it had not been included in the list submitted to us, some other magnificent site in the electorate of Hume—for the honorable member's constituency comprises many such sites—would have been brought forward.

I have no objection to sites in that district being brought under our notice to provide pleasant week-end excursions for honorable members, but it would not be worthy of the honorable member for Hume to seriously suggest the selection of any of them. The honorable member has a duty to perform for his own State—he owes an even greater duty to New South Wales than do the representatives of other parts of the Commonwealth. The right honorable member for Swan visited a number of sites in the Southern Monaro district, and has given Dalgety his *imprimatur*, holding that it is the best in the district. The right honorable member has a reputation to back up his opinion. He was the first to cross Australia from west to east, and furnished reports on the country through which he traversed, pointing out the good and the indifferent land, the extent of the water supply available, and the possibilities of the interior. His reputation as an explorer—as a man of wide experience, possessing a European reputation—is such that his opinion on this question should not be allowed to pass without due consideration. The possibility of utilizing the water power available at Dalgety has been dealt with by the right honorable member in a very convincing way, and Tooma cannot be regarded as in any way comparable with it as a site for the Federal Capital. The water supply of Dalgety is superior to that of Tooma, while the land is equally good; and as a compromise the selection of Dalgety would be more acceptable to the people of New South Wales. If the distance separating a site from Melbourne and Sydney is to be a factor in the selection, then the journey from Melbourne to Dalgety would not be so great as to give dissatisfaction to even the most fastidious person who might have to undertake it. I should like once more to impress upon honorable members that it is necessary that we should make such a selection as will lead the people of New South Wales to consider that we have kept faith with them. We might secure a site adjacent to Goulburn which would be a little more than one hundred miles from Sydney, and the selection of such a site would give great satisfaction to the people of New South Wales. If we kept faith with them their feeling towards the Federation would be altogether different from what it is. They are a kind-hearted people, and while their representatives make a stout fight on their behalf in dealing with every proposal that comes

before this House, they are prepared, as soon as they find that they are in a minority, to bow to the majority. In many cases, a majority has been secured against them by the votes of honorable members from a State whose representation is in excess of the population basis, whereas honorable members from New South Wales actually represent the people.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—There is not much in that argument.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—The right honorable member is one of the representatives of a State who have a smaller proportion of electors behind them than have the representatives of Victoria and New South Wales. That is true of the representatives of Western Australia, both in this House and another place.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—It is not the case, so far as this House is concerned.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—With all due respect to the right honorable member, I repeat that it is. No State may have less than five representatives in this House, but on the establishment of Federation, Western Australia was not entitled, from the point of view of population, to that number.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I think that it is now entitled to that number.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—The right honorable member admits that Western Australia has only just secured a population which places its representatives on equal terms with those of New South Wales. In the last Parliament, when, as the result of the passing of the Tariff Bill, heavy taxation was levied on New South Wales, Western Australia had not a population entitling it to five representatives; but the people of New South Wales bowed to the decision of the Parliament.

Mr. GROOM.—But the Free Trade Party secured the votes of all the representatives of Western Australia with one or two exceptions.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—Let it be remembered that no measure passed by this House may become law until it has been confirmed by another place. The Senate is the States House, and amendments suggested by honorable senators who represent States rather than people were accepted by this House.

Mr. FOWLER.—It is not a fact that the majority of honorable members representing

Western Australia voted to impose taxation on New South Wales, or on any other State in the Union.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—No State can be singled out for special treatment by Act of Parliament; but in the administration of the Tariff Act it is found that the taxation imposed by it falls more heavily upon New South Wales than, say, upon Tasmania. The people of New South Wales pay £1,500,000 more than is sufficient for her requirements—£1,500,000 more than they ever paid before.

Mr. FOWLER.—Western Australia had nothing to do with that.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—They observe the compact and bear the burden cheerfully—for they have satisfaction in the establishment of the Commonwealth—and we should not be wanting in a sense of our responsibility or in the recognition of what is just and reasonable. We have to remember that we are at the dawning of a nation, and the very first act demanded of us is that we should do justice to the States which have entered the Union.

Mr. McLEAN.—If New South Wales by means of the Commonwealth Tariff Act obtains so much more revenue than she requires, how is it that she has to borrow so much money to supplement that revenue?

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—Because she has had many spendthrifts at the head of affairs.

Mr. GROOM.—In what way has New South Wales been treated unfairly?

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—If the honorable member wishes me to discuss the Tariff—

The CHAIRMAN.—The honorable member would not be in order in discussing it.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—If it were in order, no subject would give me more pleasure.

Mr. MAUGER.—We shall have an opportunity to-morrow.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—No doubt, I shall have an opportunity on another occasion of explaining to the honorable member for Melbourne Ports how this taxation has been imposed. Just now, however, I am not making any complaint on that score. I am now endeavouring to show that New South Wales is long-suffering—that that State has shown great kindness, and should be treated with justice.

Mr. GROOM.—New South Wales has been treated as fairly as has any other State in the Union.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—New South Wales expects to be justly treated.

Mr. GROOM.—Hear, hear!

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—And honorable members will show by their vote whether they act fairly towards New South Wales.

Mr. MAUGER.—That would be a wrong inference!

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—New South Wales will be able to judge, by the vote given, whether the other States, through their representatives, are acting justly towards her.

Mr. MAUGER.—I rise to order. Is the honorable member in order in imputing injustice to any member of this House who may vote against his particular idea? My point is that the honorable member is inferring that if honorable members do not vote for the particular spot which he favours New South Wales will be treated with injustice.

The CHAIRMAN.—I fail altogether to draw that inference from what the honorable member for Robertson said. If the honorable member had made a direct statement to that effect, it would have been out of order; but he has not done so. The honorable member for Robertson is, I take it, speaking altogether with regard to the future.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—I wish to bring the Committee back to a sense of their responsibility in regard to keeping faith—that is my point—with New South Wales.

Mr. MAUGER.—Who would dispute that position?

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—From the honorable member who interjects I claim justice under the Constitution. I ask the honorable member, as a representative of the people of the great city of Melbourne, to do justice to New South Wales, and not to vote in favour of a site not acceptable to the people of that great State. The honorable member ought not to give a vote which he knows will incense the people of the mother State.

Mr. MAUGER.—How am I to know that?

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—I give the honorable member credit for possessing some common sense, and for knowing that the people of New South Wales, when they entered the Union, would never have agreed to the limit of 100 square miles, if, in the

next breath, they had been informed that the Federal territory would probably be selected on the borders of Victoria. Under such circumstances would the people of New South Wales not have said:—"You wish us to cede to Victoria 100 square miles at least of our territory for the purposes of a site over 100 miles closer to Melbourne than to Sydney. In that there would be no compromise—no concession to New South Wales." Having induced the people of New South Wales to enter the Union, if honorable members desire to satisfy their scruples and their pride in the chief city of Australia, they ought to select a site such as the people of the State anticipated. In the western part of New South Wales there is a site which answers all requirements, and which would be acceptable to the people of that State. During the discussion a great deal of attention has been devoted to the centrality of Carcoar-Garland, Canobolas, and Bathurst, situated as they are just beyond the limit of 100 miles. Much has been said by those opposed to the settlement of the question as to the impossibility of conserving in these areas water sufficient for the requirements of a city. We know, however, that with the large water supply of the Carcoar-Garland district there will be no difficulty whatever in conserving sufficient for artificial lakes, reservoirs, and for domestic and other purposes. It is stated by Mr. Wade, in his report, that a great deal of water would, after making provision under these heads, be available for irrigation purposes. The rainfall is 39 inches, and the altitude of the site is 2,270 feet above sea level, as contrasted with 1,500 feet at Tooma. Among other requirements in the site of a Federal Capital are a salubrious climate and a rarified atmosphere; and we can find the very finest atmosphere and climate, a sufficient rainfall, and magnificent soil, with building material equal to any in Australia, in this western district of New South Wales. At Carcoar-Garland, Millthorpe, Orange, or even at Wellington, there is a magnificent rainfall—rivers running through the territory, and land which will produce 40 bushels of wheat to the acre. I should like to read for the information of honorable members what was said by Mr. Oliver in regard to this western part of New South Wales:—

Although, perhaps, the water resources of Canobolas are inferior, in regard both to catchment area and head for gravitation, to those of the Upper Campbell's River for Bathurst, yet

there is evidence to support the conclusion that they are fairly sufficient for an assumed population of 40,000, and would be capable, by auxiliary storage, of supplying a still greater population. Moreover, the superior rainfall of Canobolas (as much as 14 inches greater than that of Bathurst) becomes an important factor when comparing the catchments of Canobolas and Bathurst; while the same may be said of the facilities possessed by this site for providing an ample water supply for large bodies of workmen, and others employed on buildings, &c. The climate of Canobolas, from the superior altitude of its site, and its position on the fall of the plateau towards the Great Western Plains, is preferable to that of any western site, and I believe that the comparatively high rainfall of Canobolas is climatically beneficial, and in no way injurious to health.

A very long report was written by the late Mr. Oliver upon the suitability of the western district for a Federal Capital. He says:—

In regard to land values, the figures appended show the estimated cost of absolute resumption of the western sites as originally proposed:—

<i>Canobolas (Orange).</i> —Improved value of 64,700 acres (less 10,800 acres of Crown lands) outside Municipal boundaries			
	£	s.	d.
	365,000	0	0
Improved value of lands within Municipal boundaries	592,426	0	0
Total	957,426	0	0

<i>Bathurst.</i> —Improved value of 64,000 acres outside Municipal boundaries (less 5,530 acres Crown lands) at £4 per acre			
	233,880	0	0
Improved value of lands within Municipal boundaries	913,184	0	0
Total	1,147,064	0	0

<i>Forest Reefs (Millthorpe).</i> —Improved value of 82,000 acres (less 50,640 acres Church and School lands equals 31,360 acres) at £6 per acre(*)			
	188,160	0	0

* NOTE.—This valuation omits the cost of compensation in connexion with Church and School lands held under lease, &c.

That, I think, is a refutation of those arguments used against the quality of the land in that district. There is land estimated as worth £6 per acre at Millthorpe, and it is grand agricultural soil, which will produce wheat such as the honorable member for Grey has seen in his own district. Then we are told by Mr. Oliver that the cost of the site would be £188,160, which is very much less indeed than the cost in the Canobolas district. When we go a little further

west, still within the fifty-miles radius, we find that Mr. Oliver, in regard to Wellington, says:—

<i>Wellington.</i> —Improved value of 91,500 acres outside Municipal boundaries (less 15,800 acres of Crown lands), at £3 per acre			
	226,830	0	0
Improved value of lands within Municipal boundaries	167,535	10	0
Total	394,365	10	0

Here is a very large area of Crown land that should be very acceptable to the people of Victoria, who are saying so much about the cost of the proposed Federal site. The lands outside, the Crown lands area are valued at £3 per acre. The land in the Wellington Valley is magnificent; it is a very rich chocolate soil. The yield of grain there is very much superior to anything in South Australia, or to the average in Victoria. One notable fact is that grain grown there has taken the gold medal in London for its superior quality. If honorable members sitting behind the Government wish to obtain a large area for closer settlement, there is no part of New South Wales that is more suitable than the district which I have the honour to represent, say, within the area described by Mr. Oliver at Wellington, or the country a little further on towards Werris Creek, going up to Cobbora, or the land between Cobbora and Dubbo. Most of that land is a short distance beyond the fifty-mile radius. So that in selecting a western site, we should have an almost unlimited area of first-class land surrounding the Federal city. I do not know of any part of Australia where we could obtain such a large area of land so suitable for settlement, and which from its superiority in quality should be so acceptable to the Commonwealth. It will be noticed, from Mr. Oliver's description, that a large area is what is called Church and School Land. It has not been taken up for settlement, because it was reserved for a specific purpose.

Mr. GROOM.—Is it still Crown land?

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—Yes, it is described as Church and School Land, though it is now held under lease.

Mr. GROOM.—It is not held by trustees for church purposes?

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—No. The Church and School Lands Act of thirty or forty years ago disposed of all the revenues,

and gave a pension of £300 a year to the clergymen who were interested, for which they surrendered their claims. But the lands are now held under lease, and are available for the purposes of a Federal Capital.

Mr. BROWN.—They became Crown lands after the passing of the Act which the honorable member has mentioned.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—The fact that they are designated Church and School Lands is of some value, because it goes to show that they might have been taken up for settlement except for their reservation for a particular purpose. Land that was reserved for church and school purposes in the early days is, as honorable members may well suppose, very superior indeed, considering that the church then wielded such influence in the management of affairs at head-quarters. I should like also to direct attention to the report concerning the Carcoar-Garland site. Mr. Oliver estimates the cost of absolute resumption—

For the whole area, including Church and School lands, but excluding town of Carcoar—at £200,000; or, at £3 per acre, for 50,000 acres, outside municipal boundaries, and £35,000 for lands within those boundaries, £185,000.

Those figures allude to the site which has been specially selected as representing the western district. There is no reason whatever why honorable members should not consider the claims of any site in this district that would be equally as good and as convenient as that of Carcoar-Garland. Canobolas is a most excellent site, and one that is deserving of considerable attention; but I should particularly like to say something for Wellington. Honorable members have referred to a considerable extent to Tooma, where the altitude runs from 1,200 feet up to 1,500 feet. But there is a much finer climate in the district of Wellington. Close at hand is Mount Arthur, which, as may be supposed, was named after the Duke of Wellington. The mountain overlooks the town. The situation is not at all unlike that of Montreal, where Mount Royal, from which the name of the city is derived, is close to it. There is a magnificent range of hills around the site. Perhaps that is the reason why it was not seriously considered by Mr. Oliver. It was not that the soil was inferior, or that the water supply was not adequate, but that the altitude within the town was not deemed by him to be commendable. But if

climate is to be considered, there is a very much finer climate in the district of Wellington than at Tooma. The people there are healthy; disease is not prevalent, and persons with weak lungs are sent there because of the salubrity of the climate. Major Barton wrote a report setting forth the case for Wellington, and I should like to say something about it, because this document throws some light upon other sites, and also because it affords information of a most acceptable character in the interests of those who are advocating the selection of a site in the western district. Mr. Oliver says—

The climate of Wellington is described by a very good judge, Mr. C. H. Barton, as one of the healthiest climates in the world, though for four months in the year the heat is very great.

But it is not anything like so great as the heat at Adelaide, and I suppose that there is no finer climate in Australia than that of Adelaide.

For a period of eighteen years, the records of the Government Astronomer, show that during the Summer quarter, the mean temperature is 73°3; during the Autumn quarter, 53°3; during the Winter quarter, 49°7; and during the Spring quarter, 68 deg. The greatest recorded temperature reached 105°9, and the lowest 19.

Then, with respect to the rainfall, the report says—

The quarterly rainfalls during the same period are very regularly distributed, being 5°83, 6°30, 5°58, and 6°84 inches, showing for the year a rainfall of very nearly 25 inches.

It has to be remembered that that rain falls upon magnificent soil, at regular periods of the year, when it is most wanted.

The altitude of Wellington is 995 feet, and that of the proposed Federal territory averages 1,200 feet.

That is about the altitude of Tooma.

On this subject the evidence of the witness above quoted, Mr. Barton, went to show that the pretensions of Wellington to possess the Seat of Government depend mainly on the construction of the railway from Werris Creek, on the Northern line, to Wellington, and that, without that connexion, Wellington could not be considered accessible, so far as Brisbane is concerned—an objection which, in the opinion of the witness, is common to all the western sites; but that, if connected with Broken Hill and Werris Creek, Wellington would be a singularly central site, and would be very accessible to Adelaide, Brisbane, and Melbourne. On this head, he produced the annexed Tables and Report.

These figures have been used by quite a number of plagiarists without acknowledgment. I have read newspaper articles published in all the States in which they have been quoted, but in very few of those articles have they been used for the purpose

of advocating the western sites. They were brought forward to show that this large area was adjacent to the railways that might run from Western Australia, *viâ* South Australia, from South Australia, and from Queensland, into New South Wales, were a line built right across from Werris Creek, say, to the western line touching either at Dubbo or Wellington, and going on to Canobolas, if honorable members pleased, or on further to Carcoar-Garland. The district is so centrally situated that, were lines constructed in a judicious fashion on the western side of the Blue Mountains, one could go from Queensland to Victoria without going to Sydney. When these lines have been constructed to Cobar and Broken Hill, *viâ* Wilcannia, one will be able to go from the other States right through to the Federal city without touching at either Melbourne or Sydney. We should have a city all to ourselves right in the centre of New South Wales, and people from Brisbane could run right through to the Federal city, cutting off some 90 or 100 miles by avoiding Sydney. I refer honorable members to the following "Table of distances from Wellington railway station to Adelaide, Brisbane, Melbourne, Sydney, and Newcastle by railway lines now in existence":—

From Wellington—

To Adelaide <i>viâ</i> Melbourne ...	1,020½ miles.
To Brisbane <i>viâ</i> Sydney ...	971 miles.
To Melbourne <i>viâ</i> Blayney ...	537½ miles.
To Sydney <i>viâ</i> Bathurst ...	248 miles.
To Newcastle <i>viâ</i> Sydney ...	350 miles.

I specially direct the attention of honorable members who have had so much to say upon the necessity of centrality to the following table of distances, because they will gather from it that we have here the most central part of the settled portion of the Commonwealth:—

Table of distance from Wellington railway station to Adelaide, Brisbane, Melbourne, Sydney, and Newcastle, with proposed connexions from Cobar to Broken Hill and Wellington to Werris Creek:—

From Wellington—

To Adelaide <i>viâ</i> Cobar ...	*784 miles.
To Brisbane <i>viâ</i> Werris Creek ...	589 miles.
To Melbourne <i>viâ</i> Blayney ...	537½ miles.
To Sydney <i>viâ</i> Bathurst ...	248 miles.
To Newcastle <i>viâ</i> Werris Creek ...	*272 miles.

*Approximate distances.

The Public Works Committee of New South Wales has recently held quite a number of sittings in that district, and they have reported that if a line is constructed from Werris Creek to the western

line, it will open up magnificent country in the locality of Cobbora. I am happy to be able to say that this large district is also in my electorate. The electorate covers 10,000 square miles, and though I speak with some little modesty, I may say that I think it is really the finest district in New South Wales. All the lines to which I have referred are within easy reach of these magnificent agricultural districts. Cobbora has not yet been established as an agricultural district, simply through lack of railway communication. When a railway is constructed from Werris Creek across to the western line, it will bring the land in that district under settlement. I have already referred honorable members to the yields of crops grown. I have said that last year, in one or two cases, the yield of wheat went up to as much as 60 bushels an acre, and the average yield of the district was just upon 30 bushels to the acre. Throughout this district of mine there is grown the finest grain produced in the world. The Wellington flour secured the gold medal in London, and I mention that with some pride, because, although South Australia has hitherto always been the State which has produced the finest flour, this district secured the gold medal against even South Australia. All kinds of climate may be found in that wide district of the west. After passing the Blue Mountains there is a dip from 200 to 300 feet above the sea and up again to Canobolas, or, rather, to Orange—because Canobolas has an altitude of some 5,000 feet—to 3,000 feet. There is there to be found a magnificent climate and soil, and an abundant water supply. When I am talking to honorable members who are practical men, it is unnecessary to enter upon a long dissertation upon the possibilities of water conservation in a district in some parts of which there is a rainfall of 39 inches, and rivers running in all directions. The honorable member for Eden-Monaro smiles at this, but I am not speaking of Dalgety. I admit that the Snowy River is a magnificent river, but there are possibilities in the western district to which I refer which are not to be surpassed in any other part of Australia. I have heard honorable members ascend to poetry in describing some of the suggested sites; but when one honorable member last night, in speaking about the western district, said it has not the undulations to be found in some other parts, I could not help thinking that Washington and St. Petersburg

were established in swamps, and that Amsterdam was also established in a swamp, and that the Royal palace was built upon piles. I might refer honorable members to other great cities of the world that have been built on sites which are not to be compared with any of those in New South Wales which have been brought under the notice of the Committee. I am glad to see that the Postmaster-General approves of what I am saying. The honorable gentleman knows that the garden of Australia is to be found over the Blue Mountains, and that if honorable members desire to possess a Federal Capital which will do honour to the Commonwealth, they should establish it there.

Mr. MAHON.—Put it at Wellington; that is the place for it.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—The honorable gentleman's lungs are not too strong, and I say that the atmosphere of Wellington would prolong his life by twenty years. We know that Mr. Cecil Rhodes had but one lung when he went out to South Africa with the proverbial half-crown in his pocket, and in time he became a millionaire, and his lung was healed, because he lived in a dry atmosphere, similar to that to be found on Mount Arthur and the mountainous country around Wellington. I do not seriously propose that the Seat of Government shall be located at Wellington, but I have referred to the district round about that town in order to show what magnificent country would be adjacent to the Federal Capital, if it were established on the Carcoar-Garland site. Major C. H. L. Barton, writing on this subject, said—

Keeping in view the all-important part that coal plays in maritime warfare and commercial intercourse with other nations, also the desirability of our chief coaling centres being as near as possible to the point where, in time of war, the Federal troops would be mobilized (viz., the Federal Capital), it is a matter of vital importance, in the consideration of the question of accessibility, that the Wellington proposed site is (viz. Werris Creek) only 272 miles from Newcastle, and 152 miles from Lithgow. Due consideration under this section must also be given to the fact that, under our present arrangement of Colonial Governments, the respective railway systems of the Colonies have been devised and constructed with a view to the development and advancement of each individual Colony; but it is reasonable to conclude that Federated Australia will gradually merge these railway systems into one, and that the future extension of the main trunk lines will become a national undertaking.

I had no intention of speaking at such length; but, in conclusion, I wish to say that the people of New South Wales ask this Parliament to establish the Seat of Government within the western district. That district is just beyond the 100-miles radius provided for in the Constitution. It possesses good land, so that it is likely to become closely settled; a magnificent water supply can be given to it; its climate is excellent; and its selection would give general satisfaction to the people of the State. The Premier of New South Wales is now evincing considerable interest in this matter, and although it is quite possible that he may be routed at the poll, those who are likely to succeed him in office have pledged themselves to place the territory of which I am speaking at the disposal of the Federal Government for the establishment of the Seat of Government. All the Crown land known as the Church and School land within that district will be made available to us. Mr. Carruthers, who is likely to succeed Mr. Waddell as Premier of New South Wales, has stated that he would be willing to place at the disposal of the Federal Government the land to which I refer.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—Mr. Carruthers has said that he is strongly in favour of the Federal Capital being established in the Monaro district.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—If the western site is not chosen, I shall be in favour of establishing the Seat of Government at Dalgety, because of the excellence of the land there, the magnificent climate of the district, its scenery, of which Mount Kosciusko is such a glorious feature, and the splendid water supply which can be obtained. Therefore, if the western site is rejected, I shall vote for the next best site, which, in my opinion, is the Dalgety site. That site is within about 100 miles of the coast, and would, I think, be accepted by the people of New South Wales in the event of the western site being rejected. But I shall support the western site so long as I consider that it has a chance of being selected. I do not wish to stand in the way of a settlement of the question. If the roots of the Commonwealth Administration are established in Melbourne, there will be great difficulty in transplanting them elsewhere.

Mr. FISHER.—Is the honorable member only reason for wishing for the settlement of the question his fear of the influence of Melbourne?

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—No; but that is one of my reasons. I might keep honorable members here all night if I stated all my reasons. I would point out, however, that the Government now rent a number of buildings in various parts of Melbourne, and they are receiving propositions from various quarters for the renting of other buildings. The result will be that before very long the private individuals and companies concerned will be using all their influence to keep the Seat of Government in Melbourne, and the Ministry will have a very plausible argument for postponing its removal elsewhere, in the fact that they will have entered into leases, having many years to run, of buildings for which they pay very high rents. That reason will, of course, commend itself to honorable members who, on the ground of economy, allege that it is necessary to wait a few years before building Federal offices in a Capital of our own. I am opposed to the Seat of Government remaining in Melbourne, as I should be opposed to its being placed in Sydney, for several reasons, of which the influence of the local press over the Parliament is one of the chief, while the second is the advantage which is given to the State in whose capital the Federal Parliament meets. At the present time the representatives of Victoria could, at a critical moment, be all brought to the House within about fifteen minutes, and distant States, such as Western Australia and Queensland, whose members have to reside in Melbourne almost permanently, are also well represented. But the representatives of South Australia and New South Wales, who go to their homes at week ends, cannot always be recalled in less time than some days. Consequently Victoria has an advantage over New South Wales, which, in my opinion, is equal to an additional representation of three members; and she has a proportional advantage over South Australia. If we had a Seat of Government of our own, however, none of the States would have an advantage over the others in this respect. In conclusion, I urge that the compact made at the Premiers' Conference with the Premier of New South Wales should be carried out, and the Seat of Government located within that State at a suitable site, as near as possible to the 100 miles radius of Sydney. I think that I have shown that the most suitable site available is at Lyndhurst, in the western district.

Mr. CONROY (Werriwa).—I regret that this question has apparently been approached by some honorable members without a due acquaintance with the Constitution, and, perhaps, also without a full knowledge of the compact entered into at the time the Constitution Bill was submitted to a referendum. When the first Bill was presented to the people of Australia, no condition was made with regard to the Capital.

Mr. POYNTON.—And yet the people of New South Wales voted in favour of the Bill.

Mr. CONROY.—Yes; but not to the extent of the statutory majority. We must suppose that the condition imposed by the Parliament of New South Wales had the approval of the whole of the people. I quite admit that legislation has been passed in this Parliament which does not represent the will of the people; but if the honorable member were in favour of such legislation, he would contend that it was legislation by the people for the people, and, therefore, we must apply the same rule to the Federal referendum. In order to induce the people of New South Wales to accept the Constitution Bill, a proposal was made that the Capital should be located in that State. It is true that local jealousies prevented the Premiers from fixing upon Sydney, which, as the oldest capital city in Australia, should have been selected. From my point of view, the question should have been left open; but we can deal only with the facts now presented to us. There is no doubt that a great many people in New South Wales thought that the Seat of Government should have been established at Sydney, and I am rather inclined to think that if the question had been submitted to the whole of the people of Australia, that site would have been chosen. However, we are now called upon to select a site in New South Wales, but distant not less than 100 miles from Sydney. I should like to draw attention to the wording of section 125 of the Constitution, which shows what was in the minds of the Premiers of the States who met in conference. I contend that the clear impression was that the Capital would be located at Sydney unless some limitation were imposed, and that, in order to prevent Sydney from being chosen, it was stipulated that the Capital city should be situated not less than 100 miles from that place. If any idea had been entertained that the Capital might be located on the border of New South Wales the

section would have been differently worded, and would probably have contained a provision that the Capital should be situated within the State of New South Wales, and be distant not less than 100 miles from the border of New South Wales and Victoria. It was clearly considered that an advantage would be conferred on New South Wales, because provision was made that such portion of the Federal territory as might consist of Crown land should be granted to the Commonwealth without any payment whatever.

Mr. SKENE.—That was in consideration of the Capital being established in New South Wales.

Mr. CONROY.—That was in consideration of the State of New South Wales receiving some advantage from the establishment of the Federal Capital within its territory.

Mr. SKENE.—That is a different interpretation.

Mr. CONROY.—In order to show that it was supposed that an advantage would be conferred on New South Wales, I would point out that it was further provided that, in return for the concession which New South Wales was to receive, the Parliament should sit at Melbourne until it met at the Seat of Government. Why were these two concessions made by New South Wales, unless it was thought that the Capital Site would be chosen as near as possible to Sydney, outside of the 100-miles limit? I think that if we look at the provision in the proper spirit, we shall recognise that that was the idea and intention of those who drafted the section.

Mr. McLEAN.—Does not the honorable and learned member think that it would have been better to establish the Federal Capital at Sydney rather than at some place beyond the 100-miles limit?

Mr. CONROY.—My own opinion is that it would have been infinitely better to establish the permanent Seat of Government at either Sydney or Melbourne. These two cities are undoubtedly destined to become the greatest commercial centres in Australia, and I do not approve of a Federal Capital being created merely as a place of meeting for Members of Parliament. However, honorable members do not accept that view, and I do not think it is necessary to argue the matter.

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—We have to abide by the Constitution.

Mr. CONROY.—Exactly; we are bound by the Constitution, and we cannot, except at considerable difficulty, secure its amendment. It is very questionable whether it would be worth our while to incur the dangers to which we should be exposed if we were to attempt to amend the Constitution in order to secure the adoption of Sydney as the Seat of Government of the Commonwealth. We are not called upon to discuss that question at present, because we are proceeding to act in conformity with the Constitution. In return for the concession to New South Wales regarding the Capital, it was agreed that the Parliament should meet, as it has been meeting, at Melbourne, and that all the Crown lands within the Federal territory should be granted by the New South Wales Government free of charge, and it is obvious that it was intended that if any advantage could be given to New South Wales by the selection of the Capital site within her borders, then only such a site should be selected as would confer that advantage upon her. It may be that the advantage will not be a very valuable one. Some honorable members assert that wherever the Federal Capital may be situated no advantage will be conferred upon New South Wales. That, however, is hardly the question. The point is whether, in the opinion of the people of New South Wales, any advantage would be conferred upon them. As they have agreed to pay the price, and are already paying part of that price, they are now asking that in the selection of the site the advantage of locality shall, as far as possible, be conferred upon them. Viewed from this standpoint, the selection of a site, such as Tooma, which, by the shortest means of communication, is situated 430 miles from Sydney, as against only 270 miles from Melbourne, would, in the minds of the great majority of the people of New South Wales, involve a violation of the spirit of the compact.

Mr. SKENE.—The honorable and learned member's figures are wrong. We should have to go round by Cootamundra if we were proceeding from Melbourne.

Mr. CONROY.—Oh, no; persons travelling from Melbourne to Tooma would go by way of Tallangatta. A coach journey would be involved in either case. Even if railways were constructed to bridge the sixty miles from Tallangatta to Tooma, and the fifty-eight miles from Germananton to Tooma, the distances would still be 430

miles from Sydney, and 280 miles from Melbourne.

Mr. SKENE.—Tooma is 368 miles from Melbourne by way of Cootamundra and Tumut.

Mr. CONROY.—But, surely, it is not to be supposed that persons travelling from Melbourne would proceed by rail 100 miles up and 100 miles back again, because a coach journey would have to be undertaken even if the roundabout route were selected. I am taking into consideration the existing lines of railway and the practicable routes by which the mails are now conveyed, and there is a great deal to be said in favour of that system of measurement. If the honorable member had ever been through that country he would know—

Mr. SKENE.—How far is it from Sydney to Tumut?

Mr. CONROY.—It is about 330 miles.

Mr. SKENE.—The exact distance is 322 miles.

Mr. CONROY.—Speaking of this question, Mr. Chesterman says—

The Yass-Tumut-Welaregang loop line would bring the present suggested site within, approximately, 341 miles of Sydney, while the Bowning-Colac-Gadara-Welaregang loop would bring it within, approximately, 360 miles of Sydney.

I have no hesitation in affirming that a railway could not be constructed through that country under £25,000 per mile. If a line were built direct from Yass to Tumut, through that country, its cost would not be less than £50,000 per mile.

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—Such a railway would be practically impossible.

Mr. CONROY.—Yes. I was engaged in surveying that district for some time, so that I know what I am speaking about. When I mention that surveying work costs 100 per cent. more than the ordinary scale of fees in that country, although it is lightly timbered, and simply because it is so precipitous and hilly, honorable members will understand its character. Consequently, I put railway construction quite out of the question. Nobody who has ever been through that country will imagine that it is practicable to build a railway through it without tunnelling pretty well the whole distance. It is scarcely necessary, therefore, to discuss the matter from that standpoint. I ask those honorable members who are anxious to see effect given to the spirit of the Constitution, to regard it from that standpoint. If any advantage is to be gained by New South Wales from having the Capital established in her midst, that

advantage should be conceded as some return for the Parliament having met in Melbourne during the past three years. Whilst I admit that the site upon the Upper Murray is one of the most picturesque which can be found, and that some of the land surrounding it is very rich, I still think that honorable members who speak lightly of the work of constructing a railway from Tumut to Tooma, have not considered the real difficulties to be encountered. I would merely point out that if a line were built from a point situated ten miles to the northern side of Tumut, up the Gilmore Creek, and then down again, it would be running practically the whole time upon an old volcanic range. At one time, no doubt, there was a considerable area of that country, but it has been washed away, so that to-day only the remains of the old volcanic range exist. Starting from an altitude of 1,000 feet, it would be necessary for any railway which might be built to rise to a height of 3,270 feet.

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—Is the honorable and learned member satisfied that that is the altitude?

Mr. CONROY.—I am accepting the statement of Mr. Chesterman. When I was asked some question in regard to this matter last session, I said that the altitude was about 3,000 feet. Mr. Chesterman, however, declares that the height of the gap above sea-level is 3,270 feet. That altitude was taken by means of an aneroid, and would probably be within 10 feet of the exact height. I repeat that if a railway were constructed it would require to rise 2,000 feet in the short distance of twenty-five miles, and to fall again to the same extent upon the other side. When I tell the Committee that the country to be traversed is all of a volcanic nature—that it is practically a narrow range—honorable members will understand that the work would present difficulties which, whilst not insuperable to an engineer, would involve such an enormous expenditure as would practically place it outside the region of probability.

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—Would it not be always a slow line?

Mr. CONROY.—I am bound to say that on account of the cuttings and short curves which would be necessary—certainly it would be impossible to have more than ten chains curves—it would be a very slow line to travel upon, and a very expensive one to construct. Speakin'

generally, I do not think that such a line could be built for less than the estimated cost of constructing a railway upon the Victorian side. I know that some time ago a rough survey was made of a railway seventy miles in length, starting from Tallangatta, and that its cost was set down at £13,000 per mile.

Mr. SKENE.—I was informed recently by the Railway Department that it could now be constructed for £6,000 per mile.

Mr. CONROY.—If that be so, all I can say is that it is an extremely moderate estimate. Personally, I would prefer to accept the figures which were given in the first instance, because, moderate as is the original estimate in connexion with a railway, our experience is that it is invariably exceeded by the actual expenditure.

Mr. KENNEDY.—The honorable member is referring to the estimate of 1884, which is known as our "boom" estimate. It has since been reduced by 50 per cent.

Mr. CONROY.—Of course the honorable member knows that country very well, whereas it is many years since I passed through it. Nevertheless, I think that such a railway would be fairly expensive. Even if it could be built for £13,000 per mile I am confident that a line upon the other side could not be constructed for less than double that amount.

Mr. SKENE.—To which railway, on the other side, does the honorable and learned member refer?

Mr. CONROY.—To the line from Gaddara Gap *via* the Gilmore Valley, thence round the range by Laurel Hill.

Mr. SKENE.—Would that line cost more to construct than the other?

Mr. CONROY.—Undoubtedly.

Mr. KENNEDY.—One horse will draw 15 cwt. in a team from Tumut to Tumberumba.

Mr. CONROY.—The fact remains that, within a distance of twenty-five miles, the railway would require to rise 2,000 feet, and to fall again. If the honorable member can overcome that difficulty I will enter into a partnership with him, and we shall be able to revolutionize the carrying trade of the world.

Mr. SKENE.—There is a railway over the Alps in Switzerland.

Mr. CONROY.—What was the expenditure per mile upon its construction? I presume that the honorable member does not say that this line could be constructed without tunnelling?

Mr. SKENE.—I should tunnel wherever the gradient rendered it necessary to do so.

Mr. CONROY.—I do not say that it is impossible to construct this railway. All I contend is that it is impracticable, because of the expenditure that would be incurred, and because of the small traffic which it would carry.

Mr. SKENE.—I do not agree with the honorable and learned member.

Mr. CONROY.—The honorable member will find scarcely any engineer in New South Wales or Victoria to agree with him. I would further point out that if this Parliament decides to acquire any area along the border of Victoria, or any other State, it will be doing something which section 123 of the Constitution clearly prohibits it from doing. That section provides—

The Parliament of the Commonwealth may, with the consent of the Parliament of a State and the approval of the majority of the electors of a State, voting upon the question, increase, diminish or otherwise alter the limits of the State upon such terms and conditions as may be agreed on, and may, with the like consent, make provision respecting the effect and operation of any increase or diminution, or alteration of territory in relation to any State affected.

It will thus be seen that it was never contemplated that any alteration should be effected in the boundaries of a State. In any case, we could not do what has been suggested without first getting the consent of the Parliament of New South Wales; and, secondly, the approval of its people. Nearly twelve months ago I pointed this out to the House when a proposal was submitted to extend the Federal territory from the Murrumbidgee to the Murray. The more I have considered the matter since, the more confirmed have I become in my opinion. Last night the honorable member for South Sydney also pointed out the effect of that provision. We can only overcome that section by refusing to extend our boundary to the Murray—

Mr. SKENE.—By making a chain road between.

Mr. CONROY.—As the honorable member says, by making a chain road between. If we did anything of that character, we should conclusively show that we were violating the spirit of the Constitution. If we left a strip of land between the Victorian border and the Federal territory, it would clearly demonstrate that we were contravening the spirit of the Constitution.

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—If we left such a strip of land, it would be urged that the

Federal territory was hemmed in by New South Wales.

Mr. CONROY.—I am certain that it is beyond our power to alter the limits of any State. The Constitution distinctly declares that we cannot increase the area of a State.

Mr. CROUCH.—Neither can we diminish it.

Mr. CONROY.—If we touched the boundary we should also diminish the limits of the State.

Mr. McLEAN.—Even if we selected a site in the centre of the State we should alter its limits.

Mr. CONROY.—I am sure that if the honorable member consults members of the legal profession he will find that my statement is well founded. I have no doubt that the High Court would place this interpretation on the provision. The wording of section 123 is so clear that it cannot be avoided. It was for that reason that it did not appear to me that we ought to enter into the question of the selection of Tooma as fully as we otherwise might have done. A certain price has been paid by New South Wales to secure the advantage of having the Capital within its boundaries.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—A certain price?

Mr. CONROY.—Yes; the price paid was that the Parliament should meet at Melbourne until the establishment of the Federal Capital.

Mr. McLEAN.—Victoria has paid £70,000 for that privilege.

Mr. CONROY.—I do not propose to discuss that question, because I have from the first held that such a provision should not have been placed in the bond. It is in the Constitution, however, and we have to deal with things as they are. We must recognise the compact, not as we, in the light of the fuller experience of to-day, would have made it, but as agreed to by the two great contracting parties. I ask that it should be as far as possible carried out. In my opinion, Tooma is not an accessible site, and many years must elapse before it will be connected with the railway system of the State. Accessibility is one of the chief factors to be considered in making a selection, and the only reason why I do not place Dalgety first in the list in this respect is that, while some honorable members say that it will be connected with the Victorian railway system by a railway line running from Bairnsdale, it does not seem to me that such a railway is within the realm of practicable work.

Mr. POYNTON.—Why put accessibility first?

Mr. CONROY.—I deem it to be the first consideration, and shall give my reasons for that belief. If the Capital be not established in a readily accessible position the whole of the correspondence of the Commonwealth will be delayed sometimes for half-a-day, or more. Are we to subject the people to this disability, merely because honorable members have a love of the artistic, and are anxious to be able, on leaving Parliament House after their day's labour, to survey some beauty spot in the neighbourhood? We are not to make a selection from a purely artistic point of view. Art arises only when a nation has reached a high stage of civilization, and our first consideration should be the interests of the great bulk of the people.

Mr. POYNTON.—Are we to legislate for the convenience of legislators, or for the convenience of the people?

Mr. CONROY.—We certainly ought not to study the mere convenience of honorable members. I for one have no desire to consider the interests of legislators by voting for the selection of a site merely because it would be a pleasant, pretty, and comfortable place in which to reside. My idea of a Legislature is that it should be composed of a body of men who meet together for the purposes of business. If they can carry on the business of the country, and, at the same time, devote a certain degree of attention to artistic surroundings, well and good; but mere beauty of surroundings should not be the main factor in the determination of this question. One of the reasons why I have a liking for Dalgety is that it is fairly accessible, and that if it were selected, New South Wales would have no serious cause of complaint, because she would be called upon to construct only a very short line, forming part of a railway of which the State Parliament has already practically approved. The selection of that site would therefore not be open to the same objection as would attach to the choosing of one of the other suggested sites which the New South Wales Parliament has never even thought of connecting with the railway system of the State. If we consider Dalgety from the point of view of water supply, it unquestionably stands before Tooma, or any other site. No doubt Tooma possesses a fairly good water supply, but its climate is practically the same as that of Table Top, a site which has already been rejected by this House.

Mr. KENNEDY.—Who says that it is the same?

Mr. CONROY.—I do, and the honorable member knows that my statement is correct.

Mr. KENNEDY.—It is eighty miles nearer the snow line.

Mr. CONROY.—Its elevation is somewhat less than that of Table Top. Albury is situated in a valley, and Welaregang is just at the entrance to it. I may tell the honorable member that maize and pumpkins and tobacco will grow fairly well in the valley. Tumut is also a place at which tobacco might be grown, but at certain seasons the climate is not that which one would select as the most desirable. I pointed this out when the matter was under consideration last session, but my remarks were not treated as being worthy of that attention which I thought they ought to receive. Subsequently a number of honorable members visited Tumut, and on that occasion found the weather so hot that most of them have since told me that my description of it was a perfectly fair one. We know that that one visit caused a number of honorable members to change their opinion as to the suitability of that site. If honorable members visit Welaregang, or any part of the Upper Murray district, they will find that the valley is very close during the summer season. I spent some time in the district, and found no difference between the climate there and that of Tumut. The mountains are nearer Welaregang than Tumut, but both places are situated in a valley, and during the summer it is very close.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—One trip to Welaregang would have the same effect on honorable members as the inspection of Tumut had upon those who formed the parliamentary party.

Mr. CONROY.—They will find it extremely close at night. That was my experience, although I slept in a tent.

Mr. PAGE.—The same statement would apply to Melbourne.

Mr. CONROY.—In some respects that is so.

Mr. POYNTON.—It would certainly be true of Sydney.

Mr. CONROY.—Quite so; I should not have mentioned the point but for the fact that a number of honorable members visited Welaregang at the most favorable time of the year.

Mr. FOWLER.—It was raining during our inspection; there was not much pleasure about the trip.

Mr. CONROY.—I have referred to the climate at Tooma, because it has been suggested that it is perfect.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—There is not much wrong with any of the sites, so far as climate is concerned.

Mr. CONROY.—I confess that, had there been a ready means of communication with Dalgety, I should have been disposed to favour its selection, although I should have thought that in choosing it we might, perhaps, be going a little beyond the spirit of the bond.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—It is only thirty miles from Cooma.

Mr. CONROY.—Yes. The construction of a line to Dalgety has, I have already mentioned, been approved by the State Parliament; but when the bond was entered into it was never imagined that New South Wales would be called upon to construct a railway line to the Federal Capital. No exception could be taken of that ground, however, to the selection of Dalgety, because I feel satisfied that a railway will be constructed to it as part of a scheme to eventually connect Bombah with the State railway system. Therefore the objection which I have to the selection of Tooma does not apply to Dalgety. But in spite of the last-named site being pre-eminent in the matter of water supply, I think that it labours under other disabilities which debar its selection. Honorable members coming from Victoria to the Federal Capital would have, for scores of years, to travel on the main line as far as Goulburn and then to travel by the branch line to Cooma.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Not for scores of years.

Mr. CONROY.—I am afraid that would be the case. I do not think that if Dalgety were selected a railway line would be constructed, in our time, from Bairnsdale over the mountains to the Federal Capital.

Mr. PAGE.—What would be the cost of such a line?

Mr. CONROY.—Over £20,000 per mile.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I should like to have a contract to make it at that rate.

Mr. CONROY.—I could make such a contract pay, provided that I should not be called upon to run any engines over the line.

Mr. PAGE.—Does not the honorable member think that £20,000 a mile would be quite sufficient to cover the cost?

Mr. CONROY.—Many railways have cost double that amount per mile. I think it would be cheaper in the long run to pay even more than £20,000 a mile for the construction of the line, in order to secure a thoroughly reliable one. If the line were well built, a saving would be effected both in speed and haulage.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—What is the greatest height over which a railway line from Bairnsdale would have to be carried?

Mr. CONROY.—It is not so much one height, as a succession of rises, that would have to be surmounted, whilst the small rivers running down to the coast would also have to be bridged. If Lyndhurst were selected, no expense would be incurred in the matter of railway construction, and that in itself is a very important factor. I agree with the right honorable member for Swan, who said that the climate of Lyndhurst was probably better than that of any of the other sites.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I do not think I said that. I said that they were about equal.

Mr. CONROY.—Then I will take it at that. I would draw the attention of honorable members, who are anxious to secure closer settlement in the Federal territory, to the fact that the area of good land in the neighbourhood of Lyndhurst is certainly greater than in the vicinity of Dalgety.

Mr. KENNEDY.—Is there any good land around Dalgety?

Mr. CONROY.—Some of the land in the neighbourhood is good.

Mr. KENNEDY.—A few garden patches.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—There are two stations in the district, which comprise 100,000 acres of good land. Are they garden patches?

Mr. CONROY.—It has been pointed out that, so far as good land is concerned, a greater area can be obtained here than at any of the other sites. The report of the right honorable member for Swan was an extremely fair one, that gentleman appearing to be absolutely free from prejudice or bias. There is another reason why Lyndhurst may be very favorably considered. I think that the right honorable member for Swan will agree that at Lyndhurst there could be obtained a far better water supply than would appear from the reports. The supply has been put at the low estimate of 8 per cent., but this was only calculated on the rainfall of Lyndhurst itself. On the true catchment area, above Lynd-

hurst, the rainfall, I should say, is nearly 10 inches more than at the township. The estimate of 8 per cent. is, in my opinion, extremely moderate, in view of the allowance of 32 per cent. at Yan Yean, and 50 per cent. at Prospect. I am informed, however, that the rain gauges are not numerous enough to afford a thoroughly accurate record; and, therefore, I would place the estimate at half, or 25 per cent., which should give an enormously increased number of gallons over the estimates which have been supplied. It seems to me that, under the circumstances, Lyndhurst offers many advantages in the matter of climate, accessibility, and good soil; and I do not know what further advantages are required. I cannot say that I agree with honorable members who favour Tooma simply because of the picturesqueness of the locality. If honorable members wish to have merely a pleasure resort, it would be far better for them to advocate that site merely on that ground, and not attempt to show that it is a place suitable for the transaction of parliamentary business.

Mr. CARPENTER.—That is only one of the claims on behalf of Tooma.

Mr. CONROY.—But in all other respects Tooma seems to fall behind the other sites. It certainly is not very accessible.

Mr. CARPENTER.—It can be approached up the Murray Valley quite easily.

Mr. CONROY.—I have already dealt with that aspect of the suitability of the Tooma site. Under the circumstances, there appear to be only Dalgety and Lyndhurst from which we may make a choice. The Federal Capital ought to be on the main railway line between Sydney and Melbourne—it should be as accessible as possible. Although Melbourne presents all the attractions of a city, we do not find that members of the Commonwealth Parliament make their homes here.

Mr. TUDOR.—What site does the honorable and learned member regard as the best?

Mr. CONROY.—I have just said that the Federal Capital ought to be on the main line; but, as the question has been put to me, I may say that, in my opinion, a site near Lake George could, at a moderate expense, have been made suitable.

Mr. PAGE.—What about Yass?

Mr. CONROY.—That site is also on the main line, and Mr. Oliver, after careful

consideration, placed it first in his estimation.

Mr. PAGE.—Then why does the honorable and learned member not advocate Yass?

Mr. CONROY.—Because Yass happens to be in my electorate, and were I to advocate it, honorable members might think that I was particularly interested. I have drawn attention to the advantages of Yass, and we have the reports of the Commissioners; and it is not for me to attempt to unduly influence honorable members. There is no doubt that, failing Dalgety or Lyndhurst, we might fall back on a place like Yass, which is within easy reach of the two great Capital cities, and is a place where the mails can be delivered every day without delay. This matter of mail delivery is most important. There will be a large amount of business at the Federal Capital, owing to the concentration of public offices; and there ought to be no more delay than is actually necessary in the delivery of the mails. Even in Melbourne we find complaints on this score; but to go to a place where there might be further delay would only be to create another cause of dissatisfaction. Once the Capital is chosen, difficulties of the nature I am now indicating could not be removed. If it is necessary to have a picturesque site, we might go to Lake George, a site which, as I have already said, could be made acceptable at a very moderate expenditure. In addition, Lake George would have the advantage of a harbor like Jervis Bay, which is the best on the whole coast of Australia, with the exception of Port Jackson. For these reasons, if there is any difficulty, some compromise might be arranged; and, even at this late stage, we ought to bear in mind that accessibility is the main consideration. Parliament will meet at the Federal Capital for the purpose of very serious business, and it would be wrong to make the selection with regard merely to picturesqueness. We must first consider accessibility and centrality; and having these assured, we ought to select the most pleasant spot available. It is unfortunate that when honorable members visited Lake George there had been a very severe drought throughout Australia, and the lake was dry; but similar conditions had not prevailed since the years 1837-9, when a drought of similar magnitude occurred. So far as I can learn, though I do not commit myself to this statement, there is a feasible scheme for conveying water into Lake George, and thus prevent a recurrence of the drying up.

Mr. FISHER.—That is a very difficult question to determine.

Mr. CONROY.—In the meantime, we might easily get a report, and thus place honorable members in a much better position to decide than they are in at present in regard to, say, Tooma.

Mr. FISHER.—The greatest engineers have been mistaken on such points.

Mr. CONROY.—It is a matter of levels. I have been assured that the levels taken are absolutely correct, and it has been reported by our own Commissioners that a gravitation water supply could be arranged to feed the lake. That, however, is a point on which I do not wish to dwell too much. What I desire to emphasize is that in our eagerness for the picturesque or the artistic, we are getting away from the useful. If honorable members are not disposed to spend the whole of their time in Melbourne, it would be even more difficult to induce them to stay in a place where there are not the advantages of a city. For many years the Federal Capital must be very little more than a village. We must bear in mind that the Constitution distinctly shows that whatever State advantage may attach to the determination of this question should be conferred on New South Wales; and the fact that as a price of Federation New South Wales was asked to give up the claims of the capital city of the mother State to be the place of meeting of the first Federal Parliament, alone shows that every consideration should be given to that State. If we exclude Yass and Lake George, we have Dalgety and Lyndhurst left; but I trust that, even at this late stage, the two former sites will receive consideration.

Mr. FOWLER (Perth).—I am one who believes that we should not only consider the letter, but also the spirit of the Constitution. I am unable, however, to follow the arguments of some of the representatives from New South Wales in their contention that the proposed Federal Capital should be as near Sydney as the Constitution permits. So far as I can remember, the request by New South Wales that the Federal Capital should be within her territory was almost entirely sentimental. It was not possible, as was apparent during the Convention debates, that the mother city of Australia, Sydney, should be the Capital of the Commonwealth. The concession that the Capital should be in New South Wales was merely made, because of the feeling of the New South Wales people that the older State should

be honoured in that respect. I believe that the Federal Capital should not be established in one of the large commercial or industrial centres. In that respect both Sydney and Melbourne have been put out of the question, and very wisely so. Those of us who have been members of the Federal Parliament from its inception, must have found at various times that our presence in this large industrial and commercial centre has not always been fraught with the best results to legislation. No matter where we go, if we settle in a large industrial centre, it will be found that the same circumstances will surround the making of legislation. As a matter of fact, the two countries whose conditions most nearly resemble our own—namely, the United States and Canada—have both been compelled to remove their capitals from the large centres to what appeared at the time of the removal to be remote villages. The people of the United States were obliged to remove their capital first from Philadelphia, and latterly from New York, to a situation that was denounced at the time as being absolutely in the wilderness, and inaccessible. Again the people of Canada were compelled, by force of circumstances—the particular circumstance immediately operative being no less than the burning of Parliament buildings by an excited mob—to remove from Montreal to the present position at Ottawa. Those who consider what the surroundings of a legislative body ought to be, will not, I believe, have any hesitation in adopting the wise view taken by those who drew up our Constitution, which requires the Federal Capital to be somewhere other than in one of our large cities. In determining this question we have—more perhaps than in regard to any other question which we have yet discussed—a very great responsibility indeed devolving upon us. Any legislation that we have yet enacted can be altered by this Parliament. Alterations would necessitate no great sacrifices; and, as a matter of fact, any modification of any of our existing Acts would be undertaken by this Parliament with very little hesitation. But if we decide upon the Federal Capital, and the necessary work is undertaken; and if by-and-by we remove to the selected place and establish the Seat of Government there, the chances are that we shall have taken an irrevocable step in the history of Australia. However unwise the choice may have been, it will be one that in all probability the people of the Commonwealth

will have to abide by. Therefore, we ought to be particularly careful to make the best choice possible. I regret a good many of the arguments that have been put forward; they have been too provincial. The honorable member for Robertson incidentally referred to the position of the Western Australian members in this Parliament, and made the astounding statement that those members were in some way responsible for the burden of taxation which New South Wales at present has to carry. That statement does not require any refutation from me. Those who wish to have a refutation of it will find it in the pages of *Hansard*, where the Tariff was being discussed. I think I can claim for myself, and for the other representatives of the Western State, that we approach this question with minds absolutely free from any State prejudice, or any consideration of conserving State interests. It is a very good thing indeed for the Commonwealth that we are able to approach the question in that way, and I can only regret that our numbers are not stronger, so as to counteract what appears to me to be the provincial spirit manifested by some honorable members—a spirit which may operate to the detriment of the best interests of the Commonwealth. It has been argued that the first consideration ought to be accessibility. I am unable to adopt that view. I have mentioned that Washington was selected as the site for the capital of the United States against the wishes of a large number of people residing in the large centres of population. I hold in my hand an extract from a document that will be found amongst the papers of the United States Senate. It was printed in 1889, and forms portion of a report of a committee of the Columbia Historical Society upon the question of the transfer of the Federal Capital to the Columbian territory. It says—

The national capital was created in the wilderness one hundred years ago. Its magnificent distances were once a name of thoughtless ridicule, but are none too ample for a thronging population in an age when distance is almost annihilated.

Washington, as we all know, is no longer inaccessible.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—That passage is poetry; it is not prose.

Mr. FOWLER.—If it be poetry, it is the production of a very prosaic committee, and is simply an indication of the fact that statesmen will occasionally rise even to the

poetic level. A hundred years hence, if an Australian Capital is established on some sunburnt uninteresting plain, such as is being argued for on the mere ground of accessibility, I can imagine people who are compelled to traverse that part of the country, asking in astonishment what the reasons were for making that miserable little village the Capital site. I can imagine also their disgust on being informed that what determined the selection was proximity to an existing railway line. I should say that of itself would, in the eyes of future generations of Australia, be a sufficient condemnation of this Parliament. I for one am not inclined to adopt the idea that accessibility should be the first consideration. It is merely a temporary consideration at the very best. Although some honorable members have referred scornfully to the necessity for having flying machines to reach some of the suggested Capital sites, I would remind them that perhaps in another hundred years flying machines may be just as common as bicycles, and that members of the Commonwealth Parliament may be wending their way to and from the Capital on flying machines, with much less danger to the lieges than is at present occasioned by the progress of some of the members of this House through the streets of Melbourne on their motor-cars. I regard other considerations as of much more importance than accessibility. Although I may be, and frequently am, put down as a very prosaic individual, and as belonging to a very matter-of-fact race, I certainly am one of those who think that scenery and natural environment in a Capital city ought to be a very important consideration indeed. We are told that if we require scenery, and a beautiful natural environment, those requirements will take us amongst the mountains. Proximity to mountains is, in the opinion of some honorable members, sufficient to put any site out of court. But I am not sure but that our duty as a national Parliament lies in the direction of establishing the Federal Capital—other things being equal—in mountainous territory. I will give my reasons for thinking so. Australia is usually regarded as a flat country. The more densely populated portions of Australia are undoubtedly flat districts. But an entirely erroneous impression of Australia as a whole is conveyed in this way. We have mountainous districts of very considerable extent indeed; and you would not have to draw a radius to any

Mr. Fowler.

great distance from Kosciusko as a centre to include a mountainous territory equal to the whole of Switzerland. I think that any one who has read history will admit very willingly the part which the people of mountainous countries have played in the struggle for independence, and in the general advance of civilization. It seems to me, indeed, that if we leave out of consideration the work done by those nations who inhabit mountainous countries, we disregard very much of what has tended to the enlightenment and the freedom that we now enjoy. If that is so, it is a very fair argument that almost a duty lies upon this national Parliament to do something towards opening up our mountainous country, and planting there a population which will have the characteristics of those races who live in such surroundings. It is no mere accident that the people of these mountainous countries possess exceptional qualities.

Mr. ROBINSON.—Is the honorable member referring to the Scotch?

Mr. FOWLER.—I am not at present referring to any people in particular. I am able to give many more instances in support of what I say than the one which the honorable and learned member mentions. Examples are to be seen all over the world. If we take the people of Norway, of Switzerland, of the mountainous region in the magnificent little country of Montenegro, and lastly, but by no means least, if we take the people of Scotland, we shall find characteristics in the people of each of those nationalities that seem specially to belong to races who inhabit a mountainous country—a sturdy independence, a love of freedom, a virility which is not found in the same degree amongst races who inhabit flat areas. Let us take the description of the Bengalee, which is to be found in Macaulay's magnificent essay, and compare it with the well known character of the Gourkabs of Nepaul. We shall find a direct antithesis in the characteristics of those two races. They belong unquestionably to the same type, but the one race inhabiting the flat, low-lying districts of Bengal is but a miserable sample of humanity, while the Gourkabs are noted as possessing some of the finest characteristics to be found in any section of humanity. I think that at the present time we have a particularly favorable opportunity to open up and settle the mountainous country of Australia. If we can

obtain what we require in those districts, and if we can succeed in attracting population to them, I, for one, will very readily put aside all other considerations. The mere question of accessibility, viewed in that light, is reduced to very unimportant dimensions indeed. If, in addition to this consideration we can secure natural beauty, a magnificent water supply, and splendid soil, I take it that we have very weighty evidence in favour of the selection of a site in the uplands of Australia. In the last Parliament I gave a vote, on these considerations, for the Monaro Tableland; but on this occasion I intend to alter my vote, without prejudice in the least to Monaro, because I still think a very great deal of that part of the country as a possible Federal Capital Site, but because there is another district which I think ought to be reported on by experts before we come to a final decision. It is a district which I admit has been brought forward at a somewhat late hour, but it is nevertheless entitled to some consideration. It has been said several times in this Chamber that the honorable member for Hume has a great many sites in his electorate, and that he has been particularly adroit in retreating from one to another as each has been discovered to be unfavorable, and that, finally in his selection of Tooma he has been able to secure the assistance of many who went on a picnic with him to that part of the country. I wish to say that I went on a visit to that part of the country, and it was not by any means a picnic. It was a very unpleasant experience indeed, so far as my personal comfort was concerned. I think that even the right honorable member for East Sydney, who designated the trip as a picnic, would have shown a good deal of dissatisfaction with the condition of the elements, and sometimes even with the eatables and drinkables that were placed before us on that trip. I feel sure that if I were to refer to the right honorable gentleman as having enjoyed a picnic on the top of Mount Canobolas on a certain occasion he would very strongly deprecate such a reference. A couple of years ago I saw the right honorable gentleman near the top of Mount Canobolas, sitting with a glass of gingerale in his hand, and a 5½d.-tin of corned beef on the ground in front of him. I am quite sure that that was no picnic for the right honorable gentleman. I can say honestly that the latest trip I took to inspect a Federal Capital Site was much

more unpleasant than the one I made to the top of Mount Canobolas in company with the right honorable member for East Sydney. I considered it my duty to look at this portion of the country, but not on the representations of the honorable member for Hume. That honorable gentleman certainly spoke to me on the subject, as he had a right to do; but I candidly confess that if I had had only his word in recommendation of this particular district, I should have taken it with a considerable discount, knowing that the honorable gentleman is naturally interested in that part of the country, and that he would consequently be unconsciously biased in its favour. I went to Tooma largely on the recommendation of the honorable member for Grampians, who, like myself, is perfectly disinterested in this matter. I must say that I am exceedingly glad I took the trip, and saw for myself what is to be seen in that part of the Commonwealth. I have no desire to attempt a description of the visit, but I am bound to confess that in driving up that valley, and on to the rolling uplands of the Tooma site, I found country which, from a picturesque point of view, I never had expected to discover in Australia. The view of Mount Kosciusko to be had from the Welaregang station is one which I think few people, no matter how prosaic their temperament, could behold unmoved. Ridge after ridge rose in a gradual succession of terraces from the river, and above all towered the mighty mountain, his magnificent shoulders clothed with a beautiful mantle of white, which, when we saw it, was glittering in the sunshine, as if sprinkled with diamonds. I say that if a report on that site would show it to be favorable in all other respects, then the beauty of its environment is something of which this Parliament, Australia as a whole, and the future generations of Australia would have every reason to be proud. I do not absolutely pledge myself to that site. I desire to have the necessary expert evidence as regards detail of which no honorable member on an ordinary visit could make himself master. But, so far as I could see, we had there almost every requirement that could be desired for a Federal Capital. The land is magnificent, and the water supply would, I think, beyond question, be ample. Within a few miles we could find an almost tropical climate along the river flats, and on the uplands a bracing atmosphere that I have

not experienced since I left Scotland. On the flats there could be produced nearly all forms of tropical vegetation.

Mr. MAUGER.—What is the climate like?

Mr. FOWLER.—There are all sorts of climate in that district. There is a tropical climate along the river flats, and we could rise to elevations where we should have a degree of cold which, as I say, I did not expect to find anywhere in Australia. As regards productions, we could have a corresponding variety. We could have almost tropical vegetation along the river flats; along the slopes we could have sub-tropical products; whilst on the uplands we should be able to grow vegetables and fruits of the colder zones which can only be raised with extreme difficulty in most portions of Australia. I take it that it is a most important consideration for us that, within a very few miles, we could, in that part of Australia, have such a large variety of climate and production. In conclusion I would urge upon the Committee that a further opportunity should be afforded honorable members for a close inspection of the locality. I feel sure that the visit would be one which honorable members would enjoy, and it would, I think, be to most of them the entry into a territory such as many imagine cannot be found in Australia at all. I shall vote as I have already indicated, not because I wish to commit myself to the selection of this site, but because I recognise that in another place a vote has been cast for Dalgety, and that if a majority can be secured for Tooma in this House, there will be that consideration given to the district which it deserves, and which I hope it will receive. I trust that in our deliberations on this important matter we shall continually keep before us our responsibility to the Commonwealth, and to the future generations of Australia.

Mr. KENNEDY (Moir).—I do not propose to deal at any great length with this question, but since I possess a fairly intimate knowledge of the country comprised in the only three sites likely to receive practical consideration—the Murray site, the Tumut site, and the Lyndhurst site—I feel it incumbent upon me to reply to some of the statements which have been made about them. Considerable stress has been laid on the fact that the Tooma site has only recently been brought under notice. But may I remind honorable members that when the last Bill was

before us, I, with others, voted for the Tumut site on the clear understanding that the Tooma site would be reported on.

Mr. FOWLER.—Why was not that site reported on?

Mr. KENNEDY.—It may have been because of the native modesty of the then Minister of Home Affairs, in whose electorate Tooma is situated, and who had other sites in his electorate. But, at any rate, he gave us to understand that the site should be reported on. The knowledge which I have gained in regard to the various districts of which I am about to speak is not the result of recent observations, because I had not the privilege of visiting them with other honorable members, but of my experience in travelling through them, generally with stock, more than twenty years ago. The information which I possess has not been gained by a hurried glance. I have spent as much as a month in travelling from Tumut to Welaregang through Tumberumba, and I have been from Welaregang up the Murray towards Mount Kosciusko. I spent as much as three months on the station on which the Dalgety site is situated. I have also travelled repeatedly through the Bombala district, and through the Lyndhurst district. A good deal has been said about the price which was demanded by New South Wales for joining the Union, and some honorable members have gone so far as to claim that the Parliament of that State should select the Federal territory. My reading of the Constitution, however, is that the first step to be taken is for this Parliament to select a territory which will embrace an area suitable for the site of the Seat of Government, and that the site of the city should be afterwards chosen. I understand that what is now proposed is that we shall select the Federal territory, and not the site of the Seat of Government. That, I think, is the proper course to follow.

Mr. BROWN.—All the information which has been laid before us refers to sites, not to territory.

Mr. KENNEDY.—I am aware that the information in our possession is incomplete, and that there are conflicting statements in regard to the various sites. I propose to rely for confirmation of the views I shall express on what I hold to be the best and most reliable authority—the report of the Royal Commission appointed at the instance of this Parliament to investigate the matter. It has been remarked that the possibilities of the Tooma site are an after

consideration ; but I would point out that the possibilities of the Dalgety site are also an after consideration. When the matter was last dealt with, the honorable member for Eden-Monaro spoke enthusiastically about Bombala. According to him, there was no other spot in Australia so well adapted to be the site of the Seat of Government. Now, however, we hear nothing about Bombala. Instead, a little spot on a bend of the Snowy River, termed the Dalgety site, has been chosen. The Federal Commissioners, however, tell us that the country there is treeless, and that it requires two acres of it to feed a sheep. The only timber within a considerable distance of Dalgety is that growing on a low ridge of hills which somewhat shelters the site from the west.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—That is not so.

Mr. KENNEDY. — I have for three months at a time ridden against the biting winds which blow over that desert country—and I am not speaking of its mid-winter climate. Even the river flats will not grow timber. At any rate, no timber grows there now.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The proposed site is not situated on the river flats.

Mr. KENNEDY.—Of course not. If the city were placed there, its buildings would be continually washed away by floods. However, let us hear what the Commissioners have to say on the subject. This is a quotation from their supplementary report—

The appearance of the Site, which, even on the river banks, is almost entirely destitute of timber, does not suggest the idea that parks and gardens would flourish; but the local witnesses are unanimous in their belief that all the trees adapted to temperate climates could be grown.

The only belt of timber within twenty miles of the locality is that growing on the ridge of hills between Beloka and the Mowamba River, from which it is proposed to obtain the water supply of the Federal Capital.

Mr. McDONALD.—Why does not timber grow there?

Mr. KENNEDY.—For one reason, the place is too bleak.

Mr. McDONALD.—In Queensland there are vast areas of very fertile land on which no trees are growing.

Mr. KENNEDY.—I account for that by climatic conditions. In the western plains of New South Wales there are also immense areas which, given a good rainfall, would be extremely productive, but there is practically no timber there.

Mr. McCOLL.—The Riverina district is also treeless.

Mr. KENNEDY.—Yes. But in addition to being bleak, there are also large outcrops of granite in the Dalgety district, particularly to the north and east of it. The site itself is situated opposite the old Buckley's Crossing.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Is Coolringdon all granite?

Mr. KENNEDY.—No; but there is a good deal of granite out in that direction. Of course there is some good country there, because they rear sheep there; but the Commissioners state on indisputable evidence that its carrying capacity is only one sheep to two acres.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Is it not good country between Dalgety and Cooma?

Mr. KENNEDY.—There are patches of good country there.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Is it not good country all the way through?

Mr. KENNEDY.—Certainly not. Country which will carry only one sheep to two acres cannot be described as good. But it is not only the carrying capacity of the country which makes me think it unsuitable for the location of the Federal Capital. The report from which I have quoted expresses the view of local residents that trees could be grown—

Particularly if the hardier trees, such as *pinus insignis*, &c., were used for shelter from the high winds which prevail at certain seasons. Though protected to some extent from the westerly winds by the high ground along the western boundary, the Site is somewhat exposed.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—How long is it since the honorable member was there?

Mr. KENNEDY.—The honorable member will find my name in large letters on the books of the Marrinumbra station for the year 1884.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—The honorable member says there is no timber there; but does he know that the late Minister for Home Affairs was lost in the timber within five or six miles of the site?

Mr. KENNEDY.—Some Members of Parliament when they get out into the wilds are very easily lost. The Commissioners place Dalgety second to Tumut in the matter of water supply.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—But consider who appointed the Commissioners.

Mr. KENNEDY.—That is not the question, unless the honorable member is prepared to challenge the impartiality and honesty of the Commissioners.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—I am prepared to do so.

Mr. KENNEDY.—I assume that the Commissioners faithfully performed the duties intrusted to them.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—Does the honorable member seriously contend that the report with regard to the water supply at Dalgety is a fair one?

Mr. KENNEDY.—I do; and my reasons are embodied chiefly in the report of the Commissioners. It is proposed to obtain the water supply, in the first instance, from the Mowamba River, which the Commissioners say is the nearest source of supply by gravitation for a population of 50,000. I know full well, that in order to obtain a gravitation supply from the Snowy River, we should have to go a considerable distance further back.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—Has the honorable member read what Mr. Pridham has to say about that matter?

Mr. KENNEDY.—No; I do not know Mr. Pridham in this connexion. If he had been an authority, he would probably have been consulted by the Commissioners.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—But his report is already before us.

Mr. BROWN.—Mr. Pridham supplied the information embodied in the Commissioners' report.

Mr. KENNEDY.—I am reading from the report of the Commissioners, who were the properly-constituted authorities to deal with this matter. They say—

This river (the Mowamba River) is said by residents to run strongly throughout the year, and it has a catchment area of about 92 square miles above the point of off-take, which is situated at the lower end of the Moonbah Plain. The land included in the catchment area is used principally for pastoral purposes, but portions are suitable for cultivation, and the whole of it should be resumed to insure the purity of the water. About 32,000 acres have been alienated, the remainder being Crown lands.

The alienated lands would have to be resumed, because we know from experience that where a pure water supply is required it is absolutely necessary to guard against pollution through settlement upon the catchment area. Then the Commissioners proceed to make an estimate, and state that in order to provide a supply sufficient for a given population, an outlay of £328,000 would have to be incurred. The reason why the Commissioners place Dalgety second to Tumut in the matter of water supply is obvious, because at Tumut a gravitation scheme could be provided, and practically the whole of the catchment area

would be Crown lands. That is the difference in favour of Tumut. We have heard a great deal about accessibility, and many exaggerated statements have been made with regard to the possibility of constructing a line from the existing railways to Dalgety. Now, what do the Commissioners say with regard to the cost of the lines necessary to make Dalgety accessible? The lowest estimate they give for a line from Cooma to Dalgety is £4,700 per mile. The cost of the line that would be necessary to connect the site with the Eastern railways of Victoria would render its construction quite out of the question. The Victorian Government have refused to extend their eastern lines, owing to the fact that there is no prospect, under existing conditions, of securing any return for the outlay. They would be prepared to incur a small present loss, if there were any possibility of development in settlement and production in the near future.

Mr. KELLY.—Would they be able to run fast trains on such a line?

Mr. KENNEDY.—That would depend upon the route selected. The cost of a line to connect Dalgety with the Eastern railway system of Victoria would amount to very nearly £3,000,000. I now desire to refer to another site which has been extolled as the only place suitable for the establishment of the Federal Capital. I refer to Lyndhurst. I need not deal with the question of accessibility, because we know that the site is already practically connected with Sydney by rail. I was astonished last night to hear several of the advocates of the site admit that within the last two years a drought had prevailed in that part of the country. If we are to build a Capital, it is not desirable that we should select a site in a drought-stricken country.

Mr. KELLY.—It has been shown that even during the drought period the water supply at Lyndhurst would have been sufficient to meet the requirements of 200,000 people.

Mr. KENNEDY.—I asked last night, by way of interjection, whether the Lyndhurst district had been affected by the drought, and I was told that most certainly it had been affected.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—Was not the Riverina district also affected by the drought?

Mr. KENNEDY.—Certainly it was; but no one proposes to build the Federal Capital in Riverina.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—One of the sites is not very far from it.

Mr. KENNEDY.—I shall deal with that later on. It is admitted, even by the advocates of the Lyndhurst site, that an adequate water supply is one of the essentials. I admit that, so far as its elevation is concerned, Lyndhurst should be a healthy locality, and I also acknowledge that there is some very good land in the district. It is not like the Monaro country, where people might starve, so far as production is concerned, because it would be impossible to supply a very large population with food. At Lyndhurst, there is country within easy reach, which would be capable of producing all the food required by a large population. The water supply would not, however, in my estimation, be sufficient. Without entering too much into details, I would point out that all the authorities are agreed as to the sources from which the water supply will be derived. They are the Coombing Rivulet, Flyer's Creek, Cadiangullong Creek, Brown's Creek, and the Lachlan River, near Mount Macdonald. Now, what have the Commissioners to say with regard to the Coombing Rivulet?—

The Coombing Rivulet, which is proposed as the primary source of supply, has a catchment above the point of off-take, about one mile and a half south-west of the village of Shaw, of about eighty square miles, consisting of hilly country, in which is included the eastern slopes of Mount Macquarie. At the time of inspection the rivulet was practically dry, so that flood waters only would have to be depended upon. In ordinary seasons, however, there is said to be running water in this creek throughout the year.

Therefore, it is proposed to obtain the chief supply from a rivulet which was dry at the time of the inspection of the Commissioners. The Commissioners were specially appointed to inquire into this particular question, and I regard their report as the most reliable source of information. The honorable member for Lang, last evening, quoted from a private letter. In some Parliaments an honorable member who quotes from a letter may be required to place it upon the table, and unless the honorable member is prepared to place any documents from which he quotes at the disposal of honorable members, he cannot expect us to attach much importance to the sources of his information.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I think that the honorable member is quite prepared to lay the letter on the table.

Mr. KENNEDY.—The honorable member stated that it was a private document, and therefore I did not suggest that it

should be laid on the table. I am only pointing to the difference between the two authorities. The Commissioners, whose report must be regarded as an honest one, unless honorable members are prepared to challenge it, state that one source of supply, the Coombing rivulet, was dry at the time of their inspection. They say further—

The land included in the catchment area is used partly for cultivation and partly for pastoral purposes. About 46,540 acres have been alienated, the remainder being Crown land. To insure the purity of the water the whole of it should be resumed.

Therefore, the position at Lyndhurst is practically the same as at Dalgety, and a large expenditure would be required for resumptions in connexion with the catchment area. In a case where storm waters only can be relied upon, and the catchment area comprises a large amount of cultivated land, we can imagine what an enormous quantity of silt would be carried into the reservoir. One of the other sources of supply is Flyer's Creek, which is thus referred to—

Flyer's Creek, which takes its rise near the Canobolas Mountain, has a catchment area above the site of the dam, at the outlet end of Long Swamp, of eighteen square miles, consisting principally of hilly country favorable for the collection of water. The land is used for both agricultural and pastoral purposes, and would have to be acquired to insure the purity of the water, which would involve the purchase of about 10,750 acres, the remainder being Crown lands.

Therefore, in that case also, we should have to rely upon storm waters. Then the Commissioners say—

Cadiangullong Creek, which was dry at the time of inspection, has a catchment area above the proposed site for the dam, below the junction with Soldier's Creek, of fourteen and a half square miles, including the southern spurs of the Canobolas Mountain, the whole being favorable for collecting water. The land is principally rough and hilly, and used chiefly for pastoral purposes, but to insure the purity of the water, the area would need to be resumed.

It will thus be seen that two out of three creeks were dry at the time of the Commissioners' inspection.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—What is the catchment area of the Melbourne water supply?

Mr. KENNEDY.—I do not intend to discuss that matter at the present juncture. Everything depends upon the rainfall and the volume of water running off the catchment area. The Commissioners also say—

Brown's Creek, which is also proposed as a supplementary source of supply, has, above the site for the dam, about one mile below Sugarloaf Creek, a hilly catchment area of about 47 square

miles, favorable for the collection of water. The creek contained very little running water at the time of inspection.

These are the four creeks from which it is proposed to draw a supply of water for the Lyndhurst site. I notice also that a report has been secured upon the feasibility of obtaining a supply by pumping from the Lachlan, but the cost of that scheme renders it impracticable. I do not intend to say anything regarding the Lyndhurst site, further than that the cost of obtaining an adequate water supply practically condemns it.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—The honorable member should read Mr. Wade's report.

Mr. KENNEDY.—I have read it. I have already stated that upon the previous occasion when this question was discussed, I voted with the Welaregang site clearly in my mind. It is unfortunate that we are not in possession of a full report upon that site. The information which is available, however, places it at the head of the list so far as the possession of all essentials for a Federal Capital are concerned. Of course, if the Committee desire to obtain a site in close proximity to Sydney, it may be possible to get an equally good one. Nevertheless, I venture to say that we cannot obtain a better location for a Federal Capital than exists at Welaregang. The honorable and learned member for Werriwa has declared that from the stand-point of climate it is practically upon an equality with, and is similar to, the Tumut site. Upon that point Mr. Chesterman, who has made a hurried report upon this particular site, and who has been resident in that district for some five years, says—

The Welaregang-Tooma Valley is protected by lower ranges from the cold westerlies, the prevailing winter winds, which blow toward the Snowy Mountains. These mountains, in a direct line, are about thirty miles south-easterly, and their proximity tempers the summer climate, the easterly breezes blowing from them. Though the average altitude of the suggested Site may not exceed about 1,100 feet, the above local conditions contribute to render the climate free from marked extremes, and it will be noticed that the situation is immediately south of the 36th parallel of latitude. With its varying elevations this district offers various climatic conditions. Take, for instance, Tumberumba, about seventeen miles north, where the climate is distinctly more Alpine in character, the winters being severe. Again, about seventeen miles easterly, is the old Toolong Hut, situated in classified snow country—that is, country “usually covered with snow for a part of each year, and considered to be unfit for continuous use or occupation.”

When honorable members declare that the elevation of a particular district governs its climatic conditions, I would direct their attention to the fact that this particular site is within seventeen miles of the snow line in one direction, and twenty-five miles in the other. As a matter of fact, it is within seventy miles of perpetual snow. These conditions, I claim, must materially influence its general climatic conditions. With regard to accessibility, we have been told that it is absolutely impossible to construct a railway into that district. Yet we are aware that Tumut is already connected by a fair railway service with Sydney, and that the line could be made a fast one, if necessary. Twenty years ago, to my own knowledge, teamsters used to haul an average of 15 cwt. per horse over what was practically a bush road between Tumut and Tumberumba. That is sufficient proof that it is not impossible to extend the Gundagai-Tumut line from Gadara to Welaregang. In this report, estimates are given of the cost of constructing a line upon the Victorian side of that site. But I would point out that those estimates were prepared in the boom times of the early nineties. We know that since then railways which were surveyed at the same time have been built for half the estimate which was then furnished. Consequently, we may reasonably expect a reduction of 40 per cent. in the cost of constructing a railway upon the Victorian side of that site. It is fair to assume, therefore, that it could be constructed for about £5,000 per mile. That sum compares favorably with the latest estimate we have of the cost of constructing a railway from Cooma to Dalgety. It is estimated that the construction of that line would involve an expenditure of £4,700 per mile, and I venture to affirm that the cost of building a railway from Welaregang to Gadara would not exceed £5,000 per mile.

Mr. KELLY.—How many miles is it from Welaregang to Gadara?

Mr. KENNEDY.—It is between fifty and sixty miles.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—It is just fifty miles as the crow flies.

Mr. KENNEDY.—At a very moderate cost indeed this site could be made accessible to travellers by constructing a loop line from the main line between Melbourne and Sydney. I unhesitatingly claim that from the stand-point of soil and productiveness the Tooma site possesses advantages superior to those of any other site. An immense area, extending from fifteen miles

on the south side of Tumut to the Tooma Valley, is available for a Federal territory.

Mr. JOHNSON.—It would cost £15,000 per mile to construct a railway there.

Mr. KENNEDY.—That is a figment of the imagination. I have already told the Committee that, of my own knowledge, twenty years ago teams used to haul upon an average 15 hundredweight per horse along the Welaregang to Tumut road.

Mr. JOHNSON.—It always struck me as being particularly rough country.

Mr. KENNEDY.—No doubt there is rough country between Tumberumba and what is known as Lobb's Hole.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Are there any horses of that breed still alive?

Mr. KENNEDY.—Yes; I can supply the honorable member with plenty of them.

Mr. JOHNSON.—But Tumberumba is not Welaregang.

Mr. KENNEDY.—But the highest point in the journey between Tumut and Welaregang is reached at Tumberumba. From Tumberumba to Welaregang there is a downward grade, because the traveller is then on the watershed of the Tooma River. I repeat that twenty years ago teams used to haul over a road which was not macadamized—practically a bush road—an average of 15 hundredweight per horse. I am not in a position to say whether the whole of that road is now macadamized.

Mr. WATSON.—A good deal of it is.

Mr. KENNEDY.—If a horse can draw 15 hundredweight over any country, I claim that it would not be a difficult matter to construct a railway there. Further, those who have travelled from Welaregang to Tumberumba know that between those places there is an almost perfect road for coaching. It does not require a specially good buggy horse to cover the seventeen miles in an hour and a half.

Mr. SKENE.—The honorable member must keep very good horses.

Mr. KENNEDY.—I did the journey in that time, but did not use my own horse.

Mr. SPENCE.—I suppose it was grown in the district.

Mr. KENNEDY.—That is so. It is well known that the Upper Murray has produced some of the best horses in Australia.

Mr. JOHNSON.—I do not think that any one disputes the productivity of the district.

Mr. KENNEDY.—The possibilities of development would be in themselves a suffi-

cient justification for constructing a railway to the Upper Murray district, even if the Federal Capital were not established there. It is generally conceded, however, that New South Wales, unfortunately, is not yet possessed of a sufficiently extensive railway system to enable rural districts to achieve the fullest possible development.

Mr. JOHNSON.—The Germananton extension does not pay now.

Mr. KENNEDY.—No; but it is well known that it is only a short loop line, passing through country consisting practically of large holdings. I know the district well. Twenty years ago there were large holdings there, and the tendency, if anything, has since been in the direction of increasing the area of those holdings. There is an enormous area of Crown land available in the Upper Murray district. One of the largest forest areas of New South Wales runs parallel with the roadway.

Mr. SKENE.—Is that not the area of the watershed?

Mr. KENNEDY.—It is within the Tumut watershed area. Then, again, the Upper Murray district is within easy reach of the famous Yarrangobilly Caves.

Mr. KELLY.—Are they not something like sixty-five miles distant?

Mr. KENNEDY.—Welaregang is seventeen miles from Tumberumba, and the distance between Tumberumba and Lobb's Hole by bridle track in the olden days was also about seventeen miles, but I am told that a direct road from Tumut to the junction of the Yarrangobilly has since been made, and that it is a very good one. Let me briefly refer to the question of water supply. I invite those who are so enthusiastically in favour of Dalgety because of its magnificent water supply, and who have not yet visited the Upper Murray district, to read Mr. Chesterman's report on the Tooma district. Those who have suggested that the streams contributing to the proposed source of supply have been polluted by mining and sluicing operations should read what Mr. Chesterman has to say on the subject.

Mr. KELLY.—Does not Mr. Chesterman say that they are polluted?

Mr. KENNEDY.—Mr. Chesterman says that some of the streams flowing into the Tooma River below the point of the proposed offtake are polluted.

Mr. KELLY.—And the point of the proposed offtake is twenty-two miles away?

Mr. KENNEDY.—It is something like that. Mr. Chesterman points out that the

volume of water available for the supply of a Federal Capital is unquestionably large. There are three rivers to be drawn upon—the Tooma River, the Swampy Plain River, and the Indi River, which are all snow fed. The Tooma River joins the Murray at a point close to the proposed site, and the Swampy Plain and Indi rivers a little above that point.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Doctors say that snow-water is not good for drinking purposes.

Mr. KENNEDY.—It is bad when you cannot obtain it. Mr. Chesterman points out in his report that—

The district under reference is undoubtedly a well-watered one. The two main heads of the Murray River (known as the Swampy Plain and Indi Rivers) junction about ten miles above the proposed site, and between the site and this junction the main river is joined by another large stream, known as the Tooma River. In evidence given before the Inter-State Royal Commission on the River Murray, Mr. "Assistant Engineer" H. S. Smail, B.E., stated that he gauged these streams at a time when the river was in a very low state.

His gaugings show that the discharge from the Tooma River is equal to 17,800 cubic feet per minute; and if honorable members take the equivalent of that in gallons they will find that the supply will be ample for a very large population.

Mr. McCOLL.—It is more than 110,000 gallons per minute.

Mr. KENNEDY.—The report continues—

Gaugings of smaller streams are also given, and the Murray River itself at Tintaldra showed a discharge of 947 cubic feet per second.

That was at a time when the river was in a very low state. Mr. Chesterman continues—

Looking at the watershed of the Murray River, so far as shown on plan "Y," with the object of ascertaining what gravitation schemes for water supply are available, it would appear that the upper parts of the Mannus and Tumberumba Creeks could be utilized, and also Paddy's River above the Falls—all draining into the Tooma River.

I come now to a paragraph to which I desire to direct the special attention of the Committee—

Settlement and mining interests on the heads of these streams might, however, prove objectionable, and, moreover, I think a much more effective supply can be drawn from the main branch of the Tooma itself.

In other words, the two streams, whose waters are likely to be polluted by mining and sluicing operations, are to be completely ignored, and a supply obtained, first of

all, from the Tooma River, which wends its way through snow country, where sluicing or mining operations are not carried on. The catchment area consists of Crown lands, leased from year to year for grazing purposes. These lands are known as "summer country," and are resorted to when the plain country, which has been carrying a considerable number of stock, has become exhausted.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—It is held under what are known in New South Wales as snow leases.

Mr. KENNEDY.—Exactly. Mining and sluicing operations have been carried on along the Mannus Creek and the Tumberumba Creek for many years, with the result that the water has become discoloured, and would be objectionable for domestic purposes; but the water supply of the Federal Capital, if it were established at Welaregang, would be drawn, not from those streams, but from the main Tooma River, at a point above the junction of those streams. The report continues—

From approximate aneroid readings I have been enabled to obtain, it would appear that the junction of Pound Creek with the Tooma River (*vide* map "Y") is at an elevation of about 1,700 feet, which, allowing a fall of 200 feet in *about* fifteen miles, would be at a sufficient altitude to permit of water being gravitated to a service reservoir at an elevation of 1,500 feet commanding the site. Proceeding about a mile further up the river a height of about 1,800 feet is reached, and, in order to allow a margin, it is from this point (marked "X" on map "Y"), distant *about* sixteen miles by pipe line from the city site, that I consider the Tooma River can be tapped for a gravitation scheme.

If the honorable member for Eden-Monaro will give me his attention for a moment, I shall endeavour to draw a clear distinction between the water supply available at Tooma and that of Dalgely. Mr. Chesterman shows that—

The catchment area above this point comprises approximately ninety-three square miles of snow country, and so strong is the stream here at all times that to supply a population of 50,000 inhabitants I do not think a storage reservoir would be necessary. Such being so, the principal expenses would be limited to construction of small impounding weir at offtake, service reservoir near site, and the laying down of *about* sixteen or seventeen miles of pipe line. A short distance above the proposed offtake the Tooma River emerges from a deep gorge through which it has flowed for some miles with a rapid fall. Consequently it is not surprising to learn that at the old Toolong crossing, about eight miles above offtake, the altitude is given by departmental maps as 2,880 feet.

In this report we have evidence that we should be able to obtain an absolutely pure

supply from the Tooma River itself. There is such a large volume of water available that if a small weir were constructed we should not require a large reservoir for conservation purposes, but would be able to convey the water a distance of about sixteen or seventeen miles by pipe line to the service reservoir.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—Does the honorable member assert that we could not do the same at Dalgety?

Mr. KENNEDY.—I do.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—The honorable member asks the Committee to accept his assertion that the Tooma water supply is not polluted. What about the report of the Inter-State Commission on the Murray River?

Mr. KENNEDY.—I have already shown that to my own knowledge the Mannus Creek and the Tumberumba Creek, which flow into the Tooma River, were polluted by mining operations twenty years ago. The report by Mr. Chesterman confirms that statement, but points out that the proposed offtake on the Tooma River is above the junction of those two creeks.

Mr. KELLY.—His report was compiled from notes taken fifteen or twenty years ago, was it not?

Mr. KENNEDY.—I cannot say, but—

Mr. JOSEPH COOK. — He says himself that he merely writes from memory.

Mr. MCCOLL.—But he lived in the district for five years.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—I suppose the honorable member is aware that Mr. Chesterman gave us a glowing account of the water supply for the Gadara and Lacmalac sites?

Mr. KENNEDY.—He might well give a glowing account of their water supply. The water supply to the east or north-east of Tumut is somewhat similar to that available at Welaregang, although the volume is not the same.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—I do not understand that —

The CHAIRMAN.—Order! The honorable member is anticipating his own speech on the question.

Mr. KENNEDY. — It will be found from a perusal of Mr. Chesterman's report that the source of our water supply, if Tooma were selected, would not be polluted in any way. I do not propose to further discuss the question, except to say that I regard Lyndhurst as being first on the list from the stand-point of accessibility. I admit that, so far as accessibility

is concerned, Lyndhurst possesses an advantage, but in regard to water supply, I do not think it could be argued for one moment, on the evidence available, that that is a desirable place for the Federal city. I can speak from some considerable experience of Dalgety, having been engaged on the Marinumbula Station, which is on the proposed site. I lived there for a considerable portion of two years, and gained some familiarity with the conditions; and my impressions are borne out by the report presented to us. As stated in the report, the country for twenty or thirty miles around Dalgety would carry a sheep to two acres. According to the evidence of some other witnesses, it would be possible, within a radius of fifty miles of Dalgety to grow the food necessary for a population of fifty thousand. That, however, is not saying much for the productiveness of this wonderful tableland on the Monaro. Other witnesses state that within that radius sufficient produce could not be grown for a population of the size I have mentioned; and it is very difficult to grow produce on granite.

Mr. KELLY.—Whence does the honorable member expect to draw supplies? From the southern side of the Murray?

Mr. KENNEDY.—Unless the New South Wales people remain asleep, certainly not. Surely it can be imagined that in a stretch of country, eighteen miles by twenty, it would be possible to grow a considerable amount of produce. Are we to take it that the digestion of the people at Welaregang, when that is made Federal territory, will be impaired by produce grown in Victoria? As to the climatic conditions at Dalgety, I might relate more of my personal experience. In pursuit of my business, I had occasion to take horses from the Riverina country over the hills to Monaro in the early part of November, which ought to be a good time of the year in a mild climate. It turned out, however, that after the animals had been turned out on those beautiful, undulating granite hills around Dalgety, for a week, I did not know them; and I venture to say that if they had been left to find their own food there, nobody would have been able to recognise them as horses. I had to take them from those pastures, and hand feed them in order to save their lives. In those cool westerly winds, tempered by the Snowy Mountains, the honorable member for Eden-Monaro would require to wear "knockers" on his teeth to keep them from chattering.

No doubt, people reared in such a climate might be able to stand the rigorous conditions.

Mr. SKENE.—We should have the "survival of the fittest," I suppose.

Mr. KENNEDY.—No doubt the people there are hardy. But what is the use of inducing Members of Parliament to suffer in such a climate for a few months in the year? The Seat of Government ought to be in a place where normal conditions prevail—not where we shall be parboiled or frozen, but where there are no extremes of heat or cold. Such a climate we should find in those uplands so graphically described by the honorable member for Perth, where, when the thermometer does rise to 85 or 90, it is only a short trip of ten or fifteen miles to the snow line.

Mr. KELLY.—Would the honorable member reach the snow line by lift?

Mr. KENNEDY.—By lift or motor-car, whichever the honorable member for Wentworth might desire. We are now called upon to decide a question not for to-day or to-morrow, but one in regard to which we must look fifty or a hundred years ahead.

Mr. KELLY.—Does the honorable member mean in regard to the buildings?

Mr. KENNEDY.—I am speaking of the fixing of the location. It is apparently considered by some honorable members that the selection should be made now; and that may be desirable, if only to allay jealousy and distrust. I have no objection to settling the matter now, but I think honorable members realize that, make what haste we may, a considerable time must elapse before any legislative enactment will be given effect to in the erection of a Federal Capital. A considerable period must be taken up in negotiations of one sort and another; but I would not be one to delay, even for a day, the selection of a site. It is not our own convenience, or the immediate requirements of to-day, that we have to consider. We have to consider the future of Australia, and to do that, a few essentials must be taken into account. I do not think for a moment that the Capital city will ever rival or out-pace the present commercial centres. It may become a centre of population; we do not know what developments there may be in the future. We must, however, consider, first of all, water supply and climatic conditions, and if these are satisfactory, ascertain whether there is a possibility of increased settlement and production. For

the reasons I have given I have no hesitation in saying that I shall give my vote for the Tooma site.

Mr. KELLY (Wentworth).—The honorable member for Moira and the honorable member who preceded him devoted themselves earnestly—and, I think it will be admitted, forcefully—to the task of showing the Committee the reasons which led them to advocate the particular site which both of them with singular unanimity urged honorable members to support. But it seems to me that they overlooked the most important fact, which I think really ought to commend itself to us more than any other fact at the present juncture. That is that we are now fulfilling an obligation which the Commonwealth incurred towards New South Wales when that State joined in the Federal compact some years ago. What is the history of this affair? Why is it that at the present time we are confined to New South Wales territory in the selection of a Federal Capital site? The Federal compact was felt by the people of New South Wales to expose them to a very serious risk, to which the other States were not exposed. The fiscal question was considered to be of immense importance. That point may not commend itself to other honorable members, but the fact certainly remains that the people of New South Wales attached paramount importance to the fiscal question, and the risk of sacrificing their fiscal autonomy was so serious as to make them pause before entering that union of the six colonies which every one in Australia desired to see consummated.

Mr. MAUGER.—As a matter of fact, they did not pause; there was a majority in favour of the Commonwealth Bill at the first referendum.

Mr. KELLY.—The honorable member for Melbourne Ports and some others have thrown a great deal of vituperative eloquence at the State from which I have the honour to come, because she saw fit to take what was, in my opinion, a very prudent step with regard to the first referendum. Her Parliament practically enacted that a majority of 10,000 votes must be recorded in favour of the Commonwealth Bill before it could reasonably be said to receive the support of the people of New South Wales.

Mr. TUDOR.—I think the stipulation was that there should be 80,000 votes recorded for the Bill.

Mr. KELLY.—The honorable member is quite right; but, with the votes polled, a majority of 10,000 would be a fair equivalent.

As a matter of fact, I do not think that that was a serious condition to impose, and honorable members will agree with me when they consider it. It was not unreasonable that a State with a population of 1,300,000 should have to have 80,000 votes recorded in favour of a change in her whole Constitution.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—How many electors were there in New South Wales?

Mr. KELLY.—I suppose there were considerably over 250,000.

Mr. ROBINSON.—There were over 300,000 electors; we had 250,000 in Victoria.

Mr. KELLY.—Speaking from memory, there were, I think, between 250,000 and 300,000 voters; and surely the Minister of Home Affairs does not think 80,000 votes out of 300,000 too large a percentage.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—I am not thinking about the matter at all.

Mr. KELLY.—Then I am sorry that the honorable gentleman in charge of the Bill is doing no thinking about it.

Mr. MCCOLL.—The Minister means only with regard to that particular part.

Mr. KELLY.—Then, I withdraw.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—The minimum provision was looked upon as a breach of faith.

Mr. MAUGER.—It was a dodge.

Mr. KELLY.—It was a very prudent step.

The CHAIRMAN.—We are not now discussing the question of the minimum required in New South Wales before the Commonwealth Bill could be adopted. The question before the Committee is the selection of a suitable site.

Mr. KELLY.—I am showing that New South Wales did not at first accept the Commonwealth Bill, because she felt that its acceptance would expose her to the risk of disadvantage.

The CHAIRMAN.—The honorable member was giving his reasons for approving of the action of those who were responsible for the imposition of the minimum.

Mr. KELLY.—I regret that by replying to interjections I have been led to trespass, but now that the Chairman has directed my attention to it, I will desist. There is no doubt, at any rate, that on the occasion of the first referendum in New South Wales, it was strongly felt by those who were in a position to know — by the leaders of opinion — that the Federal Capital question was, in the opinion of the people, of the utmost importance. It was felt that the Premier of New South Wales should be

intrusted with the mandate of consulting with the Premiers of the other States, in order to see whether they could arrive at some sort of compromise. The Premiers met in Melbourne. As every one knows, the Premier and the people of New South Wales would naturally have preferred to have the Capital fixed in Sydney, which was the centre of the State.

Mr. MAUGER.—But not the centre of the Commonwealth.

Mr. KELLY.—It was, however, felt by the Conference of Premiers, that New South Wales was not entitled to that unique privilege. Ultimately it was agreed that New South Wales was to have the Capital within her borders, but that it should be shorn of much of its advantage, from the State point of view. The Conference passed the following resolution:—

It is considered that the fixing of the site of the Capital is a question which might well be left to the Parliament to decide.

Mr. MAUGER.—Hear, hear.

Mr. KELLY.—The honorable member for Melbourne Ports need not applaud until he has heard the whole resolution.

Mr. MAUGER.—I was applauding the sentiment underlying the resolution.

Mr. KELLY.—

But in view of the strong expression of opinion in relation to this matter in New South Wales, the Premiers have modified the clause, so that while the Capital cannot be fixed at Sydney, or in its neighbourhood, provision is made in the Constitution for its establishment in New South Wales, at a reasonable distance from that city.

The people of New South Wales knew what that resolution was when they accepted the Commonwealth Bill. They read it in its broader meaning.

Mr. WILKS.—They read it in every way they could.

Mr. KELLY.—And it is now attempted by some honorable members to read it in any way they can. But I think that the people of the other States will be in favour of fulfilling to the utmost limit the bond entered into between New South Wales and the other States of the Commonwealth. Such being the case, I feel convinced that even the honorable member for Melbourne Ports will try to meet us half way.

Mr. MAUGER.—I will go all the way. I would not repudiate a letter of the bond.

Mr. KELLY.—I also trust that the honorable member will seek to do what I am sure his constituents would be anxious that he should do—to honour the spirit, as well as the letter, of the bond.

Mr. MAUGER.—I am sure that my constituents, in this matter, would do what I should like them to do.

Mr. KELLY.—I hope that the honorable member and others will endeavour to carry out this obligation to its fullest extent, and not seek to take a technical advantage of a deed, which, being made between States which were relations, was drawn not too definitely. Such being the resolution which was carried by the Premiers' Conference, it was only natural that the people of New South Wales reckoned that the Capital would be established somewhere, as the resolution says, within "a reasonable distance" of their capital city. In view of the fact that New South Wales took that view, and that on the strength of it she entered into the Federal partnership, I hold that the question of the locality of the Federal city is one in which New South Wales is peculiarly interested—in which she is interested more than the rest of the Commonwealth. But there is another question, namely, that of the expense incurred in building the Capital, and in making it accessible. I hold that the matter of expense is a Federal question, in which all the States are equally interested. The people of New South Wales having entered into this partnership, their worst fears with regard to the fiscal question were realized. As the result of it her taxation has been increased by £1,500,000 per annum.

The CHAIRMAN.—Order! I do not think that the question of the Tariff has anything to do with this matter.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The people of New South Wales could have reduced their taxation in other ways.

Mr. KELLY.—I want to show that since New South Wales has incurred this increased taxation, she is now more than ever entitled to that consideration which she expected when she joined the Union. It is very significant that whereas the taxation of New South Wales has been increased, taxation throughout the rest of Australia—with the exception of Western Australia—has not been increased. I do not think that any State is better pleased than is New South Wales that the other States have not also suffered increases, but still the fact remains that taxation in New South Wales has been considerably augmented. It is now said that the State Parliament could have reduced the amount of taxation. But the only direct taxation which they could have diminished was to the amount of half-a-mil-

lion. As a consequence of this heavy increased Customs and Excise taxation, the people of New South Wales now feel that they are bearing the whole cost of Federation. There is not the slightest doubt about that.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—It is an utter absurdity.

Mr. KELLY.—The New South Wales Customs revenue in 1901 amounted to less than £2,000,000. In 1903 it amounted to nearly £3,500,000. In other words, there was an increase of slightly more than £1,500,000. In Victoria the result of Federation has meant a decrease in taxation from this channel of £71,000 and in Queensland a decrease of £238,000.

The CHAIRMAN.—Has this anything to do with the matter under discussion?

Mr. KELLY.—It shows the reasons for the spirit in which this question is regarded by the New South Wales people.

The CHAIRMAN.—I am sorry to have to rule that it has nothing to do with the question before the Chair.

Mr. KELLY.—Can I raise a point of order upon that issue? I am showing reasons for the bitter feeling prevailing amongst the New South Wales people—feeling which in itself should necessitate our honouring the bond to the fullest extent.

Mr. CARPENTER.—What have we to do with their feelings in regard to this question?

Mr. KELLY.—I think that the feeling of the New South Wales people forms the most important Federal question at the present time. I was giving what I considered to be a pertinent illustration, but if the Chairman rules that it is out of order I will bow to his decision. Our duty obviously is to render to New South Wales a fulfilment of the obligation which induced her to enter the Federation. To render that obligation we ought not to choose a site that will be of no benefit to her, but a site which will satisfy the people of New South Wales that the Commonwealth Parliament is endeavouring to honour the obligations entered into in their liberal and true sense. I propose to consider the different sites from a double aspect—that of location, which is the serious aspect from the New South Wales point of view; and that of expense, which is the Federal aspect. Considered in the light of those two aspects, it seems to me that the Welaregang site is altogether a bad one for the running. The benefits that would

accrue to New South Wales from the location of the Capital at Welaregang are absolutely nil.

MR. CARPENTER.—Is that the honorable member's stand-point?

MR. KELLY.—No, not altogether. As I have explained, I am considering the matter from two stand-points. I know that honorable members from Western Australia are very airy in their views about expense; but I can assure the honorable member that it is necessary to consider the various sites from the point of view of expenditure. I am dividing the aspects of the matter into two—the view which the people of New South Wales might reasonably take, and that which the people of the Commonwealth as a whole might reasonably take. The first is the question of locality, which is peculiarly of State interest; and the second has relation to expense, in which the whole Commonwealth is directly interested. I hold that on the first of these two points the Welaregang site is altogether out of the running. It is inaccessible from the point of view of New South Wales. It is on the border of that State. It is a place which would draw all its supplies from a neighbouring State. In this I am merely putting the New South Wales point of view. I do not expect some of the members from other States to attach more importance to the point than they are predisposed to do, having regard to the interests they represent. The State of New South Wales would derive no advantage whatever from the establishment of the Federal Capital at Welaregang. As a matter of fact, its establishment there would place that State in a worse position than that in which she is at present, because it must not be forgotten that New South Wales must supply all the Crown lands free, and forego all taxation on the alienated lands. The establishment of the Capital at Welaregang would therefore render the fulfilment of an obligation, from which New South Wales expected to derive an advantage, only a new means of irritating the people of that State; it would mean a fresh sacrifice, and a new source of unfederal feeling. At present New South Wales is in a state of unrest, because the settlement of this question has been delayed for some years. It is now our duty, not only to at once secure its settlement, but to allay the irritation that exists. In Welaregang we have a site which is distinctly unsatisfactory to the mother State, and one about which we practically know

nothing. It has not been surveyed, and we are being asked to take a leap in the dark which may afterwards expose this Parliament to the ridicule of the civilized world. We have before us an extremely scratchy report on the Tooma district. That is not the fault of its author, because he was asked, without making a survey or examination of the district, to sit down in his office and furnish Parliament with a report on which we are supposed to decide for all time the Federal Capital of Australia. In this connexion I may say that I am very much surprised at the attitude assumed by the honorable member for Perth. That honorable member told the Committee that he intended to vote for the Welaregang site, because that would mean deferring the question for a further period. He explained that if we decided upon Tooma the Senate would not agree to our choice, and that would probably mean the relegation of the question to a session of Parliament—might I say—five or six years hence, until within the fifty-mile radius suggested by the honorable member for Hume a site might be discovered possessing all the advantages which are now claimed for the Welaregang site.

MR. BATCHELOR.—To what site is the honorable member referring? To the Lyndhurst site?

MR. KELLY.—The Minister of Home Affairs would appear to be confusing the places. For his information I may say that Welaregang is a place on the Upper Murray near the border between New South Wales and Victoria.

MR. BATCHELOR.—Which is the site, the choice of which is likely to delay the decision of the question?

MR. KELLY.—I was referring to the attitude assumed by the honorable member for Perth, who told the Committee that he intended to vote for Tooma, because he knew that another place would not accept that site, and consequently the settlement of the question would be delayed pending an examination of the scenic beauties and other advantages of the district.

MR. BATCHELOR.—The honorable member must have meant Lyndhurst, not Welaregang.

MR. KELLY.—I presumed that the honorable member meant Welaregang, because he said Welaregang, but if the Minister of Home Affairs assures me that his followers do not mean what they say, I must bow

to his superior knowledge of them. In connexion with the Tooma site, we are told, amongst other things, that the district is undoubtedly well watered. We were told this afternoon by the honorable member for Moira that the Dalgety site is not well watered. I might remind honorable members that when the Commissioners inspected the Bombala site they thought there would be no difficulty whatever in securing a gravitation water supply, because they saw some thirteen streams descending from the hills in its vicinity.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—Did they say thirteen? That is a very unlucky number.

Mr. KELLY.—It is; but this was at Bombala.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—The honorable member for Macquarie wishes he had one of the streams at Lyndhurst.

Mr. KELLY.—Although they assumed that there would be no difficulty in providing the Bombala site with a gravitation supply, when they came to make a closer examination of the country they found that they could not supply water to a city of any size at the Bombala site without pumping. With respect to the Tooma site, we have the same report that it is a well-watered district, but when it is examined closely honorable members may find that in order to supply the Tooma site with water it may be necessary to pump it from the Murray. The officer who furnishes us with a report about Tooma says —

Looking at the watershed of the Murray River, with the object of ascertaining what gravitation schemes for water supply are available, it would appear that the upper parts of the Mannus and Tumberumba Creek could be utilized, and also Paddy's River, above the Falls—all draining into the Tooma River. Settlement and mining interests on the heads of these streams might, however, prove objectionable, and, moreover, I think a much more effective supply can be drawn from the main branch of the Tooma River itself.

I wish to be perfectly fair to this site, and I therefore admit that the honorable member for Moira told us this afternoon that a gravitation scheme might be secured from the Tooma River, above its junction with these two streams, which, according to this report, are impregnated with dangerous ingredients. The honorable member, however, forgot to tell us that the point to which he refers is twenty-two miles from the proposed site of the Capital city; that there is no estimate of the cost of such a scheme before the Committee; and that fifteen or twenty miles of piping might mean an expense which the Federal Parliament

would not be prepared to sanction, if the whole of the facts and figures were before it. This officer also says—

It would be very difficult at this stage to attempt a definite determination of the actual population it would be likely to supply.

Surely a statement of that sort from a responsible officer should make honorable members pause before deciding in favour of the Tooma site! He goes on to state the expense of constructing the railway lines that would be necessary to connect the Tooma site with the railway systems already in existence. He mentions three surveyed lines from the Victorian side, and his estimate of their cost, without building the bridge across the Murray necessary to complete the connexion, and without rolling-stock, would be respectively £620,000, £703,000, and £861,000.

Mr. ROBINSON.—And it would cost many thousands more to bridge the Murray.

Mr. KELLY.—On the other side, with respect to the railway necessary to connect with the Tumut line, this gentleman, in his report, says—

Between Tumut and the Victorian border I believe a practicable, though hilly, route is obtainable, but between Tumut and Yass I understand a flying inspection disclosed some difficulties.

This is the very favorable report of which we have been told concerning the line between Welaregang and Tumut!

Mr. KENNEDY.—Yass does not come between Welaregang and Tumut.

Mr. KELLY.—The surveyor, after making this report, takes this particular view of what he speaks of as a "practicable route."

Mr. KENNEDY.—That is for a shorter route between Sydney and Tumut than the railway now existing.

Mr. KELLY.—No; the surveyor's proposal is one to connect Welaregang with Tumut.

Mr. KENNEDY.—No; to get a more direct route from Sydney.

Mr. KELLY.—We should not want a more direct route than that.

Mr. KENNEDY.—The honorable member will find that Yass is between Tumut and Sydney, and not between Tumut and Welaregang.

Mr. KELLY.—I am now speaking of the more economical route, to which the surveyor refers as the only practicable route.

Mr. KENNEDY.—Not the most economical, but the more direct route.

Mr. KELLY.—He says that he believes that the route between Tumut and the Victorian border is practicable, though hilly. He does not say that it is practicable, because he knows nothing definite about it. We have had Royal Commissioners inspecting the other sites, and special surveyors making contour surveys of them, but we are asked to accept this site in the dark, unless we adopt the suggestion of the honorable member for Perth, and vote for it in order to shelve the whole question for a further period. I do not think that honorable members will take that view, because I believe they are prepared to settle the question now, knowing that sufficient time has already been wasted in deciding this matter. I think I have now shown that not only from the New South Wales point of view of locality, but also from the Federal point of view of expense and accessibility, this Tooma site is absolutely out of the running. I have now a word or two to say about the Dalgety site. It holds a distinctly stronger position than does the Welaregang site. Whilst the Tooma site would require a large expenditure to connect it with either Sydney or Melbourne, the Dalgety site is more or less accessible from Sydney, and railway communication between it and Sydney would be completed by a short extension to Dalgety of the line from Goulburn to Cooma. Consequently, from the point of view—

Mr. BATCHELOR.—Of Sydney.

Mr. KELLY.—I am sorry that the Minister should be so prejudiced against Sydney. I hope that the honorable gentleman will bear with me, as I am considering the question from both points of view.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—What is the Minister's view? He does not appear to have any on this matter.

Mr. KELLY.—Yes, I think the Minister has made up his mind.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Why does not the Minister of Home Affairs tell us what it is?

Mr. KELLY.—The honorable gentleman is in charge of the Bill, and must assume an impartial attitude. I have been accused of taking an entirely provincial view when I say that Dalgety is more accessible to Sydney than is Welaregang. I look upon Sydney as the heart of the State of New South Wales, and I have tried to make it clear that I am regarding the

question from the point of view of the State of New South Wales, as well as from the point of view of the Commonwealth, since they are both parties to the compact. I say that the question of locality is of supreme importance to the State of New South Wales, whilst the question of expense is of Federal importance. I have, I think, proved that Welaregang is barred on both these considerations. I am now endeavouring to show that from the point of view of locality alone, Dalgety is superior to Welaregang. From the point of view of expense it is also preferable to that site, and it has this further advantage that it has been surveyed, reported on, and subjected to criticism, to which we have had no time, so far, to subject the Tooma site. However, when compared with Lyndhurst, I hold that the Dalgety site must give place.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—Nonsense!

Mr. KELLY.—The honorable member for Eden-Monaro no doubt thinks that I should have stopped at the previous sentence, but the people of New South Wales desire that the Lyndhurst site should be chosen out of the three I have mentioned. If we take the State point of view only into consideration, Lyndhurst should receive our unanimous support. There is still the Federal point of view to be considered—the question of expense and accessibility. On that consideration, I maintain that Lyndhurst again has first place, because, for one thing, it is situated on a main line of railway already completed. At the present time Lyndhurst is equally accessible by rail from Melbourne and Sydney, and when the New South Wales railways are continued from Cobar, through Wilcannia, to Broken Hill, and from Wellington to Werris Creek, without expense to the Commonwealth—because we have it on the authority of the honorable member for Hume that they will be constructed by the Government of the State solely for the development of its own territory—the site will be in direct communication with Adelaide and Brisbane as well. Lyndhurst will then be really the heart of the railway systems of Australia, and the most accessible of all the sites.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—It is marvellous to me that any Western Australian should be in favour of any other site.

Mr. KELLY.—The honorable member for Moira this afternoon made a great point of the alleged want of water in the Lyndhurst district; but he surely cannot

have read the official report furnished by Mr. Wade, the Chief Engineer for Water Conservation in New South Wales, and the officer whose capacity was so admitted that he was intrusted by the Government of that State with the work of reporting on irrigation in the United States. Mr. Wade, in a report based upon that of the Capital Sites Commission, and his own personal and intimate knowledge of the district, says—

The Federal Royal Commission appointed to report on the proposed sites for the Seat of Government considered that the Coombing Rivulet of eighty square miles catchment area, together with the Flynn's Creek, of eighteen square miles catchment area, were capable of supplying by gravitation a population of 54,000 people, at an average consumption at the rate of 100 gallons per head per diem.

They also mentioned that the Cadiangullong Creek, with a catchment area of fourteen and a half square miles, and Brown's Creek, with a catchment area of forty-seven square miles, were capable of supplying by gravitation an additional population of 35,000 people on a similar basis of consumption, or, in all, a total by gravitation of 89,000 people.

I am personally acquainted with all of these catchments, and am in accord with the Commissioners in their views as to basis of run off, and consider that, by amplifying the storage, a population in round numbers of 100,000 people could be supplied with 100 gallons per head per diem. The consumption of Melbourne is about 58½ gallons per diem per head of the population, while that of Sydney is about 43 gallons, and of London, speaking from memory, less than 40 gallons, so that the estimated available supply at Lyndhurst is calculated at, per head, about twice that provided for Melbourne, more than twice that provided for Sydney, and still greater proportionately than that of London. In addition to what can be obtained from a gravitation scheme, provision can be made for a pumping scheme.

Mr. KENNEDY.—At what cost?

Mr. KELLY.—Since the gravitation scheme would give such a liberal supply for a population of 100,000 people, it is hardly necessary to take the pumping scheme into consideration, beyond mentioning it as a possible augmentation of the other. The cost of supplying the city by gravitation would be about 7½d. per 1,000 gallons.

Mr. KENNEDY.—That is exclusive of reticulation.

Mr. KELLY.—Yes. The cost of reticulation would bring the price of water up to 10d. or 1s. per 1,000 gallons, whereas in Melbourne it costs 1s. 6d. per 1,000 gallons. Furthermore, it must be borne

in mind that that rate provides a sinking fund which would pay off the whole cost of the work within twenty-eight years.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—And there would be a supply of 126,000,000 gallons a day for irrigation purposes.

Mr. KELLY.—Yes. In view of these facts, which have been placed before honorable members on the authority of the Chief Engineer for Water Conservation in New South Wales, it was distinctly ungenerous of the honorable member for Moira to say that if the Lyndhurst site is chosen, the people living in the Capital may occasionally suffer from droughts.

Mr. KENNEDY.—I quoted from the Commissioners' report. They say that the creeks were dry at the time they visited the place.

Mr. KELLY.—The city of Sydney, which has a population of over 500,000, depends for its water supply on a storm-water catchment area.

Mr. KENNEDY.—The rainfall on that area is more than 15 inches per annum.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—The average rainfall at Lyndhurst is 29·54 inches per annum.

Mr. KELLY.—Yes; and that is probably a higher rainfall than is enjoyed on the Camden catchment, because it is just inside the coastal range, and between it is the dividing range.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—Mr. Pridham puts the aggregate cost of the Lyndhurst water supply at over £2,000,000.

Mr. KELLY.—Even that is nothing like so much as it would cost to connect Dalgety with the Gippsland line at Bairnsdale.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—What is the total capital cost of Mr. Wade's scheme?

Mr. KELLY.—£581,000, which is less than it would cost to connect Tooma with the Victorian railway system, and about one-fifth of what it would cost to connect Dalgety with Bairnsdale. From the Federal point of view, Lyndhurst is quite the best of the proposed sites. The people of New South Wales place great importance upon the immediate settlement of this question. The feeling in that State—I do not now go into the question of whether it is justifiable—is that she has been tricked into the Federation for a consideration which is now being withheld from her. I am sure that honorable members are eager to honour the constitutional obligation to New South Wales, and if they could realize that if some of the proposed sites were chosen the

people of that State would not regard it as an honouring of that obligation, because no benefit to them would result, they would act differently. If, after a delay of so many years has occurred, such a site is chosen, the feeling of irritation and discontent now smouldering in the mother State may burst out into a flame of indignation which would be prejudicial to the State, to the Commonwealth, and dangerous to the Union, which we are all bound to uphold.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN (Eden-Monaro).—It is not my intention to speak at great length, because so much has already been said on this subject. Had it not been for the statements of some honorable members, I should hardly have deemed it necessary to say anything at all. The advantages of adopting the district which I favour are so apparent that the place has only to be seen, or to be spoken of, to commend itself to all who view the question from the national rather than the provincial standpoint. I was rather surprised to hear the honorable member for Wentworth follow the line of argument which has been used by a number of other representatives of New South Wales, by maintaining that the people of that State expected to receive, as the price for joining the Union, the location of the Capital within its borders. The honorable member stated that at the first referendum fewer than 80,000 persons voted for the Bill, and that the requisite majority would not have been obtained had it not been promised that the Seat of Government of the Commonwealth would be situated in New South Wales. I deny that that is so. No doubt, in the mother State, there was a strong feeling that the Capital should be situated within its borders, and many persons supported that view when urging the acceptance of the Constitution. But to-night we must deal with this matter from the Federal standpoint. We have to select a site where the Capital will remain, not for a few years, but for all time. Consequently, we must choose the best site available, observing the provision in the Constitution, not only literally, but in its spirit as well. The meaning of the Constitution is so clearly expressed that it does not require explanation, and, therefore, I do not propose to deal with it. I intend rather to address myself to some of the speeches which we have heard regarding certain of the proposed sites. In the first place, I ask the Committee to remember who they are who made those speeches.

The remarks of the honorable member for Moira are fresh in our memory, and, therefore, I shall commence with them. His objection to the Dalgety site is that it is too cold, and he had a great deal to say of the miserable weather and the snow which he met there. Yet, in the next breath he told us that the Snowy Mountains are nearer to Tooma—which he favours—than to Dalgety; and he had so much to say about the beauty of the Tooma climate that I almost expected to hear him recite the poem entitled "Beautiful Snow." He did not, however, give us to understand why the snow on one side of Mt. Kosciusko should be colder than the snow on the other side of it. That has not been made clear. Then again the honorable member told us, with the same cocksureness that has characterized him throughout, that he questioned the sufficiency of the water supply at Dalgety.

Mr. KENNEDY.—I quoted the report of the Commissioners.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—I do not propose to answer the statement of honorable members, who, bereft of every other opportunity of traducing the Dalgety site, express doubts with regard to the water supply.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I am glad the honorable member is getting a "turn" about the water supply.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—The great sorrow of the honorable member's life is that he cannot show us any water at Lyndhurst. The honorable member is reputed to be a great temperance advocate, and he knows that unless an expenditure of upwards of £2,000,000 is incurred, it will be impossible to provide an adequate water supply at Lyndhurst. Mr. Pridham is my authority for that statement. No temperance man ought to advocate the adoption of the Lyndhurst site, because water will be so scarce that it will be necessary to lock up the water, and leave the whisky outside. We can fully understand that the honorable member is very touchy about any reference to the question of water supply. The honorable member for Moira stated that there was no timber at Dalgety; but he informed us that he had not visited that part of the country since 1884.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—There was more timber there then than there is now.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—The interjection made by the honorable member reminds me of the fact that he has now submitted his sixteenth site. He

started with Lyndhurst ; then he raved about Tumut, became enthusiastic about Gadara and Lacmalac, afterwards advocated the claims of Albury, and finally urged that Tooma and Welaregang should receive favorable consideration. The record of the honorable member's performances in this respect will prove as interesting reading as *Leaves from an Office Boy's Diary*. So rapid has been his progress, that it reminds us of the entries—"Monday, hired out ; Tuesday, tired out ; Wednesday, fired out." I shall have something to say with regard to the honorable member, whose statements upon this Capital question entitle him to be regarded as the New South Wales Jack the Giant-Killer. The honorable member for Moira referred to the very large expenditure that would be involved if our present railway systems were extended to Southern Monaro. He forgot to tell us that, according to the figures given in the report recently quoted by the honorable member for Wentworth, at the very lowest possible estimate, an expenditure of £500,000 would be entailed if railway communication were established between the Victorian system and Welaregang. That money would have to be spent for the sole purpose of connecting Welaregang with the Victorian system. The same authority states that it would only be practicable to construct a railway from the New South Wales side, at an outlay that would amount to at least £300,000 or £400,000, unless a detour were made by way of Albury. I am quoting from the report, and propose to allow honorable members to decide for themselves.

Mr. KENNEDY.—That information is not contained in the report.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—I have obtained my information from the reports presented to us. I am endeavouring to show how the honorable member for Moira has been induced to act upon information supplied by the honorable member for Hume, or some one else. I give the honorable member credit for good intentions, but he should remember that the way to a warmer place than Tumut is paved with good intentions, and should be more careful in accepting statements made to him by interested parties. The honorable member for Moira said that it was very questionable whether the Southern Monaro tableland could produce sufficient food to supply the requirements of a population of 50,000.

Mr. KENNEDY.—There again, I quote from the report of the Commissioners.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—Let us see what one authority has to say with regard to that district. His statement reads as follows:—

I think if there is a district in which a railway should be constructed it is from the tableland to the port of Eden. There is no finer port in the Colony, and there is no finer country at the back of it. It is certainly to be regretted that the construction of the line has been left so long in abeyance. There is no possible doubt that the port must become a great shipping port, and will become a great centre of population.

Mr. KENNEDY.—Who was that authority?

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—The honorable member for Hume.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I spoke of the Bega district.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—The Bega country is close at hand, but it is not at the back of Eden.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Oh, yes, it is quite close to it.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—Since that time—within the last five years—the honorable member for Hume has advocated the construction of a railway through the Southern Monaro tableland. He has said that it was a shame that there was no railway there, and has described the glories and wonders of the district. Now he tells us a series of Munchausen stories with regard to other sites. The words I have quoted represented the opinion of the honorable member five years ago, but now he expects him to hold that opinion now.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I had not seen that district. What I was referring to was the Bega country.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—Bega is on the coast, and cannot be described as situated at the back of Eden. It is of no use for the honorable member to endeavour to escape from his dilemma in that way.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I am not endeavouring to escape.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—I know that the honorable member frequently wishes that *Hansard* had been burnt, because he knows that by its means he could be confounded out of his own mouth.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—No ; I like *Hansard*. I was acting on the statements of the honorable member, and had not seen the place.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—The statement I have quoted was made in 1891, before I had the pleasure of the honorable member's acquaintance.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—No, no.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—Politically, I mean. I believe that the honorable member was quite right in the statement he then made. I desire now to quote another statement made at the same time by a man who did a great deal for Federation, and whose name has not been mentioned in connexion with this debate. All those who believe in Federation should remember his name with respect. I refer to the late Sir Henry Parkes. He said—

It does not follow that because this very fine port has, from one cause or another, been neglected, that it will continue to be neglected. When that district is opened by railway communication, to which, in my judgment, it is richly entitled, Eden, which has a very fine harbor, will become the site of a very important maritime city. I have that faith in the progress of this country that I have long foreseen that, although retarded by unfavorable circumstances, this result is certain by the very force of growth from without. . . Twofold Bay has been the victim, if I may so term it, of singular neglect. I do not say whose fault it is. It is very difficult to distinguish; but, certainly, before many years, Twofold Bay, where the town of Eden is situated, will become one of the most important places in New South Wales. I have no doubt whatever of that. As far back as 1873 I advocated the construction of a railway to the port, to bring the traffic of Monaro to the bay.

That was the honest opinion of a man who knew the country, and it was backed up by that of the honorable member for Hume.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—That railway has not been constructed yet.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—No, and if the honorable member has his way, it will probably be some little time before the railway is built. The time, however, for log-rolling in connexion with railways on the part of the honorable member has gone by.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—The honorable member tried to log-roll one or two railways with me.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—It is fortunate that we have such a publication as *Hansard*. Its records are such that it induces us to accept the statements of the honorable member with not the proverbial grain, but a bag of salt. The honorable member, when he spoke last night, made an attack upon the late Mr. Alexander Oliver.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I did not attack him.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—The honorable member expressed regret that the late Mr. Oliver had made a certain report.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Yes; I regretted that he had issued his last report.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—Because it did not suit the honorable member.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I did not say that.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—No; the honorable member did not say so, but we know what the honorable member's policy is. He has openly announced it to be win, tie, or wrangle.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I am going to win.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—The honorable member will neither win, tie, nor wrangle. He may walk about and boast that he will be able to turn a number of honorable members, that in fact he has their votes in his pocket, but he will find that other honorable members have opinions as well as himself, and that whilst they may, as I do, entertain a very warm personal regard for him, they will not sacrifice their principles in order to please him, by voting for his latest fad. I would remind the honorable member, who has boasted that he will be able to turn round a number of honorable members, that he should not "halloa" before he is out of the wood.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I have never made such a statement.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—I confidently appeal for the support of honorable members who knew Mr. Oliver, when I say that no man in New South Wales was better fitted for the task intrusted to him. The honorable member for Hume appointed him. He is very clever in selecting good men for certain work, and he often gets into great trouble over them. He selects good men, and whilst everything goes to suit him they are all right. After appointing Mr. Oliver, with the approbation of the people of New South Wales, he has turned round and accused him of having found fault with the conclusions of the Royal Commission appointed by the Commonwealth Government. I have nothing to say against the Commissioners. As I told the honorable member for Moira, no one doubts their honesty; but a great many persons doubt the impartiality of one member of the Commission.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—That is a very unfair thing to say.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—I intend to say what I think.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—It is very unfair even to think it.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—I intend to prove it.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—The honorable member cannot prove it.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—Perhaps not to the satisfaction of the honorable member. The late Mr. Oliver was appointed by the New South Wales Government to report upon the various sites suggested for the Federal Capital. About sixty sites were offered. Mr. Oliver went round the country and made patient inquiry into the respective claims of about thirty of these.

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—He inquired closely into the merits of fourteen sites.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—He made a general inquiry in respect of about thirty sites, but he examined the claims of fourteen of them very carefully. What was the result? He advised that Bombala was the best site available, with Yass and Orange coming next in that order. He also added that if Tumut were connected by rail he would have to include it in his list of the most eligible sites. The honorable member for Hume has declared that the late Mr. Oliver had a peculiar habit of selecting men who were incapable of doing the work which was assigned to them.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I did not say that.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—The honorable member said that he did not select men who were at the top of their profession.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—The honorable member has no right to make what he knows to be misstatements.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—Mr. Oliver singled out the sites which I have mentioned. What do we find? That after three or four years of inquiry the most suitable sites have been practically narrowed down to those which the late Mr. Oliver selected in the first instance. That is a great compliment to that gentleman, and it is a pity indeed, now that he is in his grave, that comparisons should be made between him and some of the other Commissioners. The honorable member for Hume has found fault with the late Mr. Oliver for taking exception to the appointment of Mr. Kirkpatrick to the Capital Sites Commission. I have no desire to say anything derogatory to Mr. Kirkpatrick, but I do hold that to compare him with the late Mr. Oliver, from the stand-point of ability to sift evidence, is like comparing

a 6 feet by 8 feet tent with the Parliament House in which we sit. In justice to his memory, I claim that the honorable member for Hume indulged in a most unfair attack upon him. The honorable member has been going round the country talking about the blizzards experienced at Bombala. No doubt he thought that the cry would catch on; but, as a matter of fact, it has become such a standing joke that when people see him approaching the exclaim, "Here comes Bombala's blizzard Bill." It may be an interesting sort of joke, but, unfortunately, this is not a question to joke about. Personally I do not mind the honorable member's statements, but I feel that it is my duty to point out how misleading they are, lest some honorable members who are not acquainted with the facts might be disposed to believe them. Who does the honorable member know about Bombala? He went there, and was upon the sick-list. He immediately obtained special coach, and asked to be driven home as fast as possible. When he arrived at Cooma, he declared that it must be a God-forsaken place, because it contained no refreshment-room.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—No; the honorable member for Perth was with me at the time.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—Yes; and the honorable member has pictured the terrible misery of the honorable member for Perth. No doubt he was very much disgusted with that honorable member when he found that, despite all that had been to him during this sick coach journey, he had voted for the selection of Bombala. I say that we should get along much better if honorable members would rely upon the merits of the sites which they advocate, instead of attempting to traduce other sites in the hope that some honorable member will be foolish enough to believe their statements. The honorable member for Hume has been going about affirming that neither the Dalgety nor the Southern Monaro has any chance of being selected, in the hope that some honorable members will support the Tooma site.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—What did the honorable member say about typhoid at Tumut?

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—What did the Capital Sites Commissioners say? The evidence taken by them was to the effect that one creek supplied a number of typhoid cases for a period of seventeen years.

Mr. WATSON.—Oh, no.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—I say that my statement is correct.

Mr. WATSON.—I should like the honorable member to quote the particular passage from the evidence. It was stated that there had not been a single case of typhoid for seven years.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—It is hardly the province of the Prime Minister to chime in, with a view to helping the honorable member for Hume. He has given him sufficient help in the past. It is a fortunate thing for me that, to a certain extent, the honorable gentleman is muzzled. Some of the statements which he has made against the Monaro district will not bear analysis.

Mr. WATSON.—I have never spoken upon the subject.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—But during the last Parliament the Prime Minister made desperate efforts to prevent the Monaro site from being selected. He made it a personal matter against the Monaro district.

Mr. WATSON.—A personal matter against the honorable member?

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—No, but the Prime Minister used his own personal popularity with honorable members to prevent the Monaro district from being selected. He has sworn a sort of vendetta against that district. However, I do not mind his opposition, because he fights in the open. The honorable member for Hume has stated that trees will not grow in the Monaro district.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—There are very few trees there.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—If honorable members will peruse the report of the Commissioners, they will find that it contains a reference to the "inexhaustible forests" of Bombala. That, I think, is a sufficient answer to the statement of the honorable member. When he was asked where all the opossum skins came from if there were no trees at Bombala, he solemnly declared that they were ground opossums. Had they been under-ground opossums, he might have been an authority upon the subject.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Will the honorable member produce a few more inventions?

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—I know what is responsible for this wonderful change on the part of the honorable member. The other day the *Age* published a copy of a letter which had been written by

the honorable member to a newspaper in his district, in which he declared his conviction that a majority of honorable members were in favour of selecting the Bombala site.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I do not think I said that.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—The honorable member did say it. His letter is headed: "The New Idea," and it appeared in the *Age* of the 4th July last. That journal says—

A Riverina paper has received a letter from Sir William Lyne, stating that there is no doubt that a majority in the Federal Parliament is against the sites near the town of Tumut. Sir William Lyne states that he is now endeavouring to get the area selected for Bombala so extended that it will take in Tumut. Members who visited the Murray site with Sir William Lyne have impressed others with the suitability of that locality, and it is likely there will be a sufficient number to support the new idea. He says that any amount of underground engineering is going on in favour of Bombala, and some of his colleagues in the late Ministry are the principal movers.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—That is not my letter.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—Not only is it the honorable member's letter, but the *Gundagai Independent*, which is published in his own constituency, reprints it, criticises it, and frankly declares that if a Tumut site cannot win by the adoption of other tactics than these, it is preferable that it should be left out in the cold.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—That is the honorable member's paper.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—I have never been in Gundagai. That is the statement made by a newspaper which is published in the honorable member's own district.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Will the honorable member read the statement from the *Gundagai Independent*?

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—I will read it for the benefit of the honorable member presently.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—That was Mr. Reid's letter.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—The honorable member induced Mr. David Reid to come to Melbourne to be exhibited as a product of the Tumut district, but he sent him home very rapidly when I discovered that all his early life had been spent in the Monaro district. The *Gundagai Independent* takes the honorable member to task for having made such a fatal blunder. A little while ago, Mr. B. R. Wise affirmed that the Monaro tableland was a very suitable

place for the establishment of the Federal Capital. The honorable member for Hume immediately denounced him for having interfered. He said that Mr. Wise had no right to indulge in any such criticism. Apparently, nobody has a right to criticise. I have no desire to say anything against the Tooma site, because I have not seen it. But I have seen the Albury site, and there is not much difference between the two. The former is a little closer to the snow line, but its altitude is about the same as is that of Albury. It is between 1,100 and 1,600 feet above sea level. The last Parliament decided that no site should be eligible for selection which had an altitude of less than 1,500 feet, but that provision has been carefully eliminated from this Bill. Why? In my opinion, because its omission suited the district represented by the honorable member.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—The honorable member has been told that I knew nothing about the matter, and consequently it is not fair for him to make that statement.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—I do not say that the provision was eliminated at the instigation of the honorable member, but I believe that it was omitted to suit his district. Otherwise, how is it that when one of the surveyors discovered that the sites in the Tumut area, which had an altitude of more than 1,500 feet, were not suitable for the Federal Capital, inquiries were immediately set on foot in respect of sites with a less altitude. Was it merely a remarkable coincidence?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—That is a very unworthy insinuation.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—In view of the suggestions made last night by the honorable member as to trickery having been resorted to, I am not much concerned about his complaint. There is certainly reasonable ground for inquiring what was the reason for this change.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I do not know the reason. The honorable member should ask the Prime Minister; the honorable member knows that I was not aware that the alteration had been made until he mentioned it to me.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—The honorable member will have an opportunity presently to refute my statements if he can. Is it not singular that even to-day we have no information showing whether Tooma has an elevation of 1,100 feet or of 1,500 feet.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Had the honorable member taken the trouble to look at the map he would have gained the information for himself.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—It has an elevation of between 900 and 1,100 feet.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—The honorable member for South Sydney, whose word will be readily accepted, states that Tooma has an elevation of between 900 and 1,100 feet.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—If he makes that statement after looking at the map his word is not worth much.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—I shall not comment on the honorable member's statement as to the old lady who died a day or two ago at the age of 102, after living in the Upper Murray district for fifty years. That is a very feeble way to attempt to bolster up the merits of a particular site. The honorable member has been examining the list of deaths in the district, in order to discover such cases, and is welcome to any evidence of that kind that may be forthcoming. I have no objection to bolstering up the claims of Tooma in that way, but I certainly object to his making an assertion about the Southern Monaro district which he is unable to prove. I told the Committee last night that a cousin of mine had been sent to the Upper Murray district, with a view to influencing honorable members against its selection. I can only say that I have inspected the sites in company with other honorable members, who know the country as well as, if not better than, the honorable member for Hume. I was not aware that I had a cousin living in that district; but if I have, he shows his good sense in speaking against its selection. The reason why I doubt whether the man in question is a cousin of mine is that I do not think it possible that he would leave Southern Monaro for that part of New South Wales. Then the honorable member has made various suggestions as to timber resources of the Southern Monaro district. It has been drummed into our ears to such an extent that there is no timber in that district that we are constrained to examine the reports of the Commissioners who were appointed by the honorable member to ascertain the real facts. And what do we find? We find that they refer to the inexhaustible forests to be found there. We have also statistics as to the output of saw-mills in Southern Monaro.

Are those saw-mills engaged in cutting up blocks of ice?

Mr. ROBINSON.—Possibly granite.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—It is, to say the least of it, somewhat singular that the honorable member for Hume should assert that there is no timber in the neighbourhood of Dalgety or Bombala, when there are three saw-mills in the district, and they carry on a thriving and lucrative business. Another assertion made by the honorable member for Hume was that Cooma was supposed to comprise the best lands in the Monaro district. Every honorable member who comes from New South Wales knows what reliance can be placed on such a statement. It is said that the railway constructed to Cooma does not pay. But what are the facts associated with the construction of that line? In New South Wales a Public Works Committee, consisting of Members of Parliament, deal with every proposal to build a railway. They analyze the reports, consider the estimates, and having gone closely into all the facts make a recommendation to Parliament. The Prime Minister was at one time a member of that Public Works Committee, and will be able to tell the Committee that it invariably makes an exhaustive inquiry in regard to all the proposed works submitted to its consideration. One of the boasts of the Committee is that it has saved the State many millions of pounds by refusing to recommend many works which have been suggested. After the Public Works Committee have inquired into a proposal to construct certain lines, the Railway Commissioners are asked to make a report on the lines selected for construction by the Public Works Committee. That Committee, however, while the honorable member for Hume was in office, in New South Wales, reported in favour of the construction of the Cooma line, and the Railway Commissioners subsequently stated that they were amazed to find so great an area of good country stretching away from Cooma farther south. On commercial grounds—quite apart from any suggestion as to the establishment of the Federal Capital in that district—they recommended the construction of the line. That is my answer to the honorable member's assertions. The railway estimates are open for inspection, but it is unnecessary for me to deal fully with the figures, because honorable members are already familiar with them. I would point out,

however, that an old estimate of the cost of constructing a railway from Cooma to Dalgety is £127,000. We are told that we may take off 20 per cent. from many of the old estimates, so that in round figures the construction of the line to Dalgety, which is half way between Cooma and Bombala, would involve an outlay of about £100,000. To carry on the line to Bombala would require the further expenditure of a similar amount.

Mr. KELLY.—What would be the cost of constructing a railway line from Bairnsdale to Dalgety?

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—I might as well ask the honorable member what it would cost to construct a railway line from Lyndhurst to Fremantle. All these railways will be made in due course. Surely the honorable member knows that it is not proposed to do everything at once. Much has been said about the cost of a water supply for Dalgety or Bombala, but we have Mr. Pridham's report that an outlay of over £2,000,000 would be necessary to secure a water supply at Lyndhurst. We have a further estimate as to what the cost would be per head, provided that the population of the Capital were sufficient to pay the cost of every gallon of water brought to Lyndhurst. Honorable members who favour that site have carefully refrained from mentioning the aggregate cost of a water supply, but I shall give the Committee some facts bearing on the question. I have nothing to say against Lyndhurst, all that I desire is that honorable members shall be in possession of all the facts, and that they shall consider them.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—Has the honorable member Mr. Pridham's report as to the cost of a water supply for Lyndhurst? The £2,000,000 is the cost with working expenses capitalized.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—It is remarkable that the honorable member for Macquarie has not seen fit to give the Committee the estimate of the total cost.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I have.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—There is a running river flowing by the Dalgety and Bombala sites, and if either of these were selected, the only expense which would have to be incurred to secure a water supply for the Capital would be in providing a tank or a pump or something of the kind. If we selected Lyndhurst it would be almost impossible for the residents of the Capital to obtain a drink of water. When I visited that site we could

not obtain one. The honorable member for Hume also told us a story about the Bairnsdale railway and the zigzag.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I have the plans here.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—Some of the honorable member's plans in regard to the settlement of this question will fall to the ground. I am prepared to accept the opinion of the Chief Victorian Railway Commissioner in preference to that of the honorable member for Hume, in regard to the extension of the railway from Bairnsdale to the border. The Commission appointed by him report that the Chief Victorian Railway Commissioner stated that a railway from Bairnsdale *via* Orbost would have to be constructed for State purposes, quite apart from any question as to the establishment of the Federal Capital at Bombala or Dalgety. The honorable member is very ingenious in endeavouring to saddle the sites in the Southern Monaro district with all the expense of building such a line. If we established the Capital at Dalgety or Bombala, the first expenditure necessary would be incurred in supplying railway communication; but there would be no occasion to spend any money in securing a water supply. We should have a pure stream of running water at hand, and practically every other requirement would be available, so that no additional expense would be incurred. On the other hand, it would be impossible to construct a railway to Tooma from Victoria, or to connect that site with the railway system of New South Wales, without incurring a very heavy outlay. We have also to consider whether we should for all time have to rely on a railway for the carriage of heavy freights to the Capital, or whether we should avail ourselves of the great highway of the world—the ocean waterway—which is within fifty miles of Bombala. Comparisons are odious, and I should not make them, but that I desire to answer some of the statements of the honorable member for Hume. The Commissioners appointed by him when Minister of Home Affairs report that the Chief Railway Commissioner of Victoria said that a railway from Bairnsdale *via* Orbost would have to be constructed for State purposes. That should be a sufficient answer to his assertions in that respect. When speaking last night the honorable member referred to tricks and strategy and other like methods, which he said had been resorted to; but any one who gets the best of him when fighting on these lines should

be welcome to his victory. He stated that Bombala and Dalgety were further south than is Welaregang, but I have had the map measured, and find that Dalgety, in a direct line nearer Sydney than is the Upper Murray site. The honorable member is not very sure on that point, but the Upper Murray site were nearer Sydney than is Dalgety, he would have no hesitation in mentioning that fact. If a railway were constructed to Tooma it would have to strike in at Queanbeyan, and would be necessary to tunnel under Mount Kosciusko, and, indeed, right through the Australian Alps. On the face of it, the suggestion that such a railway should be constructed is too absurd to receive a moment's consideration. The honorable member admits that for three years—during the life of the first Federal Parliament—I was of opinion that the selection of the Upper Murray site would be unfair to Sydney, and he credits the honorable member for Grampians with having introduced that site into the arena. We know that the honorable member for Grampians, and the honorable member for Moira spoke out for the Upper Murray site when this question was before us last session; but what assistance did they receive from the honorable member for Hume, who was the Minister of Home Affairs? He might very well have granted the inspection which they asked on behalf of the Upper Murray site, just as he granted my request that Dalgety should be inspected. I desire to acknowledge that in that respect the honorable member treated Dalgety very fairly.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I am glad to hear that I did something right.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—If the honorable member for Grampians, and the honorable member for Moira thought that the Upper Murray site was such an excellent one, why did they not take action? What were they doing? Were they asleep?

Mr. SKENE.—We were not quite as clever as was the honorable member.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—When those who favoured other sites succeeded in obtaining reports from the Commission, they sat quietly by, and it was only at the last moment that they were able to secure the consideration of the Upper Murray district. If Tooma is to be seriously considered, why should it not be scrutinized closely as other sites have been?

Mr. KENNEDY.—We shall be delighted to have it examined.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—The honorable member became rather heated this evening when he was referred to a statement in the report of the Commission on the Murray River, that the water was slimy. What position should we occupy if, without any information as to the altitude of the Upper Murray site, the area available, the cost of providing an adequate water supply, and the characteristics of the climate, and only a hazy notion of whether it could be connected with the railway system of New South Wales—with nothing before us save that snow-capped hills can be seen in the distance—we selected that site? If it went forth to the world that we had selected that site, in the absence of any information in regard to all these important points, would not our proceedings appear farcical in the eyes of the people? The honorable member for Hume raked up one or two photographs of the Upper Murray district, and exhibited them in this House. I should like to know whether they are not photographs of country on the Victorian side of the river.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—One of them is.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—I invite him to inform the Committee how far the site which he now so warmly advocates is from the River Murray, and what he has to say as to the unearned increment about which he waxed eloquent last session, when he submitted a map of Tumut to the Committee, and pointed to the large area of Crown land which we might secure there. It would be interesting to have an explanation on that point, and to know why he has changed the opinion which he held for three years that the selection of the Upper Murray site would be unfair to New South Wales.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—It would be just as fair as would be the selection of Bombala or Dalgety.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—But Bombala and Dalgety were in the list originally submitted to us in the last Parliament.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—And I objected to both of them.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—In the first report made by the late Mr. Oliver on something like thirteen different sites, Southern Monaro was placed first for water. The Commissioners which the honorable member appointed objected to go to Dalgety.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Only one member of the Commission objected.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—I am not going to attack any of the officers.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Only one objected to go to Dalgety, and it was not Mr. Kirkpatrick.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—The report of Mr. Kirkpatrick, against whom I say nothing, was a most remarkable one, as coming from a Commissioner who put the Bombala and Dalgety sites, whatever their faults may be, nearly last on the list in regard to water supply. The honorable member for Hume possibly knows that the absence of a water supply is a strong objection, and that is why he thought it necessary to say something unkind about Mr. Oliver, who merely repeated what his engineers had told him. Mr. Oliver only said what he thought, and what was thought by a great many people in the country, namely, that Mr. Kirkpatrick, no doubt unconsciously, was biased in favour of two particular sites. It is remarkable, however, that both of these sites happen to be in the district represented by the honorable member for Hume. I am sorry that the honorable member for Hume should drag these remarks from me. No one knows better than that honorable member what the honorable and learned member for Balaclava and Sir Alexander Peacock said in regard to Albury. Both of these gentlemen expressed the opinion that to select Albury would be unfair. We remember the desperate efforts made by the honorable member for Hume in support of Albury—how he stood on the hilltop there, in the midst of one of the regular daily duststorms, and said, "Gentlemen, there is a lovely site here if we could only see it." The honorable member for Hume knows that it was the visit of honorable members to Tumut which killed the chances of that site. Tumut was regarded as a compromise, but that visit, as I say, put it "out of the running." We can remember the honorable member for Hume standing on the Tumut site, and as the perspiration poured off him, remarking—"This is a most invigorating climate." What has made the honorable member change his mind as to Albury? What is the difference between Tumut, Tooma, and Welaregang? Why did he not stick to Gadara, Lacmalac, Tomorroma, or one of the other sites on which he was previously so keen? Did not Mr. Chesterman make an enthusiastic report in favour of Tooma? But in that report he was like Mr. Kirkpatrick,

not speaking from official records, but from memory. The honorable member forgets that Mr. Chesterman enthused about Tomorroma and Batlow.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—It was the Prime Minister who discovered Batlow.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—Possibly Mr. Chesterman thought that he was following a pretty good judge, and would get a strong backing. The honorable member for Hume is clever enough to know that the Prime Minister would not think of voting for the Upper Murray site. The Prime Minister, however, is in favour of Batlow, and by including Lacmalac, Tumut, and Tomorroma all in one district with Batlow, the honorable member for Hume has been clever enough to "gather in" the Prime Minister. The worst of it is that when the Prime Minister makes up his mind he sticks to his determination, whereas I should be very glad to see him change and give his support to the Monaro sites. I do not wish to say anything more about the honorable member for Hume's tirade of abuse in regard to Monaro, nor do I want to say anything against the site which he favours. The honorable member's statements are in cold type, and in my own simple way I have endeavoured to analyze them. Judging by the lightning changes on the part of the honorable member for Hume, those honorable members who propose to rely on his judgment will have to make changes equally dazzling.

Mr. ROBINSON.—Is this an attack on the honorable member for Grampians?

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—The honorable member for Grampians has consistently advocated the Upper Murray site; he has never said that the selection of such a site would be unfair to New South Wales, or that any place under an altitude of 1,500 feet is unsuitable. I have, however, a private grievance against the honorable member for Grampians, who has not only endeavoured to defeat the selection of the site which I favour, but has now stolen my leader. We hear nothing now from the honorable member for Hume about the wonderful maize and tobacco crops at Tumut. The honorable member used to tell us of maize which topped the fence, and of tobacco crops which were so strong that the product was unsaleable. The honorable member was, however, reminded that where such tobacco and maize can be grown—although the soil may be fertile—is hardly a place in which men can live with comfort. The honorable member is in posses-

sion of about half-a-dozen maps, but guarantee that amongst them we could not find that large map which he used to talk around amongst honorable members in order to show the immense area of Crown land available at Tumut. We all know that there are plenty of experienced men looking for good land—that many are four balloting for one area—and it is nonsense to tell us that there are now any great areas of good Crown land available. As a matter of fact, there is no such land available; it is all locked up in reserves, or is so far away from markets as to be of no use. This Upper Murray site is to be seriously considered by honorable members, then, in justice to the country, and in justice to ourselves, we ought to have some further information regarding it. We ought not to be such arrant fools as to select a place about which we know nothing.

Mr. KELLY.—We do not want any further delay.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—Nor do I, but delay is preferable to a crime; and would certainly be a crime to select a place without full knowledge. I am told by honorable members who have visited the Upper Murray site that the land is very fertile, that there is plenty of water, and that the climate is good. I have no doubt that these statements are true—that honorable members honestly believe that the climate and the water supply are all right. But we must remember what the honorable member for Wentworth said to-night when he told us of the thirteen running streams which could be seen from the Bombala site coming down the hillside like so many streaks of silver. The report of the engineer was that a water supply could be got by gravitation, and a nice case was built up for Bombala, until the mistake in this connexion was discovered. Mr. Oliver, who has been taken to task by the honorable member for Hume, frankly admitted, like an honest man, that a mistake had been made, but he did not admit that water could not be brought to Bombala by gravitation. Such a work is only a question of money. We should have to go further back for the water; and the same remarks apply to all the sites. No doubt water can be seen flowing through the Upper Murray territory, but it is a question of the distance it would have to be carried to the Federal Capital.

Mr. KENNEDY.—Sixteen miles.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—No doubt the honorable member honestly belie-

that that is the distance. I was under a similar impression in regard to Bombala, but I now admit that it would be necessary to go further back in order to obtain water by gravitation. Indeed, if we go back far enough we can get water from the Snowy River; and, according to the reports we have received, there are great falls half-way between Bombala and Dalgety, which could be utilized for the provision of cheap pumping power. Let us look at the question from another aspect. Let us leave the Royal Commission which made the peculiar report to which I have referred, and ask ourselves what was done by the late Parliament. The late Government have been taken much to task for not expediting this matter. It seems to me, however, that a great deal of expedition was used. The reports which were called for took a long time to prepare, and when they had been supplied, certain votes were given by honorable members, and changes took place in this House. We fixed on an altitude of 1,500 feet as necessary for the Capital, and further reports were called for. And what happened when the House proceeded to vote? At first Bombala was at the head of the poll, but by degrees other sites were dropped out, and at last Tumut defeated Bombala by one vote, the supporters of the Bombala site then transferring their support to the former. The Bill was sent backwards and forwards between the two Houses, but we came to no conclusion. It was then determined to get further information, and the right honorable member for Swan was asked to make an inspection with a view to a report. Who is Sir John Forrest?

The CHAIRMAN.—Order! The honorable member must not address other honorable members by name.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—I was speaking of the right honorable member for Swan in connexion with the report he made. The honorable member for Macquarie has told us, what is perfectly true, that Mr. Wade is a great engineer, to whom, on a question of water supply, we should pay much attention. We all know the late Mr. Oliver's reputation, and read with respect any report he may have written. But if there is one man who is fitted more than another to make an inspection of the kind—who, by his past experience in exploration and his known impartiality in the matter, is capable of giving an unbiased opinion—it is the right honorable member for Swan. That is not merely my opinion,

a similar expression having been used by the honorable member for South Sydney. It is possible that the honorable member for Darling and others behind the Government might not be inclined to accept the opinion of the right honorable member for Swan on arbitration or other industrial matters—although in Western Australia the right honorable gentleman showed his liberality in these directions—but his greatest political opponents must admit that it was a very happy idea to ask him, as Minister of Home Affairs, to visit this part of the Commonwealth and make a report.

Mr. KELLY.—The right honorable member was "personally conducted."

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—No doubt the right honorable member was "personally conducted" by Colonel Owen; but I cannot understand why the honorable member for Wentworth should take exception to that fact.

Mr. KELLY.—I take no exception.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—Why does the honorable member remark, with a sneer, that the right honorable member was "personally conducted"?

Mr. KELLY.—There is no sneer.

Mr. WATSON.—I think the honorable member for Eden-Monaro went part of the way with the right honorable member.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—I did not go round with the right honorable member on that occasion. I did accompany him in May, two years ago, on a visit to the Monaro sites. The Prime Minister, I am very glad to say, is now to a certain extent muzzled, but I can remember the wild statements which he made in regard to Eden-Monaro, and which he was unable to prove.

Mr. WATSON.—I can prove every statement I made.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—Why should the Prime Minister suggest that the fact that I accompanied the right honorable member for Swan would influence the opinion of that gentleman?

Mr. WATSON.—I do not think that the presence of the honorable member for Eden-Monaro would make any difference to the right honorable member for Swan.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—We have heard a good deal about the blizzards in the Eden-Monaro district, but it must be remembered that honorable members made their visit in winter—in May or June.

Mr. WATSON.—In May.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—April.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—The honorable member's statement as to the visit

being paid in April is very like his story about the blizzards. At any rate, I did not make the mistake which the honorable member made when he took honorable members on a visit to Tumut in the summer time, with the result that the chances of that place were killed "in one act." We have to ask ourselves what were the qualifications of the right honorable member for Swan to make a report of the kind desired. In his report he laid down the essentials for a Capital Site, looking very carefully into the facts connected with the whole of the sites; and it is remarkable that a large majority of those who made personal visits of inspection are in favour of Monaro.

Mr. SKENE.—The right honorable member for Swan has not seen Tooma.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—In my opinion if the right honorable member for Swan were to see Tooma and believed that it was a better site than Dalgety, he would have no hesitation in saying so. I am sure that every other honorable member believes the same of him. It is an insult to him to say that he gave his opinion with regard to Dalgety simply because I went with him. He also had with him Colonel Owen, the Inspector-General of Public Works, a very able engineer, who probably has no axe to grind. He knows the Monaro country well. He has been camping there.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Trout fishing.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—If honorable members want fish stories they can get them from the honorable member for Hume. What does Colonel Owen say? He reports strongly in favour of Southern Monaro. I point to these as the opinions of disinterested experts, whose reputation, to a large extent, hangs upon their judgment of these various sites. They stand by Southern Monaro thoroughly. Is it not a remarkable thing that the bulk of the Victorian members and the bulk of the New South Wales members respectively are supporting either the Upper Murray or the Lyndhurst site? I do not say that they are not honestly supporting those sites. I give all honorable members full credit for honesty, and believe that they will vote for the site which they consider to be best in the interests of the Commonwealth. But, nevertheless, is it not remarkable that the Upper Murray vote will be principally given by Victorian members, whilst the Lyndhurst vote will be principally given by New South Wales members? Is it not also a remarkable fact that the bulk of the members from

other States who have no personal interest to serve in favouring one site more than another, are supporting the Southern Monaro site? I should be quite prepared to take the decision of honorable members representing the other States, and to let the representatives of Victoria and New South Wales stand aside altogether.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—That is very rich.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—I know what the verdict would be. Of course, I do not propose to take such a course; but still it is remarkable that the bulk of the independent opinion of this House is in favour of the Southern Monaro site. A great many speeches have been delivered with regard to the Federal Capital. It has been considered from many stand points. We had a very glowing speech from the honorable member for Richmond. He dwelt upon the beauties and the glories and the grandeur of a Capital such as Australia should possess, assured us that the site for which he intended to vote was most beautiful, and urged that it was necessary that we should consider picturesqueness. But is it not a peculiar thing that the honorable member was not able to assure the Committee that he had even seen the site which he proposes to support? The honorable member for Gwydir also made a very able speech. It was a fine descriptive speech, and any one who heard it must have admired very much the earnestness with which he entered into details. In the course of his remarks he read a long letter which he had sent to the *Sydney Daily Telegraph*, in which he set forth some facts which had been given to him—probably by the honorable member for Hume—showing that during the drought the Upper Murray site was able to maintain fifteen sheep or one bullock to the acre.

Mr. SPENCE.—The *Daily Telegraph* reported the honorable member as making two hours' speech in favour of Tooma.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—The fact is that the honorable member for Gwydir, after making a very able speech in support of the Southern Monaro site, dwelling strongly upon the reports of the expert declared that he intended to vote for a site which he knew nothing about, except that he had been there for a very short time, in company with the honorable member for Hume. That was a remarkable position to take up. It does some credit to the honorable member's imagination that I should attempt to arrive at a conclusion

such slender evidence. The right honorable member for East Sydney has assured the Committee that the finger of destiny is pointing to Lyndhurst. All I can say is that, if we were to select Lyndhurst on account of its accessibility, we should be taking a very short-sighted view of our responsibilities. It would be very peculiar if we were to select a site for the Capital on account of the conveniences which at present prevail in regard to the conveyance of Members of Parliament, and were to ignore the fact, which I take to be certain, that within a very few years, wherever we fix the Capital Site, the district will be riddled with railways. It is taking a short-sighted view to say that we should dump down the Capital at some place where there is a railway at present, whilst ignoring the means of communication that are bound to be provided in the future. The honorable and learned member for Wannon has urged that the Capital ought to be located in Sydney, on the ground that that would lead to a saving in expenditure, but I would remind the Committee that there could then be no return whatever to the Commonwealth in the shape of unearned increment. The effect would simply be to make the corner blocks and the good sites that are now held by private individuals worth far more money, without the Commonwealth receiving any return. We ought to put the Capital in the bush, on the score of economy. It does not need any argument to show that a "bush Capital," as it is called, would be very much cheaper for the people of Australia than a Capital situated in one of the great cities. I venture to say that of the three western sites Lyndhurst is the worst. Its supporters may bolster it up as much as they please, but it seems clear to my mind that if any western site is to be chosen, Lyndhurst certainly ought not to be favoured. Either Orange or Bathurst would be preferable. The strong feeling in favour of Lyndhurst is simply a reflex of the opinions expressed by the Sydney daily newspapers. Honorable members get a good deal of their politics from these journals. Their views are drummed into us every morning. I do not, however, question the honesty of the supporters of the Lyndhurst site. I am quite sure that the honorable member for North Sydney would not support it unless he believed in it. I can also quite understand the anxiety of the honorable member for

Macquarie to see it selected. I feel like that myself sometimes regarding Monaro.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Is the honorable member supporting Bombala or Dalgety?

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—I will tell the honorable member if he will answer a question which I put to him. I am quite prepared to take the area that was selected by the Senate. I think we ought to have a large area. I wish to have a gateway to the sea, and also an entrance from another State. It is in my opinion for Parliament to select the area, and the choosing of the actual site is rather a matter for experts.

Mr. ROBINSON.—But what about the honorable member's constituents?

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—Probably the honorable and learned member for Wannon is one of those who consider the desires of their constituents a good deal. Personally, I have no hesitation in saying that I like the Bombala site, and believe in it.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Which site is the honorable member going to vote for?

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—I believe that Bombala is the best site.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Is the honorable member going to vote for it?

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—I will vote for a district or territory, not a particular site. I have made a careful analysis of the opinions of honorable members, and I know that very few of them are prepared to vote for Bombala. I am not fool enough to throw away my vote. I am not prepared to follow the course which the honorable member for Hume took on a former occasion. I am not going to urge honorable members to vote for Dalgety, while I myself vote for Bombala. I urge them to vote for Monaro district, and leave the selection of the exact site to experts. In this way all selectors of Monaro will stand solidly together. I strongly resent the inference of the honorable and learned member for Wannon; and as for the honorable member for Hume, he should be one of the last to make the insinuation which his question implies. He, himself, on the occasion of the first ballot, voted for Albury, whilst he urged other honorable members to vote for Tumut, deserting one site after another, and afterwards trying to placate the supporters of Tumut by talking vaguely of a railway. An honorable member who pursues such a course should be the last to ask a question. I ask the honorable gentleman now to com-

out from his ambush. I ask him if he is prepared to tell the Committee for which site he intends to vote. I pause for the honorable gentleman's reply. There is no fear that I shall get an answer to that question. This is but an instance of what the honorable member for Hume will try to do. I tell the Committee frankly that I believe Bombala is the best site; but as a large number of honorable members have assured me, in a perfectly straightforward way, that they believe in Dalgety, and will vote for it, while they will not vote for Bombala, I say frankly that when we come to the question of the selection of the exact site, I shall vote for the site in the Monaro district which I think will win.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—Does the honorable member think he ought to do that?

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—The honorable member for Macquarie has done some funny things himself. He was at one time very much concerned as to how he should vote, but I believe he has come to a conclusion on the subject at last. I am free to admit, however, that in little matters of this kind, if we required any one to watch the honorable member for Hume, no one could do it better than the honorable member for Macquarie.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—Has the honorable member made a careful analysis of the voting that is likely to be recorded for Tumut and Tooma?

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—I have been asked a question, and I have had no hesitation whatever in answering it. I should like to know whether there is any other information I can give honorable members. I am acting entirely above board, and I am saying exactly what I think on this matter.

Mr. KENNEDY.—Is that something unusual?

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—It may be the opinion of the honorable member for Moira that it is something unusual for me to say what I think, but if I desired an opinion on that subject I should not go to the honorable member for it. The honorable member usually speaks his mind pretty frankly, and I can well understand why he is not prepared to accept my analysis of his statements. He realizes now that he has had a lot of absurd statements pumped into him by some one else, probably the honorable member for Hume, and he has given them out here like a phono-

graph. The honorable member now wishes to take it out of me, because I have shown that there is nothing in those statements.

Mr. KENNEDY.—I have not stolen the honorable gentleman's leader.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—It is rather hard for the honorable member for Moira to have to renounce the honorable member for Hume, but I can well understand why he should do so when he finds that that honorable gentleman led him astray at the start.

Mr. KENNEDY.—The honorable gentleman never mentioned the subject to me.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—The honorable member for Moira now admits that it would be better that he should not follow the honorable member for Hume in the future. We have heard a great deal of the productiveness of the different sites. When the honorable member for Gippsland quotes certain figures, showing the productiveness of the Monaro district, the honorable members for Hume and Macquarie pooh-poohe the idea of anything growing in that district. They at once stated that what Mr. Coghlan said could not be correct. His statistical records of the wheat and maize grown in the Monaro district are not accepted by the honorable member for Hume.

Mr. WATSON.—In garden plots.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—Garden plots are not troubling the Prime Minister at the present time. There are other plots that are worrying the honorable gentleman.

Mr. ROBINSON.—Preference plots?

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—I have ascertained that one of the mills at Bombala has refused to take any more of the wheat grown in the district because it is blocked up, and we know that there are mills also at Coom and at other towns in the district. I think honorable members should ask why settlers in the Monaro district cannot grow wheat for export, the answer is because they are so far from the railway. I need not give merely my own assertions, or the figures of *Coghlan*. I am prepared to accept the statistics quoted by the honorable member for Gippsland. That honorable member is very careful in submitting figures in this chamber, and I am prepared to accept the figures he has quoted without entering upon an argument with the honorable member for Hume as to whether *Coghlan* had not some reason or other to falsify his statistical register in order to

show that the productiveness of the soil was greater in the Monaro district than in other districts of New South Wales.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—What is the birth rate?

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—I am referring to the productiveness as regards wheat and maize. I know that Bombala and the district around it can hold its own with any of the other districts of New South Wales. I can state as a fact that on the coast below Bombala, and within ten miles of the radius fixed by the Senate, land required for growing maize brought at public competition £100 per acre.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—That is at Bega, on the coast.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—Yes, at Bega; but the honorable member for Hume contended some time ago that the Monaro district could not furnish food supplies for the Federal Capital.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—That is not in the Monaro district.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—I am glad that the honorable member is finding something to which he can take exception. The honorable gentleman would not accept the statistics quoted by the honorable member for Gippsland, nor would he accept *Coghlan's* statistics; and I now ask him why people should give such high prices for land in the district? If the honorable gentleman asks me why they do not give similarly high prices for land in other parts of the Monaro district, the answer is that it is because there is no means of getting the products of the land to market.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Because there is no good land.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—The honorable gentleman may make that bald assertion if it pleases him, but he knows that it is because there is no means of getting the products of the land to market. The honorable gentleman must be aware that on Bibbenluke and Gunningrah there are 100,000 acres which are supposed to be suitable for close settlement, and they are only waiting for a railway to the district. He must be aware that at Nimityhelle, with an elevation of 4,000 feet, the Mount Cooper estate was recently inspected by New South Wales Government experts, who recommended the Government to purchase the estate for purposes of closer settlement.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—It is not fit for closer settlement.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—The honorable gentleman has seen it only when dashing through in a coach, but Government experts, after an inquiry extending over eight or nine days, have decided that it is fit for closer settlement, and have recommended that the New South Wales Government should buy it for that purpose. That is looked upon as one of the poor places in the district. Honorable members may take exception to it, because the value is fixed at £2 10s. per acre. The reason for that again is because there is no railway communication to this land. There are 60,000 acres on Bibbenluke, 40,000 acres on Gunningrah, and 30,000 or 40,000 acres on Maharatta. I can appeal to honorable members, who know as much about country as does the honorable member for Hume, and who were driven out before breakfast to look at these places, to say whether these estates are not suitable for closer settlement. The country is pooh-poohed because a high value is not put upon it, when we know that the reason is that at the present time no one can do anything with the land but graze sheep or cattle there. The honorable member for Moira has stated as one of his own experiences that he took his horses to Monaro, and they could not live on the grass there; that he had to stable-feed them. I can appeal to the honorable members for Grey and Capricornia, who drove from Cooma south for seventy miles, and returned by the same route for twenty miles, when they made a detour of fifty miles to get back to the station, to say whether in that journey they saw any country on which horses could not live. I need not say anything about the record which the Monaro district has for horses. The district is renowned for its horse-breeding establishments, and what object the honorable member for Moira could possibly have in making such an absurd statement I am at a loss to understand.

Mr. KENNEDY.—I have stated hard facts.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—The honorable member can have only one idea in his mind in making such a statement, and that is, to endeavour to persuade honorable members that the country around the Monaro district will not keep horses.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—It is too sour.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—The honorable member for Hume, who has pumped a lot of absurd statements into the honorable member for Moira, says that the country is too sour. I give the honorable member

credit for honesty of purpose, but I can appeal against his opinion to honorable members who know as much about country as he does, and who have been through the Monaro district for over 100 miles.

Mr. POYNTON.—I know that we saw some fine fat bullocks there.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—I appeal to the honorable member for Moira to say what object he could have in making such a statement as he has made.

Mr. KENNEDY.—I have had to live there; the honorable gentleman has not.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—I do not dispute the fact; but I must question anything said by an honorable member who will make so absurd a statement as that to which I have referred. I have no hesitation in saying that there is no honorable member who has visited the Monaro district, no matter how much he may condemn the Monaro sites, or how anxious he may be to secure the selection of a site in another district, who will give any credit to a statement of that kind.

Mr. KENNEDY.—No stock-owner on Riverina will take stock from Riverina to Monaro to thrive. That can be proved.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—All I can say is that the honorable member is welcome to prove it if he can. The honorable member for Moira is usually very careful, but he destroys our confidence in him when he makes a statement of that kind. The honorable member for Grampians knows something about country, and although he has said some unkind things of the Monaro district because he does not like it, and because he favours the Upper Murray site, he would never have asserted that horses would not live in the district.

Mr. KENNEDY.—No stock-owner on Monaro would take stock off Riverina and put them on to Monaro to thrive.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—If that be so, how is it that during the last two years, when we had a drought, nearly all the stock from the Riverina side were brought to the Monaro district? I have figures here to bear that out, if the honorable member cares to see them.

Mr. SPENCE.—I did 300 miles through the district in a fortnight with a pair of horses that were fed on grass all the time.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—It is hardly worth while to answer such statements, but if honorable members will consider the statistics of stock in the Monaro district they will find that during the drought, men on Monaro made nearly the

freehold prices of their land by renting it to people who brought starving stock from the Riverina country. Mr. McCaughey paid thousands of pounds in rent for Monaro country for his stock.

Mr. WATSON.—For country just above Tumut.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—On which side of the mountain were the sheep?

Mr. WATSON.—Mostly on the western side. I saw his stock there, or, at any rate, thousands of them.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—That statement is like the honorable gentleman's story about the unfortunate boy whom he found asleep beside a milk-can. We all know that there is some good country on the Tumut side; but does the Prime Minister say that Mr. McCaughey's stock was not chiefly on the Monaro side?

Mr. WATSON.—I do.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—I am acquainted with most of the men in the Monaro district. I know the size of their runs, and in many cases the rentals which they received. I drove through Mr. McCaughey's sheep, and I say that most of them were in that district. I was not in the Tumut electorate at all. Many men on the Monaro country got nearly as much, and some of them quite as much, for taking starving stock from the plains during the eighteen months' drought, as the freehold of their land could have been purchased for prior to that period.

Mr. WATSON.—In many cases high rents were paid for land on which ordinarily people would not dare to place their sheep.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—When I tried to pin the honorable member for Moira down to his statement about horses, he began to speak of cattle and sheep; and now the Prime Minister has come to his rescue by saying that a good many of Mr. McCaughey's sheep were, during the drought, placed on the Tumut country. I do not dispute that. He had sheep all over the country.

Mr. WATSON.—He had more sheep on the Tumut side than on the Monaro side.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—There were five times as many sheep on the Monaro side as on the Tumut side. It is not that the country is so much better, but that there is so much more of it.

Mr. SKENE.—At Tooma he had five sheep to the acre.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—The honorable member for Gwydir spoke of there

being fifteen sheep to the acre, so that the honorable member for Grampians has come down ten. Perhaps if I commenced to whistle he would make a reasonable statement.

Mr. SKENE.—What I say is true; and the sheep were brought away fat.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN. — I have seen 100 sheep to the acre; but they were in a yard. If the honorable member can gull the honorable member for Maranoa, who has said that he will support the Monaro site, with that sort of garden stuff, his statements may do him some good; but otherwise they cannot be expected to influence any one who knows a miner's right from a homestead lease.

Mr. SKENE.—I spoke from personal experience. There were 15,000 sheep on 3,000 acres.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—The Prime Minister had a brother-in-law in the Monaro district, against whom I have nothing to say, because he was a very good constituent, and voted for me every time; but the honorable gentleman has stated that he is strongly opposed to the selection of the Monaro site, because of a fearful time which his brother-in-law had in a snow-storm.

Mr. SKENE.—Is that where they have churches with chimneys?

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—The honorable member must be mending his ways to know anything about churches at all. The Prime Minister has made a great deal of the statement of his brother-in-law that Monaro is a very cold place.

Mr. WATSON.—At any rate, I have never mentioned it in this chamber.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—The honorable member has mentioned it privately to many.

Mr. WATSON.—Incidentally, I told the honorable member about the occurrence.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—No doubt it is awkward to have these stories raked up again. I hope that the men of the Monaro district, and the men of the Moira district, will hear that the honorable member for Moira has stated that horses will not live on Monaro. Let honorable gentlemen listen to the following statement about Tumut, which appeared in a newspaper dated 3rd February:—

Earth tremors were felt here about 1 o'clock this morning, and some residents assert that they were the most distinct ever experienced. Houses were shaken violently, and apparently some portions of the town were affected more than others. The current travelled south. One distinctly audible

shock, with vibrations and rumblings, lasted over a minute. It was elicited at the Observatory this afternoon that a slight shock had been felt at Adelong at 1.15 this morning. No other stations reported any disturbance.

That paragraph is, in my opinion, a legitimate answer to the story told by the brother-in-law of the Prime Minister. The honorable member for Lang also spoke about the cold. He said that he had had a very cold trip when passing through Nimitybelle one summer's night.

Mr. WATSON.—Yes, and I have also had a very cold drive through Nimitybelle during a summer's night.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—Those are the sort of statements which I have to combat. The Prime Minister wishes it to be inferred that it is distressingly cold in the Monaro country in the middle of summer, and those who believe such extreme statements will, of course, hesitate before going there. I regret that the honorable gentleman should thus go back to his old practices. In many respects it has improved him to have more responsibility and less liberty; but he should not, even as a joke, say that the climate of Monaro is so bad as to be distressingly cold at night in the middle of summer. Such absurd stories are an insult to the intelligence of honorable members. The honorable member for Macquarie also spoke about the cold of the Monaro district; but let him listen to the following paragraph from a newspaper dated 9th June, 1903:—

ORANGE, Monday.—There was a heavy fall of snow this morning, the ground being covered to a depth of three inches. It was much heavier at the Canobolas. Light rain has been falling all day, with a cold westerly wind. There are no indications of the weather clearing, and another snow storm to-night is probable. All holiday sports had to be postponed.

Similar reports came from Blayney, Lithgow, and other places in the district, while the Observatory records show that, on the same day, the weather in Monaro was perfect. I do not seriously contend that therefore the Monaro climate is warmer than the Orange climate. I quote the statement to show the absurdity of some of the statements made by the honorable member. The following article, however, is one to which I think the Committee generally would do well to pay attention:—

It was in some measure unfortunate that the Australian Federation was not cradled in time of war or other great national stress. The easy and comfortable conditions under which the union came to birth—the only difficulty being the petty and undignified one of soothing the squabbling jealousies of various provincialists—deprived the

new nation of much that would have been valuable in forming a character. Australia began federated life too much under hot-house conditions. The evil effects of this have shown themselves on various occasions, but never so conspicuously as in the discussion as to the location of the Federal Capital. From many sides comes a clamour against a "bush capital," and plaintive arguments as to the "discomfort" and "inconvenience" to legislators if the Federal Parliament sits anywhere outside Melbourne or Sydney. In other quarters, whilst there is a grudging acquiescence to the proposal that the Legislature should move away from the flesh-pots of the great cities, there is an eager desire to veto any proposed site which has real or fancied hardships of climate or access. The time has come to remark to those gentlemen of the Federal Parliament who are desirous of staying in one of our great cities, and to those who are so querulously anxious that a site should be chosen with prompt access by Pullman car, and with a soft and complaisant climate, that the whole purpose of the Federation is not to provide comfortable hotel quarters for those who chance now to be its legislators. *The Bulletin* wishes to say this firmly, if a little reluctantly. This paper has never joined in that cheap and nasty adulteration of Radicalism which seeks the favour of the unthinking by belittling the representatives of the people and attacking their so-called "fat salaries" and "enormous perquisites." That is a Tory game to cripple the service of the public so that the public may be the more easily victimised. But, whilst Australia should give the best that it can to its Parliament and Ministers, concession must stop short of keeping back the development of the nation in the interests of the marble bath and the civilized cocktail of the Legislature. So soon as these things can be provided, consistently with the national interests, they should be; the legislator is worthy of his bath and his cocktail. But if the nation needs it, the Legislature should be content with a bullock-dray capital. It must be the nation's interests first and those of the nation's servants second.

It is ridiculous to hear, as one may hear, members of the Federal Parliament arguing that the Bombala site for the Capital—the only truly national site so far proposed—is impossible, because, for a while, members would have to travel some of the distance by coach, and because the climate there is sometimes cold. This is an old woman's attitude. These "dainty affettuosos" who would sacrifice a nation's interests rather than submit to a little jolting or an occasional sharp blast of wind, show themselves in a wholly contemptible light. It is their misfortune, perhaps, rather than their fault, that such paltry ideas should infect their minds. The daily papers, with their draper souls, constantly preach paltriness and cowardice in national affairs, and there has been in Australia of late no stirring deed to rouse the mind from sluggishness. Federation was born in peddling times. The very Capital site location was made matter of degraded huckstering by George Reid. Eureka and the Anti-Transportation movement are far remote from these days, and the spirit aroused by those great outbursts of national feeling has, to a great extent, faded away. Else it would be impossible for an Australian public man to balance against

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the arguments in favour of a truly national Federal Site his personal liability to catch a cold in his nose.

Ignoring the cold-in-the-nose issue, the conditions which a locality must satisfy to make it truly suitable for an Australian Capital may be briefly recapitulated as follows:—

The area must be the sole property of the Federation, and must be sufficiently large to secure for the Australian people all the increments in land values which the building of the Capital will give. An area of 100 square miles would be inadequate even for the building of a city; and it would leave the larger share of land value increments to the private landlords outside the area. Greater Melbourne has an area of 250 square miles, and that area by no means embraces all the land which has largely increased in value by the mere building of the city. If an area of 100 square miles, dedicated for a Federal city were an exact square, and the city were built in its exact middle, it would only be a distance of five miles from the Federal G.P.O. to some private landlord's area. If, as it is more reasonable to suppose, this exact mathematical regularity were not obtainable, it might be only half-a-mile from the Federal city to the outside area where the private landlord annexed the profits.

The area must be of such a character as to permit of a real city arising, with good agricultural lands contiguous, with room and facilities for factories and arsenals. Either an easy coal supply or water power must be available.

A bracing and sturdy climate is desirable. The Federal area should be a nursery for the Federal soldiers and sailors and public servants.

A Federal port is absolutely essential. The present humiliating tribute agreement with Britain cannot be endured for ever. In time the Commonwealth must have its own navy; it will then want its own dockyards and harbor. Further, the Federal Capital should not be surrounded on all sides by the area of any one State, and be dependent solely on that State for its means of communication.

Of the various sites under consideration there is only one that meets all these requirements—the Eden-Bombala area. In view of the necessity for economy—the Commonwealth cannot very well buy up Newcastle and the Hunter River valley—it is probably the only site available in the whole Commonwealth. And it answers to the natural needs in a fashion almost absolutely complete. An area can be secured stretching from an excellent harbor on the coast towards fine, bracing high lands, where might be bred men who could beat Maorilanders at football or steal cattle from Highlander of the 16th century. Railway communication with the great State capitals can be effected without any enormous difficulty. There is a splendid water supply—the only really genuine hall-marked, never-failing Australian river, the Snowy, passes through the land, and water fulfils every requirement, from the generation of electrical power for running factory machinery to the dilution of the politician's whisky, is available. It is fitted, by reason of its cheap water power, to be the greatest and most economical manufacturing site in Australia—water is even cheaper than coal. A harbor suitable for the naval and trade necessities of a Federal Capital is in existence. There need be no cramping of the area resumed, 5,000 square miles, of mostly Crown lands, can be

obtained. On the Eden-Bombala site, in short, the Federation may found a city and a State which will serve every national purpose, and wield a great influence in breaking down those provincial jealousies which are the chief obstacles to the progress of the Union.

Then the *Bulletin* appeals to the Labour Party as follows:—

The *Bulletin* in particular appeals to the Labour Party to stand to the national and patriotic attitude on this great issue. That party has, so far, shown itself the most consistently Federal and Australian of the three organizations in the Parliament; it would be a fitting crown to its work in the first Australian Legislature if it were to stand unitedly for the national, as opposed to the provincial, or the personally selfish, view in the selection of the national capital.

These statements were published in the *Bulletin* of 1st October, 1903, and I think that they afford honorable members plenty of food for reflection. They indicate what we require.

MR. WILKS.—The article reads like a circus poster.

MR. KELLY.—It is absurd.

MR. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—The honorable member for Wentworth and the honorable member for Dalley may think that this is a subject for joking; but I regard it as very serious. I do not suppose that the honorable member for Wentworth will be prepared to go back to his constituents and tell them that the national platform laid down by the *Bulletin* is an absurd one.

MR. KELLY.—Who wrote the article—some authority?

MR. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—The statements I have read are contained in a leading article published in the *Bulletin*, and I dare say the writer is as good an authority as is the honorable member for Wentworth, with all his cocksureness and his great political experience. No matter who the writer may be, he has presented hard facts, which cannot be gainsaid. Now, I desire to deal with the claims of some of the other sites, which have been put forward. The honorable member for Macquarie does not care about the *Bulletin* statement, but I would ask him to follow me whilst I refer to Mr. Pridham's report. The honorable member has asserted that Mr. Wade's report, upon which he relied, was based on Mr. Pridham's figures. I have just as high an opinion of Mr. Wade as has the honorable member for Macquarie, but I took exception to his being called upon to give evidence as a special advocate of a particular site, unless we also obtained the tes-

timony of Mr. Pridham and other officers of high standing. Now I shall refer to some of the figures contained in Mr. Pridham's report, which was presented to this House in May, 1904. The right honorable member for Swan in his report says—

None of the creeks I saw were running when I visited Lyndhurst on 5th April. The Belubla River was dry at Carcoar, the Mandurama, the Grubbenbong, and the Coombing Creeks were also all dry. It must, therefore, be clearly understood that should the Capital be established at Lyndhurst, the water supply must be obtained by conservation, and not from perennial streams. The principal water-course—the Belubla River—is not perennial, and runs through an inhabited country, including the towns of Blayney and Carcoar. It is, therefore, under existing conditions, out of the question for a pure water supply. The proposals to obtain from conservation by placing dams across four separate water-courses, viz., Coombing Creek, Flyer's Creek, Cadiangullong Creek, and Brown's Creek, sufficient water for a population of 89,000, and when the population increases beyond that number to pump water twenty-two miles from a large storage reservoir in the Lachlan River, does not seem to mark out this site, so far as water supply is concerned, as one amply favoured by nature for the Seat of Government of Australia. The enormous cost of this water supply (*vide* Mr. Pridham's report, herewith, marked Appendix B), namely, £2,728,030, is, in my opinion, a serious handicap to this site.

We gather from this that an outlay of nearly £3,000,000 would be involved in providing an adequate water supply at Lyndhurst, and it remains for the honorable member for Macquarie to show us that such an expenditure would be justified. The right honorable member for Swan says further—

As there is no perennial stream near Lyndhurst, there is no reasonable possibility of generating electricity to any large extent by water power. Mr. Pridham's report, herewith, Appendix B, paragraph 5, shows that no adequate power would be forthcoming from the Lachlan River; this factor may, therefore, be considered as practically non-existent.

There is the statement of Mr. Pridham, together with the cold analysis of the right honorable member for Swan, which speaks for itself. I ask why an endeavour should now be made to ram down our throats a supplementary report by Mr. Wade? Mr. Pridham is a tried and trusted official, who is supposed to be the best authority on water-power in the Commonwealth. The honorable member for Macquarie knows that there are no running streams in the Lyndhurst district, and that the statement recently made by the honorable member for Maranoa in regard to the inadequacy of the water supply there was perfectly correct. We have had glowing descriptions of the possibilities of conserving water at such places as Orange,

Albury, Bathurst, and Goulburn. The New South Wales Government provided the money for carrying out some of these schemes, and yet during the dry summer of eighteen months ago the inhabitants of the town of Orange were placed upon a half supply, whilst at Bathurst they were driving tunnels, with a view to obtaining additional supplies of water.

Mr. DAVID THOMSON.—They have been doing that for years.

Mr. PAGE.—The water is highly mineralized.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—Exactly. The honorable member for Macquarie has stated that there is copper to be found all over the district. It is for him to explain how the difficulties which now present themselves are to be overcome. To my mind it is unfair to cast an aspersion upon Mr. Pridham. He tells us that the cost of providing an adequate water supply at Lyndhurst would be over £2,000,000.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—Read his full statement.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—I have not his full report before me.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—It does not suit the honorable member's purpose to read it.

The CHAIRMAN.—Order! I would point out that standing order 280 expressly forbids interruptions, and also lays it down that every honorable member addressing the Chair has a right to make his speech in his own way.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I admit that I have infringed the rules of the House, and I am very sorry for having done so. At the same time I should like to point out that when I was speaking the honorable member did not hesitate to ask me a number of questions, which I answered in the most civil way.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—Mr. Pridham gives the following details in reference to supplying Lyndhurst with water for a further population of 90,000 by pumping by steam from the Lachlan:—Estimated cost of works (one-tenth cost of dam, pipe line, pumping, machinery, &c.), £581,200; estimated annual cost of pumping 9,000,000 gallons per day, 1,600 feet, at 3d. per 1,000 gallons, 100 feet high, £65,696, which, capitalized at 4 per cent., means £1,642,400; maintenance of main, capitalized at 4 per cent., £9,250; total, £2,232,850.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—That result is obtained by capitalizing the working expenses.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—Exactly. Water will not run up hill a distance of 100 feet. If we selected the Lyndhurst site it would be absolutely necessary to make provision for a pumping scheme, unless we were prepared to depend upon a system of driving and tunnelling for water. The honorable member for Macquarie has cleverly endeavoured to delude honorable members. Personally, I am content to let them decide this matter for themselves. The honorable member has stated that at Lyndhurst a supply of 135,000,000 gallons per day could be utilized for purposes of irrigation. I really think that the honorable member has made a mistake.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—They are not my figures, but those of Mr. Wade.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—Mr. Wade has just returned from America, where he has been reporting upon the Mississippi, and I think that the honorable member for Macquarie has mixed up the two reports. Is it not absurd for the honorable member to contend that while Orange, which contains a population of a couple of thousand, had to be put upon half supply last summer, Lyndhurst could be provided with 135,000,000 gallons per day?

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—Of what river is the honorable member talking?

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—There is no river there. In the first instance the honorable member relied upon the Macquarie River, but when all the punts there got stuck up he fell back upon the Lachlan. I look upon his statements as absurd. He cannot explain away Mr. Pridham's figures. This is not an Age story, but Mr. Pridham's story. I think that upon this matter the Committee will prefer to accept the opinions of disinterested men who have no axe to grind, rather than the assertions of the honorable member. To make statements which they could not prove, would be worth more than their reputations. That is why I was anxious that Mr. Wade should be heard at the bar of the House. There is no running stream at Lyndhurst, and there is no chance of obtaining an efficient water supply there. To attempt to make honorable members believe that water would be cheap at so much per gallon is utterly ridiculous. Any such argument must necessarily be based upon the assumption that all the water which falls during a great storm can be conserved and sold. In conclusion, I wish to say that I am content to allow the Eden-Monaro site to stand

for itself. That district has held its own unaided by the daily press. With the exception of the *Adelaide Advertiser*, and the *Launceston Telegraph*, which supports the selection of a national site at Bombala, it has received no assistance from the daily newspapers. It is true that it has had the powerful support of the *Sydney Bulletin*.

Mr. WILKS.—In the early days it had the support of the *Sydney Morning Herald*.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—That is so, but that organ has since withdrawn its support. No doubt the advocacy of its claims by the *Bulletin* has been of great assistance to it. No matter how impartial we may desire to be—no matter how careful we may be in making any statement in regard to a site which we favour—there can be no doubt that in regard to any site which is in his own electorate, or in close proximity to it, an honorable member is inclined to think what he hopes, and cannot be classed as free from prejudice. But the great majority of honorable members representing other States, and those possessing expert knowledge, are in favour of Monaro, and have supported it from the first. What is the position taken up by the Senate? That is a States' rights House, and it seems to me that it is a good thing that we have such a Chamber. When listening to the debate on this question one would be inclined to imagine that there were only two States to be considered. Tasmania is rarely mentioned, unless one of its representatives rises to protest that it should not be left out of consideration, and we hear very little about Queensland in the course of these acrimonious discussions. The whole question seems to be New South Wales versus Victoria.

Mr. FISHER.—New South Wales against New South Wales.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN. — Many men would imagine from the debate that there was no Golden Mile, no Coolgardie, no great State of Queensland, and no State of South Australia to be considered by us in making a selection, and, in these circumstances, it is well that we have a States House. One is prone to think that the members of another place should be more likely to be free from local prejudices than are honorable members of this House, who come into very much closer contact with those directly interested in the various sites, and the fact that the Senate has from the first supported the selection of the Monaro

district should carry some weight. The great majority of honorable members representing other States also support that district, and, unlike the honorable member for Hume, the honorable member for Macquarie and myself, they cannot be accused of having an axé to grind. This should be an indication that the Monaro district has much to recommend its selection. Another point is that the majority of honorable members, who have inspected the various sites, are in favour of the Monaro district, although I have yet to learn that those who have made a personal inspection are better qualified to determine this question than are those who have not done so. An honorable member may say, "I have seen such and such a site, and I think that it should be selected," but, after all, many questions associated with the selection of a site can be dealt with only by experts. Experts must furnish us with information which they are specially qualified to give, and it is for the clever men in the House to dissect their reports, to analyze them, and to determine, on the information before them, which of the sites dealt with possesses, in the most marked degree, the main essentials for a Federal Capital. It is for this reason that I do not lay any special stress on the fact that the majority of those who have inspected the several sites suggested are in favour of the Monaro district. An important point in favour of the Monaro district is that it will be connected, sooner or later, with a main line of railway. No one would be so foolish as to suggest that the Prime Minister is in favour of the expenditure of an enormous sum in the establishment of a bush Capital. No one would accuse him of proposing to immediately spend millions on securing railway communication and an adequate water supply for the Capital; but as the city grows, various estimates of expenditure will be submitted to our consideration, and we shall gradually provide all that is necessary. Dalgety could be connected with the railway system of New South Wales at a cost not exceeding £100,000, while Bombala could be connected with it at a cost of about £200,000; for many years, little or no expenditure would be necessary in order to secure a pure water supply. Men have secured a supply that would be sufficient for all requirements from the Snowy River, by means of a miners' race, their only capital being their pluck and their faith in the

ground to which they have carried it. We have the evidence of the Chief Victorian Railway Commissioner that a line will have to be constructed from Bairnsdale *via* Orbost for State purposes alone, and there can be no doubt that Bombala will be connected by-and-by with Eden. If the Capital be established in this district, those who travel to it oversea, *via* Eden, will have a chance to enter it through the Federal gateway. That is a very important factor. By means of a railway it will have its own gateway to the sea. We may pooh-pooh the suggestion at the present time that there is likely to be any trouble between the Commonwealth and the State, but any one who has given this question serious consideration must recognise that there is a possibility of friction, and that it is therefore desirable that the catchment area of our water supply should be within Federal territory, and that there should be an entrance to the Capital from two States. Monaro has its own water-shed, and its great expansibility is also a great factor in favour of its selection. In the Monaro district we have a State in itself—a territory which has never been developed, but is capable of vast improvement. If we select this district, we shall hear the school-bells tingling where to-day the sheep bells ring, and with a railway bringing a market to our door, we shall have many happy families and homes, where to-day there are but a few boundary riders' huts. That is a point which we have to consider. We must have a good climate, a reasonable water supply, and the opportunity for great development, so that as the city grows, and the people desire more room there will be ample scope for expansion. With these essentials the Capital will become the centre of a great population and the home of a great people. We should select a site that will not be on the verge of inferior country. We do not wish to select a site merely because it is a beautiful spot that can never become anything more than a glorified village. The climate of the Monaro district speaks for itself; the records of the temperature are open for inspection. It has been said that the cold is more intense in Monaro than in any other part of New South Wales; but it has a bracing climate, cold frosts, days of sunshine, and nights of brilliance unknown in foggy regions with their forbidding desolate chills. There is no damp chilly atmosphere in Monaro, and we ought to hesitate

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before we pass by such a district. I would point out that many honorable members visited it not in mid-summer when everything is beautiful, but during the coldest months of the year, when they could not see Monaro at its best. That fact should be borne in mind when we are dealing with this question. Should we not ask ourselves whether the Federal Capital is not likely to develop into a great sanatorium if a suitable site be selected? Every visitor to Australia will journey to the Federal Capital to see what it is like, and if it possesses a bracing climate, and is surrounded by beautiful scenery, magnificent caves, sparkling waterfalls, and snow-capped mountain ranges—if it be a district in which to spend a pleasant holiday—it is likely to attract a large population. It is extremely probable that the Parliament will meet in the summer months, so that honorable members will practically go for a change of air to the Federal Capital. Honorable members who are in good health are likely to do much better work in a district where the climate is good and the air is bracing than in one in which the atmosphere is as humid as is that of many of the big cities of Australia. The fact that the Monaro district has so fine a climate is an argument in favour of its selection. Its scenery is magnificent. Some of the finest caves in Australia are to be found there; Kosciusko is in sight, the great Snowy River flows through the territory, and the snow-capped hills are to be seen in the distance. The allegation as to extreme weather on the Monaro may be answered in many ways. The other day I wrote asking for how many days the schools at Dalgety and Berridale had been closed on account of bad weather, because I regard that as a very good test of the climate. The reply I received shows that the school at Berridale, which is a little township near the Snowy River, between Dalgety and Cooma, had never been closed one day on this account. Dalgety is a small hamlet, to which children have to come, perhaps, five or six miles, and on wet days some no doubt are kept at home. If only two or three children attend, school may be closed; but I find that during the past fourteen years this has happened only on two occasions. Similar facts may be related of Bombala, where, some honorable members assert, the climate is worse than in other parts of the Monaro. I think honorable members are satisfied that the Commission would not, without foundation, have reported on what they term the "inexhaustible

forests" of the Monaro; and there is not the slightest doubt that in the area may be found some of the finest timber in Australia. That report, coupled with the fact that there are three saw-mills at work at the present time, renders quite absurd the statement that there is no timber. No doubt there are rolling plains without timber, but so there are in Queensland and other States, and I have yet to learn that such country is avoided as worthless. We have to consider how products and merchandise can be conveyed to and from the Capital. I hope that the Federal city, especially when water power can be obtained, will become a great manufacturing centre, and, that being so, the cost of freight must be taken into account. Other things being equal, ought we to select a place like Lyndhurst, which would mean a tremendous train haulage over mountains, or a place like Tooma, which would mean railway carriage of 400 or 500 miles? Or, should we select a place within fifty or sixty miles of a good port? Water carriage, as we all know, is cheaper than railway carriage everywhere.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—It would cost £1,656,263 to build a railway from Cooma to the port of Eden.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—At any rate, I simply put this suggestion forward as worthy of consideration. I am not endeavouring to ram my convictions down the throats of honorable members. I am not making bald statements; I am merely putting forward facts which may have been overlooked. By spending millions, Lyndhurst could no doubt be provided with that water on which I lay so much stress. In Western Australia, the dry, arid country around Kalgoorlie reminded me very much of Lyndhurst; and yet the right honorable member for Swan, when Premier of that State, conveyed water over a distance greater than that between the Snowy River and the site which the honorable member for Macquarie advocates. Therefore, if Lyndhurst were selected, the matter of a water supply might be an objection, though not a fatal one. A water supply can be obtained from the Snowy River by the expenditure of millions, though such an expenditure cannot, of course, create good country, and it would be very difficult to justify the cost.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—Would the heights permit the flow?

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—I hardly think the heights would; at any rate, the expenditure of money would provide a water supply. The Eden-Monaro site would be close to our own sea-gate; and as to the statement that Twofold Bay would not make a good harbor, I should like to read the following quotations from Mr. Oliver's report, to which I have previously referred:—

Dropping the part of critic with pleasure for a more congenial rôle, I may, perhaps, be permitted to point out that, without surrendering just claims to favorable consideration in respect of features such as climate, fertility of soil, and building materials, Southern Monaro holds an exceptional, and, indeed, an unique position in respect of—

1. A Federal harbor in Twofold Bay. This means access by sea for passengers and goods from all States of the Australian Union by the Commonwealth's own port. At a cost, now calculated by the Hydrographic Officer of the Public Works Department at £150,000, for a breakwater half-a-mile in length, and two jetties to cost £30,000 each, this harbor will be as secure an anchorage as Port Jackson. In the future it will be capable of being an effective naval base.

2. Federal railways from the port of Twofold Bay to the Capital, and from the Capital to Cooma. These would be Federally owned and worked, and thus all friction with State-owned railways would be avoided.

In the same report Mr. Halligan, New South Wales Government Hydrographer, writes as follows:—

In accordance with instructions received from the principal Engineer for Harbors and Rivers, in response to a request from you that an officer should be sent to Eden to report on various matters concerning the establishment of a Federal port at Twofold Bay, I beg to report having visited Eden on the 22nd ultimo, and returned to Sydney on the 4th inst.

During this time I made a careful examination of Twofold Bay and the surrounding district, to enable me to express opinion—

- 1st. As to the necessity for improving the existing harbor accommodation;
- 2nd. The best position for a breakwater (if necessary);
- 3rd. The quality and amount of stone available for harbor works and town buildings, &c.;
- 4th. The disposition, lengths, and sizes of wharfs, docks, &c.;
- 5th. The best position of a town, having regard to drainage, water supply, &c.;
- 6th. The quality and amount of timber, clay, &c., available for buildings; and
- 7th. The best means of supplying the new town with water.

It is difficult to understand how the existing township of Eden came to be placed in its present position. Weecoon Bay, or Snug Cove, is shallow and small, and is not protected from the south-east gales, or the prevailing south and south-west winds; the access to the wharf from the town is bad, and must remain so; the majority of the houses in the town are exposed to

every wind that blows, and the steepness of the ground makes the site about the worst that could be chosen for a town. The difficulty, if not the impossibility, of finding a suitable site for a railway station, is also a serious objection to the adoption of Eden as the site of a future town. A much more favorable site exists at the south-east corner of the bay, known as East Boyd. This part of Twofold Bay is sheltered from all but the north-east winds, which do not raise the same amount of sea as a southerly or south-east wind of equal strength, for reasons which it is not, perhaps, necessary to state here. My own observations go to prove that, with a light south-east swell coming into Twofold Bay, there was much less range at East Boyd than at the wharf at Eden, and the pilot and others informed me that this was the case in all weathers, except, of course, when a "black north-easter" was blowing.

On account of the sudden alteration in the trend of the coast at Gabo Island, the north-east winds which prevail on the coast of New South Wales during the summer months, are changed to S.S.E., south, and S.S.W. winds on the Victorian coast, and the small strip of coast between Gabo and Twofold Bay is a neutral zone, in which the north-east winds do not blow with the same regularity as they do further north. Still there are times when they attain considerable strength, and in order to afford protection from them, and to deflect the south-east swell, I propose to run a breakwater in the position shown by blue lines on the attached helio. Its length need not exceed 2,640 feet ($\frac{1}{2}$ mile), and at the outer end there is 9 fathoms of water. With a breakwater 15 feet wide on top, and 16 above high water, with inner slope $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 1, and outer slope $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 1, the cost would be £150,000, and it would insure protection in all weathers over an area of '8 of a square mile with a depth of over 4 fathoms. This area could be increased, if necessary, by the construction of training walls, and by dredging, as shown by blue lines on helio, to $1\frac{1}{2}$ square miles.

He goes on to show how this tremendous area might be increased. He deals with the timber supply for engineering purposes, and shows that there are great forests in the immediate vicinity. But I am dealing particularly with the bay, and with the benefits that must accrue to the Federal Capital if built in the proximity of a great harbor. Sooner or later these breakwaters must be constructed, and the harbor will be made perfectly safe. It must become a great naval base. Being situated half way between Melbourne and Sydney, it will have to be fortified at some time. Are there not great inducements for us to fix the Capital at a place like that? No doubt the construction of a railway would be costly. It might even amount to £8,000 or £10,000 a mile. But sooner or later that line will have to be built. We do not expect all these things to be done at once. It is idle to suppose that the whole of the cost of erecting the Federal Capital will

be saddled upon the early years of Federation. I look at this matter from several stand-points. Naturally, as a New South Wales member, I pay great attention to it from the stand-point of the interest of that State. New South Wales is anxious to have the question settled. How can we best arrive at a settlement? The honorable member for Perth told the Committee that he intended to change his vote from Monaro to Tooma, because he knew that that would mean delay. Perhaps there will be some delay, but not much. We certainly want further information before we can think of choosing the Tooma site. The honorable member for Wentworth showed from the estimate from which he quoted that the railway to Tooma on the Victorian side alone would cost at least £500,000. On the New South Wales side there is a great distance to cover, and it is doubtful whether it is practicable to connect the site with Sydney unless we come down to Germanton and make such a wide detour as would be absurd. We have to consider what inducement the Commonwealth has to offer to New South Wales to build that railway to the border. There is a feeling that a great injustice will be done to New South Wales if Tooma is selected. There will undoubtedly be great turmoil and trouble about it. There will also be great dissatisfaction if there is protracted delay. On the other hand, we know that Lyndhurst is not likely to be accepted by the Senate, which has an equal right with this House to express its opinion with regard to the selection of the Capital. It certainly would be a very difficult matter, indeed, to induce the Senate to come round to that way of thinking. But if we select the Monaro site, there will be no delay whatever. Beautiful as the Upper Murray site may be, and eligible as it may be, its selection is likely to cause not only months, but years, of delay. It will stir up all the old provincial feeling in New South Wales. We have had full information with regard to only three districts, those of Lyndhurst, Tumut, and Monaro. Of those three only two are now in the running. Tumut is dead, so far as this House is concerned. Of the two districts which are left, and about which we have full information, the Monaro is the only one the selection of which would lead to an immediate settlement of the question. I do not wish to delay the Committee longer. I thank honorable

Mr. Austin Chapman.

members for having listened to me so patiently. I do not very often take up their time, and the importance of the question must be my excuse for having occupied more time than I intended. I have not tried to decry other sites. I have simply pointed to hard facts. I have been asked by the honorable member for Hume which site I intend to vote for. I presume that he has asked that question to try to put me in an awkward corner with regard to my constituents. I have no hesitation in giving an answer. I do not admire the spirit that prompts the question, but I will reply frankly and honestly. I believe that Bombala is the best site, though it will cost more money to bring the Snowy River water there than to Dalgety by gravitation. But sufficient water can be brought from the Delegate River by going higher up for the offtake. I recognise that the best land is around Bombala. I am a great believer in territory. We want a large territory. We cannot think of putting the unearned increment into the pockets of a few private land-holders. I have told the land-holders in my electorate that they will not get a pound more than they are entitled to out of the Commonwealth Government if I can help it. If we were going into this matter as a private speculator, should we not take a large area so as to secure the unearned increment? Why should we not get some recompense for the money which we have to spend? I have yet to learn that those who are in favour of the Commonwealth taking a small area have the support of the people of New South Wales. I am prepared to fight that battle in any electorate in the State. When the question is put to the people, "Are you prepared to put the unearned increment into the pockets of the land-holders or into the coffers of the Commonwealth?" there can be but one answer. Consequently I have no fear as regards the proposal put forward by the present Government. I hope that whenever the selection is made, the Government will see that the area required is sufficient to enable us to recompense ourselves, and in time to get back more than the establishment of the Capital will cost—sufficient, in fact, to provide a source of considerable income to the Commonwealth. I have said that I believe Bombala to be the better of the two sites mentioned in the Monaro district. Although I hold that the selection of the actual site is a matter which must be left to experts, I am in

favour generally of taking the territory defined by the Senate, with the exception that I think there is no necessity to go right into Pambula, and the rich country where the settlements are. They might be avoided by skirting the mountain range, and then striking down to the coast. We might also go a little further west to take in the full catchment area of the snow country, which is of very little value. If that were done, we should have a reasonable area of 5,000 or 6,000 square miles, on which there is very little settlement at the present time, which is of very little value to New South Wales, and from which that State is now obtaining very little revenue. Settlers are paying a few pounds a year for areas of 20,000 acres in what is called the "snow country," which would be valuable as a part of the catchment area, if required for the Federal Capital. The real reason why there is so very little settlement in the district is the want of railway communication. I recently drove about thirty-five miles from Bombala to Bungarbay, and passed through two or three houses on big stations. They said to me that the town was quiet, and I replied that I wondered it was not dead. Until people are given an opportunity of getting access to these lands, we cannot expect to have settlement in the district.

Mr. SPENCE.—The Senate did not recommend that we should take over the whole of the area to which the honorable gentleman has referred.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—They have recommended that we should take over a great portion of it. I have carefully analyzed the votes likely to be recorded. I am satisfied that a majority of honorable members will vote for Dalgety rather than for Bombala. I think we should select the district, and leave the exact site for experts to decide; but I am prepared to bow to numbers. I am not prepared to prejudice the interests of my district because a majority of honorable members are not of my opinion. I still maintain, however, that we should take a fairly large territory, and allow experts to select the actual site of the Federal city after close investigation. That is the only way in which we can arrive at a proper conclusion. Above all things I hope that we shall now arrive at some conclusion which will settle this question. Honorable members must give and take, and agree to compromise in this matter. If they cannot get their first choice, they must

fall back upon their second. I repeat that I regret that we are about to take a vote in such a way that a district favoured by only a minority of honorable members may score a win. I would again urge, if it were possible, that Mr. Speaker and two other honorable members should be appointed to look carefully into some scheme which would result in the pitting of one district against another, so that the site favoured by an absolute majority might win. Strongly as I hold that the Monaro sites are the best, I have no desire to win by any unfair tactics, or unless there is a majority of the Federal Parliament in favour of one of those sites. I say that we should gravely consider the Bill as it has come down to us from another place, embodying practically the unanimous opinion of men who come not only from New South Wales or Victoria, but also from the great State of Queensland, from Tasmania, Western Australia, and South Australia, men who have no personal interest to serve, and who cannot be biased to the extent that honorable members of this Committee may be biased in thinking what they hope. I trust that we shall now select the site of the Federal city, and select it in the best place in Australia for the purpose. I hope that in a very short period of time we shall be enabled to get there, and that we shall start, as I understand the Government propose, in a very small way, so that the Parliament House, public buildings, parks, streets, roads, and water supply will grow gradually with the requirements and necessities of the place. Let us establish the city in a good spot, I say, in Southern Monaro, and if we do I am satisfied that future generations will recognise that we have decided upon the best spot in Australia for the purpose, and one of which we can always be proud.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE (Hume).—More in explanation than anything else, I desire to say a few words bearing upon the long speech just delivered by the honorable member for Eden-Monaro, in which the honorable gentleman has scattered about a great many statements. The honorable gentleman has said that I made an attack upon the late Mr. Oliver. He told me beforehand, privately, that he intended to make those remarks, and I told him that such a statement was not true or fair, because what I said last night, in reference to the late Mr. Oliver, was but a repetition of what I said last

session. All I said was that I regretted that Mr. Oliver had issued his second report, which appeared to me to be a petulant criticism upon the report of the Commission.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—*De mortuis nisi bonum.*

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—It is not my intention to say anything ill, but I have no desire that what I have said should be wrongly interpreted. I also said I did not think that the late Mr. Oliver would have written the second report had he at the time enjoyed the robust health which I knew him to possess for the greater part of the time during which I was acquainted with him. The general comment at the time was that it was rather a scolding report. I thought that the late Mr. Oliver had been very unwise in writing it, and that is what I said last night. I made no attack upon that gentleman, whom I held in the highest respect. I should not have selected him to make the first investigation of the sites suggested for the Federal Capital if I had not had a very high opinion of him. In regard to the other statement made by the honorable member for Eden-Monaro that I had accused the late Mr. Oliver of having made mistakes what I said was that he had not gone to the heads of Departments to obtain the best officers to assist him. I said that he had taken certain officers who, I was told by the heads of the Departments, were not the best for the purpose, and in consequence of his not having secured the assistance of the best officers, recommendations were made to him which caused him to fall into error. I do not think that one word which I uttered can be construed into an attack upon the late Mr. Oliver, whom I knew for twenty-five years, and whom I held in the highest esteem until the day of his death. But in issuing his second report he made a mistake; I regretted it at the time. I said so last night, and I say so again now. There can be no doubt whatever that, so far as his lights went, and on the information placed before him, the first report submitted by the late Mr. Oliver was a very able document. I wish now merely to deny the accusation that I made any attack upon him, as I should not think of doing anything of the kind.

Mr. KENNEDY (Moir).—I have one remark to make with reference to the criticism passed by the honorable member for Eden-Monaro upon my speech. The

first statement was that the country in and around Dalgety was forest country. In the course of my remarks I quoted from the Commissioners' report, which, I said, confirmed my own observation—which confirmed my personal observation of twenty years ago. I will repeat the quotation which I made from the Commissioners' report in regard to the situation of the Dalgety site—

The greater part of the area consists of undulating treeless country, of similar character to much of the Monaro plains. . . . The appearance of the site, which, even on the river banks, is almost entirely destitute of timber, does not suggest the idea that parks and gardens will flourish.

With regard to the productiveness of the soil, I would again quote the Commissioners—

Some witnesses thought that the district within a radius of fifty miles of the site could produce all the foodstuffs necessary for a city of 50,000 inhabitants, but others were of opinion that a wider area would have to be drawn on, at least during the winter months, in which view we are disposed to concur.

Those passages of the report bear out the conviction which I hold as the result of personal knowledge of this granite country. The honorable member for Eden-Monaro said that my statement that horses have to be hand-fed there is absurd; but I repeat it as absolutely true in every particular. No sane stockholder in Monaro to-day would buy stock bred in the Riverina district, and attempt to keep it in the Monaro country all through the year. It is true that stock, and particularly young stock, are, in summer time, taken from the Riverina district and western New South Wales to the hill country; but no sane man in the Monaro country would buy Riverina stock to fatten there.

Mr. BROWN.—No Riverina man would leave his stock on the Monaro country all the year round.

Mr. KENNEDY.—No. I also stated that, in November, I took horses bred in Riverina to the Monaro country, and that, in order to keep them in condition, I had to hand-feed them. I believe that that would be the experience of any man taking horses from Riverina to Monaro at any time of the year, except in the middle of summer, which means practically in the months of January and February.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—Where was the animal bred upon which "the man from Snowy River" rode?

Mr. KENNEDY.—It is too late to go into that question now, but I think that I am justified in showing that my statements, which have been challenged, relate what are purely hard facts.

Mr. SPENCE.—Do not the sheep get foot-rot up there?

Mr. KENNEDY.—No. So far as I am aware, there is very little foot-rot in that country.

Mr. BROWN (Canobolas).—I understand that there are still several honorable members who wish to speak, and I have also something to say upon this very important question, so that I think that the Minister of Home Affairs would do well to grant an adjournment.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH (Macquarie).—I support the honorable member's request for an adjournment. I know that he is prepared with a lot of valuable information which will be of interest to honorable members, and will show that the honorable member for Eden-Monaro must have taken up the wrong report when he submitted certain figures to this Committee. The honorable member for Eden-Monaro, however, had the manliness to say for which site he will vote, whereas the honorable member for Hume seeks to induce other honorable members to vote for the southern district, and when they have done so they will find that he has simply used them to obtain support, not for the Tooma site, but for the site to which he previously owed allegiance. The Committee will also receive some information regarding some interesting speeches made by him on former occasions when this matter was under discussion. I shall not detain honorable members further than is necessary to show that the honorable member for Eden-Monaro misled the Committee by stating that the capital cost of the additional water supply at Lyndhurst would be about £2,000,000.

Mr. FISHER.—He said that if the working expenses were capitalized it would amount to that.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—He made that explanation only after his first statement was questioned. I have shown that Mr. Wade's figures are practically the same as those of Mr. Pridham. To supply 50,000 people, the Lyndhurst gravitation scheme would cost about £427,000, and the Bombala pumping scheme £617,000. The capital cost of the scheme reported on by Mr. Wade is only about £600,000, instead of £2,000,000, as the honorable member

for Eden-Monaro stated. It must be remembered that the people to whom the water is supplied will pay for it, just as the inhabitants of Sydney and Melbourne pay for their water. If a man were thinking of going into a business the working expenses of which were £10,000 a year, while the return was expected to be £20,000 a year, he would not capitalize the former in order to ascertain what the speculation would cost him. I shall not detain the Committee any further, but shall leave the honorable member for Canobolas to deal with the honorable member for Eden-Monaro.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS (South Sydney).—The honorable member for Eden-Monaro, in his eloquent advocacy of the site which he favours, has passed strictures on a number of honorable members, and has referred to the few remarks which I made with regard to Twofold Bay as quite absurd and extravagant. My contention was that Twofold Bay is not a port in the sense in which the honorable member refers to it. The soundings on the chart show clearly that there is only a narrow channel through the Bay, and that an enormous expenditure would be required to make anything like a port. Three-quarters of a century ago a well-known man, named Ben Boyd, wrecked the whole of his fortune and those of many of his friends in his efforts to make Twofold Bay a rival to Sydney. All his efforts resulted in lamentable failure. When I recently paid a visit to Twofold Bay I made a sporting offer for a billiard table which had been set up by Ben Boyd in the expectation that Twofold Bay would become an important shipping centre. It can however, never be anything of the kind. The honorable member for Eden-Monaro has pinned his faith to Dalgety, and he was not called upon to go out of his way to make statements with regard to Bombala, which cannot be substantiated. It is an effort to get the credit of his opinion respecting Bombala and the credit of his vote for Dalgety.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—Twofold Bay is now called "Boyd's folly."

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—Exactly. It is a historic fact that Twofold Bay stands condemned as a port, and that nothing could be made of it except by the expenditure of a very much larger sum than the Commonwealth will ever be prepared to devote to such an undertaking.

Mr. BATCHELOR (Boothby—Minister of Home Affairs).—I would direct the attention of honorable members to the fact that we have been debating the Federal Capital sites for five days, and that we have been occupied for thirty hours in the present discussion. Whilst the Government desire to give every opportunity for full and free discussion, we must bring the session to a close at some time or other, and it will be necessary to conclude the debate before our labours for the session are ended. I would, therefore, ask honorable members to assist the Government in closing the debate if possible to-morrow. If we can do this, it will not be necessary to ask honorable members to attend on Friday, and then we could take a vote without further discussion on Tuesday next. I would ask honorable members to assist the Government in keeping a House to-morrow in order to bring the discussion to an end.

Progress reported.

House adjourned at 11.16 p.m.

House of Representatives.

Thursday, 4 August, 1904.

Mr. SPEAKER took the chair at 2.30 p.m., and read prayers.

PETITIONS.

Mr. DEAKIN presented a petition from the Women's Christian Temperance Union of Australasia, praying the House to prohibit the introduction, sale, and manufacture of intoxicating liquors in British New Guinea.

Petition received and read.

Mr. CARPENTER presented a similar petition from the Women's Christian Temperance Union of Western Australia.

Mr. JOHNSON presented a similar petition from the Women's Christian Temperance Union of Queensland.

Mr. MCWILLIAMS presented a similar petition from the Women's Christian Temperance Union of Tasmania.

Petitions received.

VICTORIAN LETTER-CARRIERS.

Mr. MAUGER asked the Treasurer, *upon notice*—

1. Is it a fact that the letter-carriers of Victoria were paid a salary at the rate of £112 per annum for the month ending 31st of July?

2. Are they not entitled to receive a salary at the rate of £150 per annum, equivalent to £12 10s. per month—in accordance with the decision of the High Court of Australia in the action of *Bond v. The King*, which provided payment of a certain salary in accordance with State legislation, and which was deemed by the Court to be a right and privilege in accordance with the Constitution Act?

3. If not, what are the reasons?

Mr. WATSON.—The following replies have been furnished by the Public Service Commissioner:—

1. A number of the letter-carriers were paid at the rate named.

2 and 3. No; pending the adoption of the re-classification scheme, these officers have been paid for July at the rate of £132 per annum only, which was the maximum rate allowed under the Victorian State regulations. The balance due at the rate fixed by the new classification will be paid when the Appropriation Act has been passed.

MEDICINE CHESTS: PORT DARWIN TELEGRAPH LINE.

Sir LANGDON BONYTHON asked the Postmaster-General, *upon notice*—

1. Are medicine chests supplied to the outlying stations on the Port Darwin telegraph line, as was the case when the line was under the control of the South Australian Government?

2. If not, why were they withdrawn?

Mr. MAHON.—The answer to the honorable member's questions is as follows:—

Yes, except at Port Darwin and Pine Creek, where medical services can be obtained.

NAVY AND ARMY RATIONS.

Mr. CROUCH asked the Prime Minister, *upon notice*—

1. What amounts do the Government pay for rations daily per head in—

(a) The Navy, at Port Melbourne.

(b) The R.A.A., at Queenscliff.

(c) The R.A.A., at Melbourne.

(d) The *Lady Loch* steamer.

(e) The V.P.E., at Queenscliff?

2. What allowances are made to men living away from their quarters, in lieu of rations in each case?

3. Has the ration allowance of the V.P.E. been recently reduced from 1s. to 9d. daily, and, if so, why?

Mr. WATSON.—The answers to the honorable member's questions are as follow:—

1. (a) 12^s 8d.

(b) 8^s 6d.

(c) 9^s 5d.

(d) The State Government, it is understood, pays 1s. 9^s 3d.

(e) 8^s 6d.

2. (a) 1s. 1d.

(b) 9d.

(c) 9d.

(d) No allowance, it is stated, is made in lieu of rations.

(e) 9d.

3. Yes, the rate for the last financial year was 1s. per diem, but for the year 1904-5, it is 9d.

In accordance with the regulations, and with the practice for years past, the rate of commuted allowance in lieu of rations is determined by the contract price of rations; and such contract price for the year 1904-5 is 8^s 6d.

BOULDER CITY LETTERS.

Mr. FRAZER asked the Postmaster-General, *upon notice*—

1. Whether letters addressed to residents of Boulder City and its immediate neighbourhood (and despatched from the Eastern States for conveyance by coastal steamers) are forwarded to Kalgoorlie instead of being sent direct to Boulder, thereby causing considerable delay in the distribution of letters?

2. If so, will the practice be immediately stopped?

Mr. MAHON.—The answer to the honorable member's questions is as follows:—

The Postmaster-General is not in possession of any information respecting the matter referred to, but inquiry is being made with a view to obviate any unnecessary delay in the transmission of correspondence addressed to Boulder City.

TARIFF RE-ADJUSTMENT.

Mr. HUME COOK (Bourke).—I move—

That, in the opinion of this House, the existing Customs Tariff is unscientific in its operation and mischievous in its effects; and that, with a special view to the promotion of the agricultural and manufacturing industries and the more settled employment of all classes of workers, a re-adjustment of its incidence on some of its leading lines is highly desirable.

In submitting the motion to the consideration of honorable members, I desire, in the first place, to draw attention to the declaration which it contains as to the unscientific and mischievous character of the Australian Tariff. That declaration I propose to prove by the submission of evidence which I trust will convince the most exacting, while I shall, at the same time, point the way to corroborative facts which earnest inquirers may easily discover for themselves. But before doing so, I wish, for a moment or two, to recall some of the most noteworthy circumstances under which the first Tariff was framed. When the members of the first Federal Parliament assembled, most of us were unknown to each other. We had each been used to the particular business methods of the State from which we came, and were inclined to regard with more or less suspicion those adopted by the other States, while mutual concession was almost entirely absent. Some honorable members represented a State which had practically no Customs Tariff, others represented States whose Customs duties were said to be very low, while the Tariff

of the State a constituency of which I have the honour to represent was declared to be a high Tariff. Thus we had a House composed of free-traders, revenue-tariffists, and protectionists, each and all jealous of the other, and each striving to impress upon the Tariff their particular views. The result has been what might have been expected, namely, dissatisfaction to every one concerned. We had free-traders asking for revenue only. Then there were farmers' representatives who were quite content that duties of 60, 70, or 80 per cent. should be imposed upon the products from their districts, whilst they were willing to give the manufacturers of the implements used by their constituents the benefit of only 10 or 12½ per cent. duties. We had labour representatives who advocated a White Australia policy, and objected to the introduction of contract labour, but who were at the same time quite prepared to agree to, and, indeed, helped to bring about, conditions which permitted of the introduction of the products of black labour and sweated workmen. Under these circumstances, I think I am correct in saying that the Tariff ultimately became a thing of shreds and patches, which no one was willing to father, or disposed to speak of with anything like pride. The effect of whittling away what little protection we had by the combined operations of the labour free-traders on the one side, and of the ardent free-traders on the other, who forgot, if they ever sought to keep, the compact, "revenue without destruction," has been to bring about a most unsatisfactory condition of affairs. The farmers' representatives, who thought that they would help their constituents by imposing high duties upon the products grown in their district, whilst cutting down the duties upon the implements they used, have succeeded only in injuring the home market. The advocates of a White Australia, who were opposed to the introduction of contract labour, have failed to provide work for those whose interests they sought to advance, because, as I think I shall prove, the result of their policy has been to provide additional employment for Japanese, Javanese, and other foreigners, whom we should least desire to support. The motion affirms that the Tariff is unscientific in its operation. I say that advisedly, because when the Tariff was under consideration, we did several things which, in my judg-

ment, tended to make it unscientific. For instance, we attempted to levy duties in accordance with the ultimate use to which imports were to be put. An article which might be used as a medicine was admitted free of duty; whereas, if it could also be used as a food, one rate of duty was imposed, and, if it could be used commercially, a different rate was levied. The duties were not fixed according to the essential character of the articles, but in the manner described, and the result has been chaos. Then we imposed duties upon raw material, as well as upon finished products. If the duties had been placed upon raw materials such as could be produced here, our action might have been justified, but in many instances imposts were levied upon raw materials which had to be obtained from abroad. By also imposing duties upon the finished articles, we placed our manufacturers at a double disadvantage. In that way, also, we helped to make the Tariff unscientific. Then, again, we levied what might be termed sentimental duties; and I might mention, as an instance, the action taken in regard to spirits. Some honorable members thought that it did not matter very much whether we imported the spirits we used, or produced them locally. The industry was one in which no one took any great pride, and moreover it was pointed out that some of the persons engaged in it were making large fortunes at the expense of the consumers. We whittled away the protection that had previously been enjoyed by the distillers, with the result that their business has been most detrimentally affected. If we had reduced the consumption of intoxicants, improved the moral tone of the people, provided further employment for our own citizens, or cheapened the article to the consumer, the action taken might have been justified. But no good result has followed, whilst the industry has been practically ruined, and a number of men have been thrown out of employment, the business of making spirits for our own consumption has gone by the board, and nearly all we use are imported. As a further instance of the unscientific character of the Tariff, I would point to the very large number of decisions which have been given by various Ministers in connexion with its administration from its inception up to a few weeks ago. These decisions run into hundreds, and even thousands. In

such a small matter as bags, in regard to which almost any one would think the administration would be very simple, no less than sixty decisions have been given; in respect to bicycles, eighty; and in connexion with drugs, with which I admit it would probably be a little more difficult to deal, 150 decisions. In the case of oils, nearly 200 decisions have been recorded, and so on *ad infinitum*. As a matter of fact, three Ministers have registered over 2,000 separate decisions in connexion with the Tariff, and I do not know that I could deduce any stronger proof of its unscientific character. Of these decisions, many are in conflict, and help to aggravate the troubles of our merchants, and the worries of the shipping clerks. We were told that the Tariff was so simple that anyone could understand it, whereas it has required the combined efforts of three Ministers to make it plain.

Mr. FULLER.—Does not that show the absurdity of the whole business?

Mr. HUME COOK.—Yes, that is what I am endeavouring to demonstrate. I have also affirmed that the Tariff is mischievous in its operation, and I propose to prove that assertion in two ways. I shall not weary honorable members with any more figures than are necessary, but I desire to direct attention to the facts connected with six or seven cases in which industries have been injuriously affected by the Tariff. One firm, engaged in making axles, which in 1899 employed sixteen men, now has only five hands in its factory. That, I admit, is a very small industry, but still the reduction has been very large comparatively. Another firm which manufactures springs for vehicles had fifty men employed in 1899, as compared with only sixteen at present. Then, again, a firm which makes machinery connected with the leather trade, had sixty men employed, as contrasted with only twenty to-day. I have already referred to the distilling business. Messrs. Joshua Brothers have published some figures which show that prior to the introduction of the Tariff they employed seventy-two hands, to whom they paid £8,000 per annum in wages; whereas to-day they can find work for only twenty-seven hands, who receive in wages £2,300 per annum. The Geelong tanners have issued a circular in which they state that in 1899 they employed 500 hands.

Mr. SPEAKER.—Order; will the honorable member take his seat. It is necessary for me to again call attention to the fact that numerous conversations are proceeding in various parts of the chamber, and consequently it is difficult for the honorable member to proceed. I would ask honorable members to discontinue conversing aloud or to continue their conversations elsewhere.

Mr. HUME COOK.—I repeat that in 1899 the Geelong tanners employed some 500 men, whereas to-day they employ only sixty. They formerly paid wages at the rate of £40,000 a year; they now pay at the rate of £5,000. Similarly in 1899 the Austral Otis Company, which is referred to in the newspapers this morning, employed 600 men, whereas at present it employs only about 100. That company previously disbursed £75,000 a year in wages; it now pays only £21,000. These are a few instances which illustrate the influence which the Tariff has exercised upon certain industries, which, I admit, have been affected to a greater extent than have any others.

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—How is it that in Sydney the iron industry is poorly employed notwithstanding that the duties were increased?

Mr. HUME COOK.—There are very good reasons, I presume, for that, and before I conclude my remarks I will show why industries might have been expected to do a little less business this year than they would do at other periods. I prefer, however, to put my argument in my own way. I find also that there has been a reduction in the number of hands employed and the amount of wages paid in a number of other industries. For example, in the brush and broom trade, the furniture trade, rope and twine factories, and clothing factories—indeed, in almost every industry affected by the Tariff—I learn from official figures that the number of workmen employed has decreased, with a consequent shrinkage in the amount of wages paid. As a typical instance of what may happen under the Tariff, I propose to cite some figures in connexion with the leather trade. If there is any industry which is natural to Australia, I think it is that connected with leather—the tanning trade. But what is its present position? As the result of the unscientific and mischievous Tariff at present operating, the leather business of Australia has very considerably decreased. In Victoria alone, between the years 1899 and

1903, the value of tanned leather exported has decreased by £170,956. That in itself is an enormous decrease, and largely accounts for the figures which have been put forward by the Geelong tanners, who say that, whereas they formerly employed 500 men, they now employ only 100.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS. — How can the operation of the Tariff affect exports?

Mr. HUME COOK.—The duty upon leather has been reduced, with the result that, instead of tanning the leather locally, Victoria is exporting the raw hides. A return which was presented to this House, at the instance of the honorable and learned member for Corio, goes to show that whilst the tanned leather business has declined, the export of the raw material from this country has increased. For instance, in 1901, 143,961 hides were exported from Victoria, and 687,970 skins, valued at £831,931. In 1903, the number of hides exported had increased to 430,066, the number of skins to 1,123,256, and their value had increased to £1,553,322, a difference in two years of £721,391.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS. — Most of those skins were taken from starving stock.

Mr. HUME COOK.—I admit that a very large number of them had to be taken off stock, because they were starved to death, but that is no reason why the skins should not have been tanned in this country, instead of being exported to undergo that process. In connexion with the iron and steel industry, too, I learn that imports are increasing to a very large extent. Unfortunately, I have not been able to obtain the official figures for 1903, and, therefore, I cannot make the comparison which I desired to institute. Honorable members, however, are aware that the imports of iron and steel goods into Australia, represent, roughly speaking, a value of £7,000,000 annually. The value of the imports of metals and machinery—the finished articles—is increasing very rapidly, owing to the fact that firms like the Austral Otis Company, and other great engineering establishments, are not now manufacturing the goods which they formerly manufactured. But the most significant circumstance in connexion with the whole position is the rapid decrease of our population since the present Tariff came into operation. This remark applies more particularly to Victoria. Up till the time when the Tariff was imposed, it is true that Victoria had been losing population. That

fact was largely due to disasters of various kinds which this State had experienced, in the shape of drought, the land boom, and the banking crisis. But, prior to the imposition of the Federal Tariff, Victoria had been steadily overcoming these disasters, with the result that, in 1899, the loss of population, which had been gradually diminishing, was less than it had been for some time previously. Immediately following the imposition of the Federal Tariff, however, the loss of population began to increase, and in 1901—according to the figures supplied by the Government Statist of this State—the emigration loss was 1,428, of which number 1,100 were adults. In 1902, that loss had increased to 13,716, including 11,864 adults. In the following year it had still further increased to 16,570, of which the adults numbered 12,885.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Do those figures relate to Victoria alone?

Mr. HUME COOK.—Yes. Between 1901 and 1903 the loss by emigration increased from 1,428 to 16,570, whilst the total loss for the two Tariff years, 1902-3 runs into 30,286 persons, of whom 24,744 were adults! The bulk of these people have gone to New Zealand and South Africa. During 1901, the immigration increase for the whole of Australia was 9,492, in 1902 it was only 2,094. In 1903 our population decreased by 6,692, of which number 6,000 were adults. Probably my statements will be met with the objection that there has been an increase of population in Australia. That is quite true, but it is accounted for by the circumstance that the births have been greater than the deaths, and also greater than the loss by emigration. To increase the population by the addition of infants only is very poor satisfaction for the loss of grown-up persons. If this kind of thing continue indefinitely, the population of Australia will consist mainly of women and babies. The males will all have gone elsewhere. I wish it to be distinctly understood, therefore, that I am dealing only with those coming to or leaving this Continent, and not with the population figures as a whole. In the case of Victoria, I have shown that the loss of population since the Tariff came into operation has become exceedingly serious, whilst in the case of Australia, during 1903, there was an actual loss of 6,000 adults. This sort of thing must be attributable to some cause. I

it is not attributable to the fact that we are not now employing our own people to do our own work, I am unable to assign any reason for it. I think that under these circumstances I have fairly well succeeded in proving that the Commonwealth Tariff has been mischievous in its effects, and is unscientific in its operation. But further justification—if it were necessary—for the opening up of this question at the present time, arises from the fact that those who are proclaiming most loudly the necessity for fiscal peace, are those who are not prepared to accept it.

Mr. WILKS.—Did not the honorable member's party go to the country on the cry of fiscal peace?

Mr. HUME COOK.—When we went to the electors some eight months ago, we asked for four things. We asked for fiscal peace and preferential trade, which is not the same policy as fiscal peace alone. Then we asked for a bonus on iron and other potential Australian products, and for the continuance in existence of the then protectionist Ministry. We have not any one of those four things to-day.

Mr. WILKS.—There is another thing which the honorable member wants, and that is loyalty to his leader.

Mr. HUME COOK.—So far as fiscal peace was concerned, we were prepared to abide by it if we secured preferential trade, the effect of which would have been to help us in the line which I am now advocating. Preferential trade would not have involved a re-opening of the whole Tariff any more than giving effect to my motion would involve a general re-opening of it. My motion merely seeks a re-opening of the Tariff with regard to those lines of industry which are affected most detrimentally, and in connexion with which men are losing employment, and capitalists are being driven out of industries. As I have just said, however, those men who speak so loudly of fiscal peace are not themselves prepared to observe it, and in fact are not observing it. Those who won the battle have a right, I think, to do as they please afterwards with regard to the re-opening of the question.

HONORABLE MEMBERS.—Oh!

Mr. HUME COOK.—Would honorable members say that after the South African war Great Britain was to be dictated to by the Boers as to the terms of the occupation. We won the battle at the last elections, and

now we propose to dictate the terms of the peace. Moreover, however much we knew about the Tariff eight months ago, we know more about it now, and whatever were the circumstances connected with finance and trade at that time, we know that the circumstances connected with them to-day warrant us in re-opening the question in the way I have suggested.

Mr. WILKS.—The Tariff was the work of the honorable member's own party.

Mr. HUME COOK.—It was not our own work. On the contrary, the symmetry of the Tariff was entirely spoilt by a certain party of which the honorable member who interjects was one. As I have said, those who now wish us to observe a fiscal truce make that request in order that they may play their own particular game. What that is may be readily gathered from a statement I now propose to quote. I have here an article from the *Argus* newspaper, published on the 29th June last—I am not quite sure as to the date; it can be verified—which reports an interview with the honorable member for Lang. The article proceeds as follows:—

Excellent organizing work was done by the New South Wales Free-trade Party at the last Federal elections. A concise outline of the movement was afforded in a recent chat with Mr. W. E. Johnson, a member of the Federal House of Representatives for Lang, an electorate which covers a number of Sydney suburbs. Mr. Johnson and Mr. Sydney Smith, M's.H.R., were joint organizing secretaries of the movement.

Mr. Johnson then gives a detailed account of the work of the Free-trade Party at the last Federal election; and this significant statement is added—

"We are preparing now," Mr. Johnson continued, "a new Constitution, with a view to thorough organization of the electorates and sustained effort."

We hope in this way to form a permanent fighting force, which may be used with effect when election day comes round.

If honorable members read between the lines, as I think I can do, the desire of the free-trade section of this House, and of this community, is to lull the protectionists to sleep while they themselves keep up their organization, so that at the next election they may win every seat they possibly can, and in that way get an advantage which they would not secure if the protectionists were alert. I will go further, and say, emphatically, that they are promulgating their views all over Australia, and that those who are asking for fiscal peace are asking for it for their own

political ends, in order that they may organize to our disadvantage. I do not know that I need touch at any greater length on that particular head. I personally am satisfied, whatever other honorable members may be, that no matter what the free-traders in this country may say, what they propose to do is quite another thing. Under these circumstances, we also propose to do something. We propose to do that which we think will be in the best interests of the people of this country, and will do most to promote industry and to develop the natural resources of Australia. I now desire to draw the attention of honorable members to the next portion of my motion—that which has regard to the promotion of the agricultural and manufacturing industries of Australia. I know of nothing that is looked upon as being more important in this House and outside of it than the promotion of the agricultural and landed interests of Australia. But, whilst that is so, those who urge the promotion of those particular industries take divergent views. Some suggestions have been put forward as to what should be done to improve the condition of the farmers and settlers generally. In this House we have proposals for the insertion of special provisions in the mail contracts as to the carriage of frozen produce, fruit, and commodities of that kind. We have had discussions as to the necessity for providing schemes of water conservation and irrigation. We have had an exceedingly good and wise proposal for the establishment of an Agricultural Bureau. Some other suggestions, which I do not for the moment recollect, have also been put forward. Outside the House we are told that the proper thing to do is to provide cheap land, and plenty of it, together with easy terms for the acquisition of it; that there should be narrow-gauge railways to open up the back country for the benefit of those who wish to take up land; and, above all things, that there should be low railway freights and bonuses. The *Argus* newspaper, and other journals, are now beginning to say that the proper thing for the farmers to do is to form co-operative societies, and by means of co-operation to gain concessions from the shipping companies which they cannot obtain otherwise. The farmers are also urged to establish special agencies in London and elsewhere—mostly out of Australia—for the advantageous selling of their produce. All these things are in their way good

Mr. Hume Cook.

enough; but I think that some of the essential first steps have been missed those who make these proposals, and I tend to give my views in respect to that matter at a later stage. In the meantime, I may say that those who think that land settlement is the beginning and end of all progress in Australia make a serious mistake. Land settlement is not, and cannot be, the cure-all. No country, however great which depended wholly and solely on agriculture; no country which has ever yet become a world power without developing manufactures and providing diversified occupations for its people. The rise of the German Empire may be said to date from the time when the policy was adopted of importing from Great Britain competent workmen in various lines of industry to teach the German artisans. At Japan, a little while ago, followed the example set by Germany, and imported British and American workmen with the same object in view. The rise of Japan dates from the time when she commenced to adopt western methods and ideas, not merely in regard to civilization generally but also in regard to the arts and manufactures. Primary production must, of course, play a large part in the development of a country such as Australia, but it must of every country where there are huge areas of land. But unless we also do something to promote manufactures we shall find, as, indeed, we have already begun to find, that we cannot make that material and substantial progress which we should under other circumstances. We are told that if we promote agriculture manufactures will flourish; and I only wish that that were true. We have promoted agriculture and land settlement of people in Victoria for years and years; and I have before me a table of figures which show that every year for ten years past, and for long before, the number of persons going on the land has been steadily increasing. For the period 1894-8 there were 6,985 approved applicants who took up 869,130 acres in Victoria under the residence section of the Land Act; between 1899 and 1903, 16,341 applicants took up 4,825,877 acres; in the year 1902-3 there was a still further increase. According to the census returns of the Government Statist of Victoria, it appears that in 1891 there were in that State 85,138 persons engaged in producing from the soil, and in connexion with the land interests; and in 1901 that number had

creased to 95,920. It will be seen, therefore, that a great deal has been done, and, to a large extent, successfully, to promote land settlement in Victoria. Very much the same conditions apply to Australia as a whole. In the year 1899, 531,580 acres were granted in Australia, and those figures had in 1902 increased to 1,184,618.

Mr. FULLER.—What has this to do with the Tariff? The same Tariff has not hitherto prevailed all over Australia.

Mr. HUME COOK.—I am talking at present of land settlement, and, if the honorable member will allow me to proceed in my own way, I shall show how my arguments affect the Tariff. There are those who say that the only way to make Australia prosperous is to have land settlement; and I am showing that people have been encouraged to go on the land and engage in primary production. I am going to show that, in spite of those efforts, we have not helped the people of the country to the extent we might have done.

Mr. DEAKIN.—Surely the honorable member does not say that the rate of land settlement is adequate?

Mr. HUME COOK.—I would not say that, because there is no doubt that the rate of land settlement might be greater than it is. Land settlement cannot be greater than at present, but will certainly be less in future if we do nothing to provide home markets, instead of as at present compelling producers to export a large proportion of their produce, and dispose of it at the world's price.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—Increased land settlement and decreased population, after thirty-five years of protection!

Mr. HUME COOK.—The argument, that increased land settlement brings in its train increased manufactures, is not substantiated. I have already proved that manufactures under the Commonwealth Tariff have decreased in spite of the fact that agricultural settlement has increased. The increase of land settlement does not require any proof, because the fact can easily be seen; but I should like now to show that manufactures, so far from having increased, have decreased. According to the Government Statist of Victoria, there were in that State 168,534 industrial workers in 1891, whereas in 1901 there were only 146,233, showing a decrease of 22,301 in the ten years. I do not contend that these figures are particularly convincing, seeing that they cover a period only

part of which is affected by the present Tariff. But if we take another view, namely, that of the number of persons engaged in the factories during the operation of the present Tariff, we find that there has been a decrease, and that the Statist's figures are but an indication of what has been taking place generally. Mr. Harrison Ord, the Chief Inspector of Factories in Victoria, issued his report a few days ago, and showed that while there were 59,440 persons employed in 1902, only 57,767 were employed in 1903. The Melbourne *Argus* points out this morning that that is an exceedingly small decrease—only 1,673—and emphasizes the fact that Mr. Ord believes it to be the result of the drought. But the *Argus* writer probably forgot that in the course of the article, it is stated that the figures are eighteen months old. If that be so, I should like to know what the figures are up to date. If the figures are eighteen months old, the fact proves that the Tariff was more instantaneous in its effect than I had thought, and that the loss must be greater than we believe it to be at present. But the significant fact about the figures is one which the *Argus* omits to state, namely, that while there was a decrease of 1,673 in the total, there was an increase of 284 in the number of females employed. The net result shows a decrease of 2,957 male employés. Could anything be more significant?

Mr. WILKS.—That is always the result of protection.

Mr. HUME COOK.—The fact is that the iron trade and other great industries which employ males, have been so heavily hit by the Tariff that those previously engaged in them have had to emigrate to New Zealand and other places, in order to get employment, with the result that the women left behind, and other women, have had to get such employment as they could obtain. That is not a satisfactory state of affairs. Had we been able to record an increase in the number of males and a decrease in the number of females employed, the fact would have been cheered to the echo by this House. But the conditions which the figures disclose ought to make us pause and give serious consideration to the circumstances whatever they are—even if they do not arise from the Tariff—which tend to such conditions in a country like Australia. The two sets of figures which I have quoted prove that while land

settlement has increased, there has been a population loss. That loss is not amongst those who have taken up land, but must be sought in other quarters. The figures of the Factory Inspector, and the individual cases I have quoted, indicate that the loss is amongst the artisan classes who ought to be engaged in factories. The figures further show that the prosperity about which we talk so much is not to be obtained by land settlement only. I think they also prove conclusively that manufacturing does not and cannot follow merely upon land settlement. We must do something more, and, in my opinion, the initial necessary step is to make a wise use of the Tariff, and create, first of all, for the land settlers of this country, a home market. Without a home market, land settlement cannot be successful, and those already on the land will probably begin to find that they must leave it. Certainly, we cannot hope for any considerable increase of land settlement unless we have an increased local consumption. In my judgment a home market is to be obtained by the creation of industries, the development of our own natural resources, and the employment of our own people rather than of Japanese, Javanese, or any other coloured races, whom we have no desire to employ. I affirm without hesitation that the quickest, safest, and most legitimate way in which to provide a good home market for our producers is to make a wise and proper use of the Tariff to that end. We have not done that. We are not getting what we require, and, in view of the facts I have given, I contend that there is a necessity to re-open the Tariff along the lines I have indicated. The advantages of a home market are realized in other countries, if not in this. I have no desire to dilate upon those advantages. Every one must admit that the better the local market the greater the advantage to our producers and to those who sell their goods. As compared with an export market, there is not the same expense in the shape of freights and insurance, there are not the same risks of loss, the same agents' charges, and the other disadvantages of an export trade, which are evident to any one who knows anything about the subject.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Can the honorable member explain how the honorable member for Melbourne Ports turns £10,000,000 into £24,000,000?

Mr. HUME COOK.—I am not good at mental arithmetic. I have said that other

countries realize the advantages of a home market. The figures which I am going to quote were used some time ago by the Honorable Theodore Fink, in the Victorian State Parliament. Owing to pressure of work I have not had time to verify them; but, coming from that authority, they may be accepted as fairly correct. Mr. Fink gives for Great Britain a local consumption of £42 per head, and a foreign trade of £18 per head. For the United States he gives a local consumption of £44 per head, and a foreign trade of £5 per head. When we come to deal with the figures for Australia we find that they are absolutely reversed, and that our foreign trade is vastly greater than our home trade. Until we have profited by the good example even of such a free-trade country as is Great Britain, we shall not do what is right by our own people in this respect. America to a greater extent than Great Britain conserves her home trade, and the figures go to prove that; but even in such a country as is Great Britain, we see that care is taken that the home trade is vastly superior to the export trade, great as that undoubtedly is. If Australia does not follow on similar lines, all I can say is that we shall be amongst the decadent peoples. Unfortunately, every effort in Australia at the present time is in the direction of opening up foreign markets, and securing trade elsewhere than in the Commonwealth. All our efforts are directed towards securing a market for our produce in London, on the Continent, or some other place outside of Australia. Hence we are concerned with such matters as cheap freights, swift carriage, cool chambers, special agencies, and I do not know what besides. We have failed to look at the fact which is staring us in the face, that we produce ten times as much in Australia as we consume. I asked the Government Statist of Victoria to give me the figures for some twenty lines of food-stuffs produced in Victoria, and the local consumption of those articles. The figures came to hand last night, and they show that Victoria produces £12,000,000 worth of these food-stuffs, and that we consume in this State about £1,200,000 worth.

Mr. WILKS.—What is done with the surplus?

Mr. HUME COOK.—We are obliged to export the surplus. If we had a greater consumption locally, we should of course have greater profits for those who produce locally.

Mr. McLEAN.—Can those figures be correct? They mean a local consumption of only about £1 per head of the population.

Mr. HUME COOK.—These figures have been supplied to me by Mr. McLean, the Government Statist of Victoria. They relate to food-stuffs only, and cover some twenty different articles of food production. He states that we produce these food-stuffs to the value of £12,000,000, and that our local consumption of them amounts in value to only £1,200,000.

Mr. McLEAN.—I do not think that can be correct.

Mr. HUME COOK.—If the Government Statist's figures are incorrect, then, of course, my argument based upon them is also incorrect.

Mr. HUTCHISON.—Does he say the total amount of the home consumption?

Mr. HUME COOK.—He gives it as one-tenth of the local production. He is referring only to particular articles.

Mr. HUTCHISON.—What is the total consumption in Victoria?

Mr. HUME COOK.—I have not those figures. I am dealing now only with some twenty lines of food-stuff. We know, as a matter of fact, that farmers, fruit-growers, vigneron, and other agricultural producers are by no means satisfied with their returns. We know that the results of our export trade in wines, preserved fruits, and other produce of that description are not satisfactory. What do we see, for instance, in connexion with such a line as butter, which is a very great Australian export? I have here the report of the London season of 1903-4, issued by R. T. Turnbull and Co., who are amongst the greatest authorities upon this subject in the world. In the course of their report they say—

At no point in the past season can there be said to have been a really animated market, and the losses which have been made on purchases in the colonies are said to have been exceedingly great.

How can we expect to keep up a butter export if this statement by Turnbull and Co. is correct? We must encourage production in another way, and that other way, in my judgment, is the creation of a local market.

Mr. FISHER.—It would be a pity to allow an impression of that kind to go abroad, because there are great prospects in the butter trade.

Mr. HUME COOK.—Certainly there are great prospects in the butter trade, but we

should encourage local consumption to a very much greater extent than we do. The average price of butter in London has ranged from 5d. to 10d. per lb., whilst in Victoria it has been from 10d. to 1s. 1d. per lb. It is all very well to send away so considerable an export of butter, but I imagine it would be better for the producers to secure the higher local prices if we could only do something to increase the local consumption. The way in which it is to be increased is not by the adoption of free-trade methods, but by some such methods as those which I have suggested. What do we find in connexion with the fruit business? Only a few days ago the *Argus* newspaper published this statement:—

The Australian apple season just closing in London has been by no means satisfactory from the exporters' point of view. The leading importers calculate that, during the season 703,000 cases of Australian and Tasmanian apples were imported, and that they resulted in a loss to the exporters of £50,000.

What encouragement is there for our fruit-growers, if they are to continue to lose £50,000 a year? Although last year there was a big harvest, and consequently a large export, the season was practically only a normal one. The preceding years were droughty, and the production of the soil was therefore much less than might have been expected under other conditions. Now, if in a normal year the exportation of butter, fruit, and other products results in a loss, what are the future prospects of land settlement in this country, and what is to become of the man on the soil? The figures I have given are very significant. Fruit-growers themselves are beginning to realize in certain parts of Australia the significance of these facts, and are asking that this Tariff, which some people say is such a good one, shall be altered. My authority for this statement is a paragraph published in the *Sydney Morning Herald* of 1st inst. It appears from this paragraph that a Conference of fruit-growers was held at Baulkham Hills, near Parramatta, on the preceding Saturday, at which representatives of the Fruit-growers' Association of Castle Hill, Kenthurst, Seven Hills, Pennington Hills, and the surrounding district were present. The Conference proceeded to the consideration of what should be done in the interests of the fruit-growers, and after deliberation they carried the following resolution:—

That, in view of the present depressed state of the fruit-growing industry, this meeting of representative fruit-growers of the State of New

South Wales is of opinion that considerably higher duties should be placed on imported fruits, and that we communicate with the fruit-growers of Victoria and other States, with the view of united action being taken to secure this desired object.

They also passed this second resolution—

That, in the opinion of this meeting, it is desirable that a fruit-growers' union of New South Wales be at once organised, and that its first work be the carrying out of the object of the preceding resolution.

Therefore, the fruit-growers of New South Wales have awakened to the fact that the Tariff does not suit them. The *Argus* this morning says that people may be trusted to look after their own business. This is an instance in which people are looking after their own business, and are asking that the duties in the Tariff shall be increased. There is, too, now sitting at Brisbane a Conference of persons connected with the Chambers of Manufactures of the several States of Australia, and they are urging that the Tariff shall be altered. According to the report of their proceedings which appears in to-day's *Argus*, several resolutions were passed, but that to which I wish to call particular attention is as follows:—

That this federal council greatly regrets the injurious incidence of the Tariff in certain established industries, and recommends the chambers to immediately make investigation in their several States, taking evidence relating to anomalies and the injury done to the local industries, with a view to presenting their united deductions to the Commonwealth Parliament at the earliest opportunity available.

MR. MAUGER.—That is an Australian, not a Victorian Conference.

MR. HUME COOK.—It is a Conference representing all Australia. The *Argus* says that people know how to mind their own business, and that it is not my duty to teach them what they want. To that I reply that the members of this Conference are people who know their business, and that they are asking for an alteration of the Tariff on the lines suggested by me. What is true in regard to the exportation of butter and fruit is true in regard to the exportation of other products. Our producers have exported onions from Australia, and this is the result, as recorded in the *Age* of 29th July—

Onion-growers who, for some seasons past, have been struggling hard against a strenuously depressed local market, will not derive much consolation from the experiment just made to test the merits of the London market. . . . The proceeds of the sales will not pay half the cost of sending the consignment home.

Lastly, I ask what is the outlook for the hay-growers of Australia? In the same

newspaper there is an article in which it is stated that there is about £1,000,000 worth of hay in Victoria, for which buyers at profitable prices cannot be found; and it cannot be profitably exported, because of its bulk, and the heavy freights charged for such a commodity. What, then, are the hay-growers of Australia to do, unless we provide them with a home market? The facts which I have stated show how necessary it is to build up, concurrently with the settlement of the land, local manufactures and thus increase local consumption. If we fail in that, we shall fail in our duty to our constituents, and it will be impossible for Australia to progress. If we allow the Tariff to remain as it is, emigration from the Commonwealth will increase there will be a still greater lack of employment, a steadily decreasing local market, and a still further loss to our agricultural producers. It must be borne in mind that it is more necessary to Australia to be self-dependent than it is for some of the other countries of the world to be so. She is situated so far from foreign markets that her producers are at a great disadvantage in respect of freights, insurance, and other charges connected with shipping transport, as compared with the producers of other countries. Formerly Australian producers had in some respect an advantage over producers in other parts of the world, because of the difference in seasons; but American growers are taking advantage of perfected refrigerating machinery, and are now able to place their apples on the London market at the same time as Australian apples are sent there and, apparently, in the future, the difference in seasons will be of no advantage to our growers, while American producers will make tremendous inroads into their markets. What applies to apples will apply to other exports. Unless we look keenly after our interests, we shall lose not only on the exportations to which I have alluded, but in other directions as well. Dealing with the subject from another point of view, what do we find? I have stated that there are farmers' representatives in this Chamber who were quite ready to vote for duties of 60, 70, or even 80 per cent. on farm products, and who, at the same time, under the belief that they were helping their constituents, would not consent to the imposition of higher duties than 10 or 12½ per cent. on farming implements and machinery. The result

has been that a great many farmers' requirements which should be manufactured in Australia are now imported. Let me take four items. In 1899—and, in the comparisons I am about to make, I contrast the years 1899 and 1903, because the former was the last normal year under the Victorian Tariff, and the latter the last year for which we have information under the Federal Tariff—the total value of the agricultural, horticultural, and fruit-farming implements and machinery imported was £112,004; but, in 1903, the importation of such machinery had increased to £204,147. The *Argus* to-day makes a comparison between the importations of 1901 and 1903; but it is improper and unfair to accept the figures for 1901 in this connexion, since in that year, and in the preceding year, imports were being rushed into Australia under the belief that the Federal Parliament would pass a very high Tariff. The importation of apparel and ready-made clothing, such as farmers, fruit-growers, and others connected with the landed industries use, was £180,989 in 1899, and in 1903 £329,471. In 1899 the value of the boots and shoes imported was £33,676, and in 1903, £59,120. In 1899 the value of hats and caps imported was £50,055, and in 1903, £78,504. The importations of those four classes of goods show an increase of £395,518 for the year 1903, when compared with importations of 1899. That increase is equal to nearly 150 per cent. Reading those figures in conjunction with the figures which I have given in regard to the decline in exports, the mischievous effects of the Tariff are easily seen. Then, every farmer requires a vehicle of some sort, and I am told, on reliable authority, that the importation of vehicles for the first eight months of the present year exceeds in value and quantity the importation for the preceding eighteen months. If our farmers wish to find local buyers for their produce, they must themselves buy in the local market; but if they persist in buying in foreign markets, they must look to foreign consumers for the purchase of their produce. The man who buys in a foreign market must sell in a foreign market, and the disadvantage of that method of trading is that the man who sends his goods for sale to a foreign market has to sell them at the world's price, while what he purchases in return he buys, not at the world's price, but at the manufacturer's price.

Mr. HUTCHISON.—Very often at the prices fixed by a ring.

Mr. HUME COOK.—Yes. When a cargo of wool or wheat is sent to London or Antwerp to be sold, it is necessary for us to buy foreign goods in return; but while we sell at the world's price, our producers, who wish to buy wool presses, sheep-shearing machinery, or other things in return, buy them, not at the world's price, but at the price of the local manufacturers, and are thus at a double disadvantage.

Mr. POYNTON.—How long will it be before we shall have a population sufficiently large to consume our wheat and butter?

Mr. MAUGER.—The honorable member would be surprised if he knew how much is already consumed locally.

Mr. HUME COOK.—If we may judge by the effect of the wise stimulation and development of natural resources and production in America, and remember the modern rate of speed, we should make even greater progress than that country has made. The briefest of glances at American progress serves to show that the adoption of methods similar to those which I think we should follow has led to the development of her manufactures and her resources to such a marvellous extent that no other country can show a similar record. The reference to America brings me to another question, namely, the proper relative proportion between the agricultural and manufacturing interests. In America we have a country much like our own. Her exports of wheat and other cereals are probably greater than those of any other country. The agricultural industry has been developed there to a greater extent than elsewhere, and her manufacturing industries have also progressed by leaps and bounds. The figures given in the *Statesman's Year-Book* show that 10,000,000 persons are engaged in agricultural and kindred pursuits generally, whereas those engaged in the manufacturing and mechanical operations number 7,000,000. In Australia, according to *Coghlan*, the persons engaged in agriculture and like industries aggregate 402,000, whilst those occupied in manufacturing and mechanical industries number 254,000. In America, the proportions of agriculture to manufacturing are as ten to seven, whilst in Australia they are as twelve to seven. So that in Australia the proportion of persons engaged in agricultural and kindred occupations is greater than in America, notwith-

standing that the agricultural production of the United States is greater than that of any other part of the world. These figures show that we have added to our agricultural and cognate industries in a greater ratio than our development in manufactures would appear to warrant. Under these circumstances, I think it is clear that we should begin to encourage our manufactures and approach as closely as possible to the conditions in America, which afford a great object-lesson for the rest of the world. Among the figures relating to the manufacturing and mechanical industries of Australia, I have included, as *Coghlan* suggests should be done, 50,000 persons who work on their own account at mechanical or manufacturing businesses. The remedy for the disabilities under which Australia suffers at present will be found if we follow the example of America, and encourage our manufactures in the same way that we have encouraged agriculture, and other rural interests. If we fail to do this, we shall find that so far from settlement increasing, it will begin to decrease, that so far from primary products paying, they will involve loss, and that our population, instead of being added to, will still further decrease. What we most urgently require in Australia is more settled employment for all classes of workers. The way in which that result can be achieved is, not by treating Australia as if it were a huge farm, but by bringing about such conditions that we shall have a great diversity of interests, and offer wider and fuller avenues of employment. We must develop all our resources of river, forest, and field, of quarry, mine, and mill. If we neglect this, we shall fail to make the progress which every one desires to see. In spite of the fact that we have lost a large number of our population, I find that there are still thousands of persons wanting work in Australia. I wrote to the manager of the Melbourne unemployed bureau, and asked how many unemployed persons were registered on 1st July last. I was informed that there were 2,055 names on the books. I then asked for information as to the occupations of these men, whether they were labourers or mechanics. I was told that nearly all the men, whether they were mechanics or not, registered as light labourers or general labourers, the object being to obtain employment at all hazards. In spite of this fact, however, the authorities were able to furnish me with a few figures,

Mr. Hume Cook.

from which it appeared that there were fifty-four boiler-makers seeking work.

Mr. MAUGER.—That number does not represent one-twentieth of those out of work.

Mr. HUME COOK.—I can quite believe that. Boiler-making is an industry that could be fostered under our Tariff. Upon the lists of the bureau there were also seventy-two assistant boiler-makers, thirty-two cabinet-makers, eighty-seven fitters, thirty-two blacksmiths, and seventy-two carpenters. It is admitted that this information is incomplete; but still it will serve to indicate that a large proportion of the unemployed come from those very classes which ought to be employed in making the articles which our producers require. In Sydney, according to Mr. Schey, the Chief Labour Commissioner there were 7,288 persons on the books of the bureau on the date previously mentioned; or, roughly speaking, three times as many as were registered in Melbourne. It is only fair to say that Mr. Schey mentions that these figures were not to be regarded as accurately indicating the state of the unemployed market. He asserts that the eligible unemployed number about 2,300. He was not able to state authoritatively that these figures were correct, because, as he explains, there are three unemployed bureaux in New South Wales. What is the business of a Labour Government above all Governments? Is it not to find work for the workers, and homes for the homeless, and to provide further, fuller and wider avenues of employment?

Mr. MAUGER.—It is the duty of every Government.

Mr. HUME COOK.—Yes; but above all Governments, those who claim to represent labour should use their best efforts to get rid of the unemployed difficulty. I therefore, appeal to those honorable members, who now occupy the Treasury benches and who claim to be labour representatives to bear in mind what I have said with regard to the unemployed, our loss of population, and the decrease in our manufacturing industries. Their duty is to represent industry, not idleness, those who are at work, and not those who are unemployed. What is the use of offering the dry crust of the Arbitration Bill to men who are unable to obtain employment? Why give them the means of settling industrial disputes when the only question for arbitration is whether A is to get work and B to leave the country or *vice versa*?

Mr. BROWN.—If the honorable member believes that, why is he sitting on that side of the House?

Mr. HUME COOK.—I sit on this side of the Chamber, because I have always been on the liberal side. When the Labour Party are prepared to adopt the protectionist policy I shall back them up in that, as in other things. My disagreement with the Labour Party is not so much upon questions of policy as in regard to other matters. If there is one thing that the Labour Government and the Labour Party should take in hand seriously, it is the unemployed problem.

Mr. FULLER.—I rise to call attention to the state of the House. I think that in view of the trouble which the honorable member has taken to prepare his speech, he ought to have the attention of a full House. [*Quorum formed*].

Mr. HUME COOK.—I am very much obliged to the honorable member for the breathing space which his action has afforded me. We are by this time used to such little tricks; they assist rather than hinder one. Some honorable member asked by way of interjection, "Why not take up the iron industry?" That is exactly what I was about to suggest.

Mr. SPEAKER.—That question is the subject of a motion which is now on the notice paper, and the honorable member cannot anticipate the debate upon it.

Mr. HUME COOK.—I am very sorry, because I desire to refer to it.

Mr. SPEAKER.—The honorable member has referred to it, but he must not debate it.

Mr. HUME COOK.—I shall not debate it, but shall content myself with referring to it in general terms. In connexion with our huge deposits of iron ore, we should be able to find employment for a great number of our people. The encouragement of the iron industry was one of the principles for which we fought at the last election, and yet no practical result has been achieved up to the present. I do not know whether the figures supplied by one honorable member of the late Parliament were correct, but he said that if we developed our iron deposits we should be able to provide sustenance for 620,000 persons. If we could establish an industry that would provide for one-third of that number we should confer the greatest possible benefit upon Australia. In this matter, the present Government will have an opportunity to distinguish itself, and

to earn the plaudits of the whole of the people of the Commonwealth. The Labour Party fought for a White Australia, and I helped them to secure it, because I thought that the social and economic results would be most desirable. But in order to make a White Australia effective, we must adopt not only the safeguards afforded by such legislation as we have passed, but also those which are afforded by protective duties. What has happened? We have excluded Japanese and other coloured foreigners from the Commonwealth, but we have not shut out the products of their labour. I find that in Victoria alone the imports from China and Japan and other Eastern countries have increased in value from £389,221 in 1899 to £985,594 in 1903, or an increase of over £500,000 in four years. What is the use of talking about a White Australia, and the necessity of finding employment for our own people, whilst, through our Tariff system, we are providing employment for coloured aliens outside? It would be far preferable to allow these coloured foreigners to come into our midst, because then we could regulate them.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Do we not send them something in return?

Mr. HUME COOK.—Of course we do. If we take their imports, we must send them something in return. My contention is that we should produce what we require. Amongst the imports referred to I find there are £500,000 worth of sugar from Java. In spite of the bounties paid for the production of German sugar, the German manufacturers cannot obtain a footing in our markets, in competition with the products of Java. We have been providing Javanese, instead of our own people, with employment. Our White Australia policy, I claim, can be rendered thoroughly effective only by means of a Customs Tariff which will assist the local producer. I have already spoken of the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill. I ask honorable members to bear in mind the figures which I have submitted in regard to Australia's loss by emigration. Last year 6,000 adults left our shores in excess of the number of adult arrivals. Yet we talk of legislating in respect of conciliation and arbitration for the settlement of industrial disputes. I say that such legislation is necessary only when industries have been established in our midst. It is of no use whilst our own people are unemployed. Then, again, we

speaking of non-contract labour. What is the use of legislation in respect of non-contract labour, if by the operation of the Tariff we force our own people to make contracts for labour elsewhere? The very thing which we condemn, we are forcing our own people to do. We are compelling them to go to South Africa and New Zealand to obtain work, because they cannot secure it here. These are serious matters. The fact that we have not adopted judicious and proper means to render our policy effective calls for immediate attention. In all Commonwealth contracts we insert a condition providing for the payment of a minimum wage. We insist that our own people shall obtain a fair rate of pay for the work which they perform, but we cannot insist upon the insertion of a minimum wage provision in contracts for the production of goods in other countries. We can prevent the sweating of our own employes, who are engaged in production, but we cannot prohibit sweating in other countries. Therefore, I claim that we should exclude from Australia sweated goods, as well as sweaters—that we should protect our own people through the Customs House as well as through the Factories Act. Until we do that it is useless to talk of building up a nation, developing industry, and restoring prosperity. In the German woollen mills the employes are compelled to work sixty-two hours a week for a wage of 12s., whilst in the Italian hat mills they labour sixty-four hours weekly for a wage of 20s. How is it possible for us to compete with them? In his address to his constituents during the recent election campaign, the honorable member for South Melbourne made the following significant remarks:—

Now suppose that there had been no Labour protectionist men in the Labour Party for Victoria, it is not too much to say that the protective duties in the Tariff would have been less by 10 per cent. Therefore, let protectionists see to it that they do not break entirely with the Labour Party, for the inevitable result will be that the balance of power will be in the hands of the free-trade Labour members of New South Wales, then good-bye to protection in the Commonwealth. The salvation of protection lies with the Labour Party, just as much as, I believe, the salvation of labour lies with protection.

I trust that the free-trade members of the Labour Party realize that what the honorable member says is true—that the salvation of protection and of the industries of Australia lies with the Labour Party. I think I have said enough to prove that there is great reason for the readjustment of the

incidence of the Tariff upon some of its leading lines. I am bound to bear in mind that we have certain revenue obligations which must be respected. We must discharge our constitutional obligation to provide the States forming the Federation with a certain sum of money each year. Whatever we do, we must see that their solvency is assured. That obligation cannot be neglected. But it should be remembered that we have certain other patriotic obligations to discharge. One of these is to see that no destruction of our industries takes place, and that no lack of employment is caused by any overt action of ours. Another of our obligations is to provide for the further development of our resources, and for an increase in the number of persons employed in our midst. It is our duty to stimulate production, real wealth, and general advancement. These are obligations of a patriotic nature which it is quite as incumbent upon us to discharge as it is to preserve the solvency of the States by guaranteeing them the return of a certain revenue each year. We can best fulfil these obligations by making a wise, judicious, and proper use of the Tariff. We can encourage manufactures by excluding foreign products. We can foster local industry, provide home markets, increase land settlement, stimulate primary production, and find employment for our people, chiefly—almost wholly—by adopting a policy in respect of fiscal matters which will lead—as it has done in America and elsewhere—to the development of our own resources. In my judgment, prosperity depends chiefly upon population, and population depends upon employment. If no employment is to be had in Australia we cannot expect to attract people here. They must be provided with employment in factories, workshops, or mines, or else they must be settled upon the land, or must engage in business upon their own account. Without employment in one direction or the other, population cannot increase. Employment can be encouraged by the creation of home manufactures as well as by the development of land settlement. Home manufactures can be stimulated by our making proper use of the Tariff. I regret to say that we have not made proper use of it. We require to readjust its incidence. We need to take some steps which will result in the establishment of industries, which will attract population, and which above all other things will insure to the employes engaged in those industries a fair

rate of wages and to the employers a fair share of profit. In my judgment sufficient evidence has already been adduced to warrant the alteration of the Tariff which I seek. More than enough facts have been submitted to justify the carrying of this motion. I believe that unless some such alteration is effected the adverse conditions upon which I have commented, and the decreases which I have noted—more particularly in respect to employment and population—will become accentuated, until in spite of all efforts to the contrary, the public of Australia will demand from whatever Government may be in power a thorough revision of the Tariff, so that that stimulus may be given to local industry which is consonant with national energy and national advance.

Debate (on motion by Mr. MAUGER) adjourned.

SPECIAL ADJOURNMENT.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

Mr. WATSON (Bland—Treasurer).—I move—

That the House at its rising adjourn until Tuesday next.

In submitting this motion, I merely wish to insure that the vote upon the Seat of Government Bill shall be arrived at in a full House, and I also desire to intimate that my colleague the Minister of Home Affairs proposes to continue the debate upon that measure this evening, with a view to concluding it before the House adjourns.

Sir JOHN FORREST (Swan).—I rise for the purpose of protesting against these continual adjournments; they have become a feature of almost every week-end. During the past four weeks we have scarcely sat upon one Friday.

Mr. WATSON.—Yes; we sat last Friday.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—That is the only occasion on which the House has sat upon Friday during the past month. If we had no business to transact—if honorable members attended here merely for the purposes of pleasure—there might be no objection to adopting the course that is proposed. But seeing that we have nearly the whole of the work of the session before us—that up to the present time we have done scarcely anything—there is no justification whatever for these frequent adjournments over Friday. We have already been a long time in session, and whilst these adjournments may not be inconvenient to those honorable members who can return to their homes at the week-end—

Mr. FULLER.—The Government of which the right honorable member was a Minister adopted the practice continuously.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I do not see much in that argument. I am not speaking of what other Governments did under other circumstances, but of what I consider is right at the present time in the interests of the country.

Mr. McDONALD.—Why did the Government with which the right honorable member was associated set us a bad example?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I wish that the honorable member would always be eager to follow examples which that Government set, as he appears to be upon the present occasion. I have not the slightest doubt that he agrees with me—perhaps, to a larger extent than does any other honorable member, although he interjects as if he held a different opinion. The honorable member has consistently opposed these adjournments, and surely he does not object to my exercising the same privilege.

Mr. McDONALD.—I do not object; but the right honorable member has now jumped my claim.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—It is well-known to Ministers that the Senate has been idle for several months. In that Chamber fortnightly adjournments have been common since Parliament first assembled in March last, because there is nothing to do. Surely that should constitute an additional reason why we should push on with the work of the session.

Mr. PAGE.—We have been endeavouring to push on with it, but the right honorable member would not allow us to do so.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The present Government have been engaged in a sort of “go-as-you-please” during the past three months. I should like to know what single piece of useful work they have done during that period. I repeat that they have been engaged in a “go as you please.”

Mr. WATSON.—Why does not the right honorable member demonstrate that?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The Prime Minister knows that he is in a minority, and he also knows that there is a no-confidence motion hanging over the head of his Government.

Mr. WATSON.—I do not. Why does not the right honorable gentleman bring it forward?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—If the honorable gentleman is ignorant of what is going on, he should read the press. The sword of

Damocles is hanging over his head. But, notwithstanding this knowledge, he is quite prepared to allow the business of the House to be delayed so long as he and his party are permitted to retain the Treasury benches.

Mr. PAGE.—That is the whole trouble.

Mr. WATSON.—I could easily retaliate on that line of argument.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The honorable gentleman can retaliate as much as he likes. While this no-confidence motion is hanging over the Government their policy is delay! delay! delay! I will prove that statement before I sit down.

Mr. McDONALD.—That sword is hung up by a cable!

Sir JOHN FORREST.—If the Government were anxious to give the Senate some business to do, and were so anxious to place the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill upon the statute-book—why did they interpose a new measure altogether, the effect of which has been to block the progress of the Arbitration Bill for weeks?

Mr. WATSON.—That is cool, seeing that the right honorable member voted for dozens of amendments in the Bill!

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Why did the Government interpose the Seat of Government Bill? Why did they not push on with the Arbitration Bill? What is the object? It is to gain time. The whole position, from the time the Government took office up till now, in my opinion—and I believe that I also express the views of many others on the subject—has been demoralizing to constitutional government. Honorable members opposite may laugh, but I repeat that it is absolutely demoralizing to responsible government.

Mr. WATSON.—It is demoralizing to the right honorable member, evidently.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—What good or sufficient reason was there for interposing the Seat of Government Bill in the midst of the debates on the Arbitration Bill? There was no reason except to gain time. I tell honorable members opposite that that was their whole object. Was there not time, while we were discussing the Arbitration Bill in Committee and dealing with amendments, for the Government to make up their mind as to any new amendments which they intended to submit upon the recommitment of the measure? No! It appears there was not time! They wanted some weeks in order to see how the wind blew, and how they could manage to draft a clause or clauses that would have the

effect of gaining one or two honorable members over to their side, thus enabling them to retain their places on the Treasury benches.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—How much time have we taken in debating the Seat of Government Bill?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The honorable gentleman may as well let me continue my remarks. He will be able to reply to me afterwards.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—Will the right honorable member promise not to interrupt me if I do?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I will, the honorable gentleman is not persona non grata. In my opinion, there was no good or sufficient reason for interposing the Seat of Government Bill in the midst of the discussion on the Arbitration Bill. It is an unusual proceeding to bring in a new question altogether, and allow it for weeks on weeks to take the place of a measure said by the Government to be of pressing importance.

Mr. McDONALD.—I rise to order. Is the right honorable member for Swan in order in discussing the Arbitration Bill on a motion that the House at its rising adjourn until Tuesday next?

The DEPUTY SPEAKER.—I think that the right honorable member is quite in order at present.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Upon my word! The honorable member for Kennedy is not in charge of the business of this House. Cannot he, as a humble follower of the Government, keep quiet?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—The right honorable member is wasting a lot of time.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The honorable member for Hume has bound himself to the Labour Party. I do not mean that offensively. He has separated from me. I will put it in that way.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I think the right honorable member separated from me.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I am on the same side as my leader.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—The right honorable member does not follow his convictions.

Mr. HUME COOK.—Who is the right honorable member's leader?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The honorable and learned member for Ballarat is my leader. Is he the honorable member's leader? There should have been ample time to consider the few amendments.

which notice has been given with regard to the Arbitration Bill, between the rising of the House on Thursday and the meeting on Tuesday, without any interposing of the Capital Sites Bill, especially bearing in mind the fact that those amendments were under the review of the Government during the whole time the latter portion of the measure was discussed in Committee. I say most deliberately that, as far as my opinion goes, there was only one object in view in postponing the recommitment of the Arbitration Bill, and interposing the Seat of Government Bill, and that was to gain time, in order to try and obtain in the interval a few more votes from those honorable members who were thought to be wavering.

Mr. PAGE.—Is there anything wrong in that?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I do not think that that is the way to carry on the business of the country.

Mr. PAGE.—The right honorable member did it.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—One would think that the honorable member for Maranoa is a parrot, because he is always saying, "You did it!" Whenever anything is urged against the Government he says, "You did it!" If one uses an argument of which the honorable member does not approve, his reply is, "You did it."

Mr. PAGE.—The right honorable member told us five minutes ago that if we followed him we should be right.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I am not surprised at the action of the Government in this matter. We have had the honorable member for Melbourne South telling the public that his party is up for sale.

Mr. WATSON.—Who said that?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The honorable member for Melbourne South said it.

Mr. WATSON.—I do not think so.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I have seen his statement in the press, and I know that the Vice-President of the Executive Council said it openly and deliberately in the Senate in 1901.

Mr. WATSON.—It was one of his Scotch jokes!

Sir JOHN FORREST.—We know that it has been said, and we know that it is a fact that the party opposite are willing, as a solid party, to give votes if they can secure legislation. There is no doubt about that. What has been the result of all this finessing and delay? The

Arbitration Bill, which was said by the Government to be so urgent as to brook no delay, is almost forgotten. I do not know how many weeks have passed since it was laid aside. It will be a novelty when it comes before us again. We shall have to refresh our memories as to what has taken place. We have been thinking about Capital sites. All our energy and mental activity have been directed towards the various places suggested for the Federal city. We were told previously that the Arbitration Bill was a measure of the very utmost importance. But it has been laid aside for weeks together; and only yesterday were we given copies of the amendments to be moved by the Government, the most important of which we had already seen in the newspapers a week ago.

Mr. WATSON.—I rise to order. I wish to know whether it is in order for the right honorable member to discuss Bills—

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The Prime Minister cannot stop me.

Mr. WATSON.—I do not wish to stop the right honorable member. He can argue as long as he likes at the right time. But he is not going to be allowed to run this House. Is it in order for the right honorable member, in opposing a motion for the adjournment of the House, at its rising, until Tuesday, to discuss the various items upon the business-paper? If that be so, it would be possible for an honorable member on such a motion to discuss the whole business-paper of the House. I contend that he can make only incidental reference to the business-paper.

The DEPUTY SPEAKER.—The Prime Minister is quite correct. The right honorable member for Swan would not be justified in debating in detail any of the questions to which he has referred. But I understand that he is now giving reasons as to why he thinks the House should not adjourn over Friday until Tuesday. Of course, references to the work that might be done in the meantime are quite admissible.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—It seems to me that my remarks do not find much favour with the Government. That is satisfactory, at any rate.

Mr. WATSON.—I shall not have a chance of replying unless I get it within five minutes.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I have not very much more to say. I was not aware that the Prime Minister was going to

Sydney to-night. But surely the few simple words that I am using could be replied to by another Minister. At any rate I must say what I have to say, even if the Prime Minister has to leave without getting an opportunity to reply. This party—

Mr. PAGE.—Which party?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The Labour Party. That party is desirous of hanging on to their position as long as they can. I do not blame them for that. They are generally recognised as being a tenacious party. Only to-day we have had a new cry raised, and for the same purpose, viz., that of gaining time. The honorable member for Bourke has interposed with a motion the discussion of which might have been continued to-day. But no; that is not desired—delay is what is required.

Mr. FISHER.—The motion of the honorable member for Bourke is private members' business.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The situation is now getting rather serious. The sword is about to fall. So a new diversion is necessary, and the battle cry at the last general election, "fiscal peace," is attacked and repudiated.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—The right honorable member must mind that the sword does not fall on his own head.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I think it is more likely to fall on the honorable member's head.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I never sold myself in any way; I never offered myself for sale.

Sir JOHN FORREST. — I fear the sword will fall on the honorable member's head unless he is very careful. I do not wish to see that happen, because I have a kindly feeling for him.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—It is very unkind of the right honorable member to keep us from leaving when he knows that a Committee of the House has to go to Sydney to-night.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The honorable member can leave, so far as I am concerned. I did not know that any Committee was going to Sydney, and I am not going to be influenced in the slightest degree by that consideration. I have nearly finished; but I intend to conclude my remarks whether the honorable member stays or does not. In my opinion, the principal object of the Government and their supporters is to gain time, because the longer the business is delayed, the better

chance they think they have of maintaining their position. I do not think that they will succeed, but there can be little doubt that what I have indicated is the one object they have in view. The question is asked over and over again why, if a vote of want of confidence is to be proposed, a motion is not submitted at once. All I know is that the right honorable member for East Sydney has been waiting for weeks for a opportunity; but the Government will not clear the decks for action. I should have thought that, instead of asking us to cease work on the days set apart for the sitting of Parliament, the Government, knowing that they are in a minority, would have felt it their duty to dispose of all intervening business, and would have welcomed a decision as to whether they had the confidence of this House or not at the earliest possible moment.

Mr. FISHER.—The right honorable gentleman apparently wants to first "spike the guns" of the Government.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—What the Opposition want is a fair vote of the House. I have not the slightest doubt, as I say, that the Government will hold on to office as long as possible.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Just as the right honorable member did.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I am glad of these interruptions, which only show that the supporters of the Government do not like honest outspoken criticism. I do not see, however, why I should be interrupted in this manner, though if the honorable members like to interrupt, and you, sir, allow them to do so—

The DEPUTY SPEAKER.—I must ask honorable members to refrain from interrupting. I understand that it is the desire that the right honorable member shall conclude his remarks as early as possible; and that cannot be accomplished if there is continual interruption. I ask that interjections shall cease entirely.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—My object in rising is to protest against repeated adjournments over the Friday, which are certainly not fair to those of us who come from distant States, and who, although they have private business to transact, are quite willing to devote a reasonable time to the duties of this House. I am sure that the other representatives from Western Australia, Queensland, and Tasmania, who

cannot reach their homes as easily as can representatives from the States nearer to Victoria, will agree with me in my protest against three, and sometimes four, idle days each week. Our desire is that the work of the session shall be continued and completed as soon as possible, so that we may be able to return to our homes, instead of spending so much time fruitlessly in Melbourne. This waste of time is unheard of. I am not referring to any waste of time while the House is actually sitting, because I know that every honorable member may speak as he likes, subject to the Standing Orders. My protest is against the waste of time caused by adjournments over what should be sitting days. It would appear to be almost a rule now that the House shall adjourn from the Thursday evening to the Tuesday; but such a policy does not commend itself to representatives from distant States, who have a right to expect the business of the country to be expeditiously transacted. For the last three months the Government appear to have been doing nothing but "mark time;" they have been waiting for "something to turn up;" they have been willing to adjourn at any and every time suggested, and they have postponed the Arbitration Bill because it was dangerous to their political existence, and interposed another, which was not so much calculated to affect their position. The present management of the Parliament of the country, in my opinion, is scandalous, as well as being demoralizing to constitutional government.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE (Hume).—I was not previously aware that so wide a range of debate could be allowed on a motion for the special adjournment of the House. The right honorable member for Swan, had he made inquiry, might have learnt that the proposed adjournment is not at the instance of the Government.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—The Government protested against the adjournment.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—One reason for the adjournment is that the Select Committee on Electoral Administration desire to bring their investigation to a close, and purpose holding a meeting in Sydney to-morrow. But for that fact I myself should have remained in Melbourne. I believe I am correct in saying that the right honorable member for East Sydney, who is the leader of the right honorable member for Swan, came to an understanding with the Prime Minister that there should be an

adjournment—it was an understanding arrived at on the suggestion of the right honorable member for East Sydney.

Mr. WATSON.—Certainly, it was at the right honorable member's suggestion. The understanding made was that a vote on the Capital sites question should not be taken until Tuesday.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—There can be very little more debate on the Seat of Government Bill, and it is rather anomalous that a lieutenant of the leader of the Opposition should, after an arrangement had been arrived at in the way I have described, attack the Government for carrying out that arrangement.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—It would appear as if there were "too many captains" on the Opposition side.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I had no communication with anybody on the matter.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—The right honorable member ought to have communicated with his leader.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Who is the leader of the honorable member for Hume?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I do not think that the right honorable member has on this occasion been fair to the Government, considering that most of the talking last night was done by a lieutenant of the leader of the Opposition, assisted by the right honorable member himself. If there has been any delay during this week it must, I think, be attributed to the machinations of the right honorable member, who certainly ought not to blame the Government for taking a course which they were practically compelled to take under the peculiar circumstances.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Why cannot the honorable member let the Government answer for themselves?

Mr. WATSON (Bland — Treasurer).—What has just been said by the honorable member for Hume is absolutely correct. It was found that a large number of honorable members proposed leaving Melbourne for Sydney, Adelaide, and elsewhere, quite independently of the members of the Select Committee on Electoral Administration; and, in any case, it would have been impossible to get a quorum to-morrow. But the adjournment is not at the suggestion of the Government; it has been arranged simply for the reason I have stated. The debate on the Seat of Government Bill is practically ended, and it was evident that if the House

met to-morrow the vote would be taken in an exceptionally thin House; and I am sure that would not meet with the wishes of any honorable member.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—If it had been arranged to take the vote to-morrow, honorable members would have been here.

Mr. WATSON.—It would have been practically impossible for a large number of honorable members to be here; and, unfortunately, from my point of view, every honorable member is not so seized with the importance of selecting the Capital site as to allow it to disarrange his private business. "Demoralizing," "scandalous," and a few other emphatic terms have been applied by the right honorable member for Swan to the present state of affairs. It is most extraordinary that the right honorable member should have been content to sit in this House for three months past, while the "scandal" has been going on, and should do nothing towards challenging the position of the Government. If the right honorable member and any other members of the Opposition object to the present Government, let them come up like men, as it is their duty to their constituents to do, and table an adverse motion. What is most demoralizing in this House is not the attitude of the Government, but the continual rumbling, and muttering of threats by the right honorable member and his confreres opposite. They threaten in this fashion, but do nothing, with the result that honorable members are kept in a state of suspense, not knowing what may occur.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Why did the Prime Minister interpose the Seat of Government Bill during the consideration of the Arbitration Bill?

Mr. WATSON.—It was necessary to have a little time in order to consider the Arbitration Bill.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The Government had plenty of time in which to do that.

Mr. WATSON.—Honorable members on the other side, including the honorable and learned member for Ballarat, asked the Government to consider a number of abstruse questions concerning legal interpretations; and that consideration which was necessary could not be given to the matter in a day. However, it is not the fault of the Government that the consideration of the Seat of Government Bill has lasted so long. Not one member of the Ministry has spoken during the debate, and,

I believe, only one or two Government supporters have addressed themselves to the merits of the various suggested sites.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The Prime Minister must have known that the consideration of the Bill would take a long time.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—The Bill is so important that a month might be well spent in its consideration.

Mr. WATSON.—That may be; but the right honorable member for Swan has no right to complain that the Government have delayed matters.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—My complaint is that a new Bill was interposed in order to gain time.

Mr. WATSON.—The Federal Capital question on the last occasion took four days to decide, and the Government were justified in expecting that no more time would be occupied on the present occasion. It is open to the right honorable member, or any one else with authority from the members of the Opposition, to take steps at the earliest possible moment to end the present position, if that position does not suit honorable members opposite. The Opposition talk of the Government being in a minority; but I deny that that is so. If, however, that is the belief of honorable members, let them take the usual Parliamentary means of demonstrating the fact.

Question resolved in the affirmative.

PAPERS.

Mr. WATSON laid upon the table the following papers:—

Amendments of Financial and Allowance regulations, and of regulations relating to Rifle Clubs, dated 23rd July, 1904.

SEAT OF GOVERNMENT BILL

In Committee (Consideration resumed from 3rd August, *vide* page 3876):

Clause 2 (Determination of Seat of Government).

Mr. FULLER (Illawarra).—I am very glad that the Government have afforded the Committee an opportunity to finish the debate on this question to-night, in order that a vote may be taken on Tuesday next. I think that we must all, under the circumstances, agree with the action of the Government in connexion with the adjournment over to-morrow. I certainly agree with it. During the last Parliament I spoke at considerable length on the question of the Federal Capital site and made a comparison between the various sites submitted at the time. Having already made up my mind as to the site

for which I shall vote, and believing that most honorable members have also made up their minds on the question, I do not now propose to enter at length upon a comparison of the advantages of the various localities under review. I have given every consideration to the question, and, unlike some honorable members, I have taken an opportunity to visit every one of the sites with the exception of the last, which has been suggested at, I think, a rather late hour, and from the first I took the objection to that site that, being right on the southern border of New South Wales, its selection would be outside the understanding entered into with the people of New South Wales. That I shall presently endeavour to show. I shall ask the special attention of the honorable member for Gippsland to what I propose to say about Bombala; I think that the selection of Tooma, Bombala, or any other place situated on the southern border of New South Wales, would practically create a buffer State between Victoria and New South Wales, and that that would be outside the terms of the arrangement as put before the people of New South Wales when the referendum was taken on the Commonwealth Bill in 1899.

Mr. McLEAN.—If that view is correct, should not the Constitution have provided for a limit from the border as well as a limit from Sydney?

Mr. FULLER.—Quite so; it would have been better if it had contained such a provision. But I shall ask the honorable member directly to listen to what was put before the people of New South Wales, not only by the leaders of the Federal movement and the advocates of the Commonwealth Bill, but also by those who were leading the movement in opposition, and who were known at the time as "Anti-Billites." The statement put before the people of New South Wales at that time by the leaders of both movements was that the Federal Capital should be established within a reasonable distance of Sydney, and that it should be in such a position that Sydney would be its port. I do not propose to deal with the statements made by the lesser lights who followed the leaders of both movements, but, contenting myself with the observations of the leaders, I am sure that I can satisfy the honorable member for Gippsland that my contention in this matter is substantially correct. Some honorable members are particularly touchy with respect to promises, or

supposed promises, made before Federation was agreed to. I refer especially to honorable members who represent Western Australia. We have had the right honorable member for Swan, and other honorable members from that State, telling us that a promise was given to the people of Western Australia that if they agreed to come into the Federation they should have a Transcontinental Railway to connect that State with the Eastern States.

Mr. CARPENTER.—Would the honorable and learned member vote for it?

Mr. FULLER.—I shall consider that question when it is brought forward. What I ask of honorable members from Western Australia at the present time is that, if I am able to show that a promise was made by the leaders of the Federal movement in New South Wales that the Federal Capital should be established at a reasonable distance from Sydney, and in such a position that Sydney would be its port, they will give that fact careful consideration when deciding upon the site for which they will vote. It has been contended by various honorable members from New South Wales that, because that State must give the territory required, and for other reasons, the people of that State are entitled to some substantial gain. As I took a fair amount of interest in opposing the Commonwealth Bill, I am aware that a large number of people in various districts in New South Wales were largely influenced in the votes they gave in connexion with Federation by a consideration of the position in which they were given to understand the Federal Capital would be established. When it was known that as the result of the Premiers' Conference the Federal Capital was to be established in New South Wales, and they were given to understand by the leaders of the Federal movement that it would be within a reasonable distance of Sydney, that had a material influence upon the number of votes cast for the Commonwealth Bill in the referendum taken in 1899. The honorable member for Eden-Monaro, in advocating the Southern Monaro site last evening, said that we required a gateway to the sea for the Federal Capital. The gateway to the sea put before the people of New South Wales was the port of Sydney. There can be no doubt that the promise made to the people of that State was that Sydney should be the port of the Federal Capital, and the honorable member for Eden-Monaro, and

other honorable members who agree with him in supporting a Southern Monaro site, and in advocating another gateway to the Federal Capital, are departing from the understanding submitted to the people of New South Wales, that Sydney was to be the port of the Federal Capital.

Mr. McLEAN.—Does the honorable and learned member think that any one has the power or the right to promise anything that was not contained in the Constitution, either in regard to a railway to Western Australia, or anything else?

Mr. FULLER.—I do not; but I say that the leaders of the Federal movement put the position before the people of New South Wales in a certain way. A distinct promise, in the terms I have stated, was made to the New South Wales people by Sir Edmund Barton, the Honorable R. E. O'Connor, the Right Honorable G. H. Reid, and others leading the Federal movement, and honorable members representing New South Wales constituencies should, at all events, stand by it. But in this Chamber we have some honorable members from New South Wales prepared to vote absolutely in opposition to the promise; we even have the honorable member for Hume ready to vote against the distinct statement which he himself made to the people of Sydney and of New South Wales, when speaking at Waverley in 1899. I propose to quote the honorable gentleman's observations on that occasion.

Mr. PAGE.—Does the honorable and learned member contend that the Committee should be bound by the promises of those individuals?

Mr. FULLER.—I do not contend that for a moment. All I say is that promises were made to the people of New South Wales by the leaders of the Federal movement, and that when those promises are submitted to honorable members in the words used by the persons who made them, they should be given fair consideration. I do not for a moment contend that honorable members of this Committee are bound by promises made by Sir Edmund Barton, by the right honorable member for East Sydney, or by any other man; but I hope that honorable members from all the States will take these matters into consideration when deciding the site for the Capital. I find that Sir Edmund Barton spoke, in support of the adoption of the Commonwealth Bill by the people of New South Wales, in the Temperance

Hall, Sydney, on the 1st May, 1899. The right honorable member for East Sydney and a large number of other Federalists were present at the meeting, and, from their silence, I presume they agreed with the expressions used by Sir Edmund Barton on that occasion. The right honorable gentleman said—

I am perfectly satisfied that the Federal Capital will always be in such a place that Sydney will be the trading port.

That was the position put before the people of New South Wales by the leader of the Federal movement.

Mr. CROUCH.—That was before the right honorable member for East Sydney had agreed to the exclusion of Sydney.

Mr. FULLER.—No. The honorable and learned member will pardon me. The meeting was held about three weeks before the referendum was taken in 1899, and after the right honorable member for East Sydney had agreed, in conference with the Premiers of the other States, to the 100 miles limit from Sydney. Speaking at Marrickville, a little later, on 13th June, Sir Edmund Barton said—

Wherever the Federal Capital was placed Sydney must be the trading port of the Capital.

Those are very strong expressions from the leader of the Federal movement, and, naturally, the people of New South Wales attached very great importance to what was said by the right honorable gentleman at that occasion. I find that the present Attorney-General, Justice O'Connor, who was one of the prominent supporters of the Federal movement in New South Wales, speaking at Balmain on 15th June, 1899, in connexion with the Federal Capital, said—

The Capital being fixed in New South Wales a vast advantage must accrue to Sydney.

These quotations surely show that the leading representatives of the Federal movement fully believed, wished the people of New South Wales to believe, and induced them to believe, that when the Federal Capital was established Sydney would be its trading port, and that Sydney and New South Wales would necessarily get some advantage from the arrangement. The right honorable member for East Sydney, speaking on 16th June, 1899, at Goulburn, referred to this matter in the following words:—

I am not saying this to-night to please you. I said it in February last, when coming through Albury. They asked me if the Capital would be there, and I said that, in my opinion, it would be on the Southern line, a little below Goulburn.

Other members of the right honorable gentleman's administration, including the Postmaster-General of New South Wales at the time, and a number of prominent men and members of Parliament in New South Wales, made use of similar expressions. This all goes to show that the idea in the minds of those gentlemen, and the idea which they desired to convey to the people of New South Wales, was that the Federal Capital was to be established in such a position that Sydney would be its port, and that New South Wales, in that way, would derive some distinct advantage from the establishment of the Capital within that State. I have given quotations from the leading "Billites" in New South Wales at the time of the referendum. But it was not only the "Billites," but also the "anti-Billites" of whom the honorable member for Hume was one of the leaders, who put this view before the people of New South Wales. I point out, in passing, that the honorable member for Hume went so far as to say that in consequence of Eden-Bombala being so far south, it was entirely out of range, and could not be taken into consideration at all. We find that the honorable gentleman is now advocating the selection of Tooma, which is right on the southern border of New South Wales, and which is further south even than Dalgety. As one of the leaders of the "anti-Billite" party in New South Wales, the honorable gentleman made use of expressions in connexion with the position of the Federal Capital very similar to those made use of by advocates of the Bill. Speaking here the other night, the honorable gentleman said that we should not be building this Capital for the present, but for the future, and that we should look forward to the time when the population of Australia would be very much greater than it is at present. He contended that in fixing the site of the Federal Capital we should take that into consideration, in order that it might be established as near as possible to the centre of the population of the Commonwealth. In making these observations the honorable gentleman was advocating the selection of the Tumut district, embracing the three sites of Tumut, Batlow, and the new site at Tooma; but on 31st May, 1899, speaking in Sydney at Waverley, the honorable gentleman took a very different view as to where the centre of population was likely to be. The honorable gentleman spoke at that time, not with a view to pleasing his constituents, but as

a leader of the great movement in New South Wales in opposition to the Constitution Bill. He said—

The excess of population in the Colony in future would be to the north of Sydney, and not to the south of it, and the Capital should be placed at Armidale or somewhere in that direction.

Mr. McWILLIAMS.—Who said that?

Mr. FULLER.—The honorable member for Hume, when speaking on the Constitution Bill at Waverley in 1899.

Mr. PAGE.—The scene has changed since then.

Mr. ROBINSON.—The honorable gentleman has found a new constituency since then.

Mr. FULLER.—The scene has changed; and the honorable gentleman is now advocating the selection of a site which is as remote from Sydney as any site in New South Wales can possibly be. He referred to the matter again on 31st May, 1899, when speaking at Sydney. The honorable gentleman was then strongly advocating the claims of Sydney as the Capital of Australia. He said—

Perhaps there might be something in the argument that Sydney should not be the Capital. Still, we had a right for the Capital to be placed within a reasonable distance of the metropolis of New South Wales.

It has been the subject of keen remark in New South Wales, and has come as a shock to the electors of that State who heard the honorable member for Hume say a few years back that if the Seat of Government could not be in Sydney it should be within reasonable distance of that metropolis, to find that he is now endeavouring to have it placed on the southern border of the State, and as far from Sydney as is possible.

Mr. KELLY. — The phrase "reasonable distance" is used in the resolution of the Premiers. They resolved that the Capital should be within reasonable distance of Sydney.

Mr. FULLER.—Quite so; but I do not wish to go over ground already traversed. The matters with which I have dealt are matters to which no other honorable member has referred. Sir Edmund Barton, Mr. Justice O'Connor, the right honorable member for East Sydney, and the honorable member for Hume, were four of the most prominent speakers for and against the Federal movement in New South Wales, and they undoubtedly led the people of that

State to believe that the Seat of Government of the Commonwealth would be placed within a reasonable distance of Sydney, and that Sydney would be its port. Every elector in the mother State who took any interest in the matter was under the impression that the Federal Capital would be so placed. Therefore I ask honorable members to bear that fact in mind, and, while giving full consideration to the merits of the various proposed sites, see that the wishes of the people of New South Wales are not ignored. In my opinion, the Lake George site is the best that has yet been proposed, and when the last ballot was taken, I, with another honorable member, voted for it. That site is almost midway between the great cities of Sydney and Melbourne, and easily accessible by railway, because it is close to the main line which connects them. It also possesses an advantage which no other site has, inasmuch as it fronts a large sheet of water, while its climate is equal to that of any of the other proposed sites. The selection of that site would have carried out the representations made to the people of New South Wales, and would have fallen in with what was said on the subject by the right honorable member for Adelaide. Unfortunately, however, the Lake George site was inspected under conditions which did not give it a fair chance. We were taken to the worst part of the site—to one end of the lake which, after ten years' drought, was almost dry; and the day was a bad one, so that the place was seen under every disadvantage. Apparently the site is now out of the running, and under these circumstances the next best site is, in my opinion, Lyndhurst. Sydney would certainly be the port of the Federal Capital if Lyndhurst were chosen, and that site has all the necessary advantages of climate, accessibility, and so forth. I am, therefore, anxious that the Lyndhurst site shall be chosen, and I ask honorable members in dealing with this matter to give fair and honest consideration to the fact that a great many of the electors of New South Wales who voted for the acceptance of the Constitution were led to do so on the representations of Sir Edmund Barton, Mr. Justice O'Connor, the honorable member for Hume, and the right honorable member for East Sydney, which I have already quoted.

Mr. CARPENTER (Fremantle).—Before beginning my remarks on the Bill, I should like to answer the criticism which

has been passed on the action of the Government in bringing the measure forward for discussion before the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill had been finally dealt with. That criticism appears to me very unjust, in view of the events of the last three months.

The CHAIRMAN.—The determination of the Seat of Government is the question before the Committee.

Mr. CARPENTER.—I shall allude only briefly to the matter with which I am dealing. We had a change of Government, and it taxed the energies of the Prime Minister to the utmost to meet the various objections raised against the provisions of the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill. His continuous application finally caused him to become unwell, and under the circumstances, he was quite justified when a stage in the consideration of the Bill in Committee had been finished, in asking honorable members to go on with the discussion of another measure, while the Government considered the amendments made in the Conciliation Bill. Although coming from a distant State, and although it is to my advantage to have the business of Parliament conducted in as short a time as possible, I have sympathy with the objection which has been raised to the action of the Government in bringing forward the Seat of Government Bill. I believe that had other legislation been introduced, their action would not have been criticised, but in this case, we do not wish to be enabled to turn quickly to our homes by overworking those who hold Ministerial office. What have to say in regard to the proposed site is not very much. I believe that no vote will be changed by the discussion of the clause. Every honorable member who has dealt with the subject has treated it differently, but most of them have viewed wholly from the stand-point of the State from which they come. I do not blame them for doing so. But I claim the right to deal with it in the same way, particularly as the State which I represent received consideration whatever in the early stages of this matter. I take exception, however, to two sets of arguments which have been used by honorable members. In the first place, I think that it would be disastrous to approach the consideration of the question from what I may call the extreme Kyabram stand-point, which was emphasized by the honorable and learned member Wannon.

Mr. TUDOR.—Kyabram is dead.

Mr. CARPENTER.—I am aware of that ; but its ghost still lives, and a few honorable members, especially representatives of Victoria, are always ready to bring it before us. I hope that parsimonious ideas will not take possession of the minds of honorable members in connexion with the building of the Federal Capital. I would rather see the matter delayed for fifty or 100 years than have a cheap and nasty place erected, in accordance with the ideas of Kyabram. We can afford to wait for our Capital, but we cannot afford to disgrace the country by building a city of tin shanties. Let us erect a city of which those who come after us will be proud. I do not blame honorable members for dealing with the subject from the local point of view. We were sent here to represent particular districts and States, and we cannot forget the fact, no matter how much we try. But, in dealing with a great national question such as this, parochial interests must be left out of view. At the present time only the fringe of this great country is populated, but I believe that in the future the whole of Australia will be settled. In my opinion, Central Australia will in future carry a very big population, and coming generations will wonder why we were so short-sighted in fixing the site of the Federal Capital as to consider only the existing population on the coast.

Mr. KELLY.—Does the honorable member think that the centre of Australia is capable of carrying a large rural population?

Mr. CARPENTER.—Certainly I do. To my mind there is no doubt about it.

Mr. McWILLIAMS.—In that case the future generation must be constructed like camels, and able to go for a week without water.

Mr. CARPENTER.—I think that the experience of other places has shown that the settlement of Central Australia is more than probable. I am with those honorable members who contend that the Federal Capital should be centrally situated. But ideas on the subject appear very vague, and very much at variance with actual facts.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—Port Augusta is the true centre.

Mr. CARPENTER.—If the matter is to be looked at from the Australian standpoint, the Capital should be placed as near to the western borders of New South Wales as is possible. Of course, the matter has hitherto been argued only with regard to

the present location of population. It is strange that honorable members have lost sight of the fact that during the last ten or twelve years the trend of population has been altogether away from the more populous States. Not only honorable members, but also the representatives of the States at the Convention, overlooked the important fact that population was trending westwards.

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—And northwards.

Mr. CARPENTER.—I shall give the figures for the Northern States. According to *Coghlan*, during the period from 1891 to 1902—twelve years—Victoria lost by excess of emigration over immigration 123,855 people. South Australia lost 21,142, and Tasmania 1,895—I suppose it had not any more to lose. New South Wales gained 16,155, Queensland 18,675, and Western Australia 145,165. Thus the gain of Western Australia was four times greater than that of all the other States combined. These figures show that Western Australia has been entirely overlooked. I know that it is now too late to remedy the mistake that has been made. I find that the population per square mile in New South Wales is 4.53, as contrasted with 13.78 in Victoria. When honorable members who represent the mother State are speaking of Sydney as the hub of the universe, they should remember that there is something to be said in favour of establishing the Federal Capital in a locality to the southward of Sydney, inasmuch as the population of Victoria is three times as dense as that of New South Wales.

Mr. LIDDELL.—What about the Panama Canal?

Mr. McLEAN.—What about the *Encyclopædia Britannica*?

Mr. CARPENTER.—It is rather early to consider the possible effects of the Panama Canal upon Australian trade. Although I admit that we cannot alter what has been done, I have always objected to the manner in which the question of the Federal Capital was dealt with at the Premiers' Conference. That was a secret meeting, and only those who were present know exactly what happened. In spite of all our inquiries, all we can ascertain is that there was a lot of haggling and bargaining. We are told that the representative of New South Wales insisted upon provision being made in the Constitution for the establishment of the Federal Capital

in New South Wales. The Victorian representative said that if that were insisted upon that he would see to it that the Capital was not established anywhere near Sydney, and in spite of the protests of the right honorable member for East Sydney, the historical 100-mile limit was imposed—a stipulation at which future generations will laugh.

Mr. MCWILLIAMS.—The present generation is laughing at it.

Mr. CARPENTER.—It is enough to make people laugh. It would have been preferable to have the matter left for settlement by the people of Australia. I believe that if we had had a perfectly free hand we should have selected a site somewhere on the borders of New South Wales. As matters stand, however, we cannot do justice to the subject, because we have to observe hampering conditions, which prevent us from doing that which we conceive to be best. I have visited all the proposed sites, and have honestly tried, apart altogether from my predilections, and certainly free from local bias, to decide which is the best site. I shall refer only to the three sites which are regarded as having a chance of selection. I went to Lyndhurst expecting to find a much better tract of country. I was disappointed, after hearing so much in praise of that site from the representatives of New South Wales, to find a dry, dreary, barren prospect, with nothing whatever to make it attractive. The land appeared to me to be of only second or third-rate quality, and I saw no vegetation except in the form of dried grass or Scotch thistles.

Mr. D. A. THOMSON. — The Scotch thistles would be an indication of good land.

Mr. CARPENTER.—Yes; but these thistles were dead. Even the hares and rabbits there seemed to be more miserable than those to be found in other parts of the country. In the Bombala district I saw more than one site that would be suitable for a very fine city. I think that the district is to be congratulated upon having two or three eligible sites. The desirableness of having a Federal port led me, in the first instance, to give my adhesion to the Bombala district. I regard as of the highest importance the question of providing an outlet by sea, so that the Commonwealth Government shall not be confined within the borders of any one State. I am afraid that, if we tie ourselves

up within the borders of New South Wales, and thus place ourselves at the mercy of that State—I use the term advisedly—as to means of ingress and egress the time may come when we shall regret our action.

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—The honorable member is exhibiting a fine Federal spirit.

Mr. CARPENTER.—My attitude only in keeping with the Federal spirit which has been shown in this Chamber. The representatives of New South Wales are not displaying a very good spirit towards the rest of Australia. Although they are assured by the terms of the Constitution that the Federal Capital shall be located within New South Wales, they are now claiming that they have the right to name the district in which it should be situated, and the extent of territory which shall be acquired by the Commonwealth.

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—Why does the honorable member object to the Seat of Government being in Melbourne, see that we are at the mercy of Victoria?

Mr. CARPENTER.—The question of meeting here for a time is entirely different from that of establishing the permanent Seat of Government of the Commonwealth. Of the sites in the Bombala district, that of Dalgety appealed to me as being the best chiefly on account of its picturesque scenery, although I appreciate it as much as most men. If we are to build the Capital in the Bombala district, it would be a pity to overlook the Dalgety site, with its fine background of mountains and the Snowy River flowing around three sides. When I went to the Tumut district, however, I was forced, much as I liked Dalgety, to award the palm to Welarega. It has all the advantages possessed by Dalgety, from the picturesque stand-point, and it possesses the further recommendation that the country is very rich. I do not think that we could find anywhere in Australia a more suitable tract of country or a better site for the Federal city. The site possesses every essential, and I am quite sure that if those honorable members who have not yet visited it could only see it they would agree with me. As regards accessibility, I would point out that a matter of 100 miles is a mere bagatelle to the average Australian traveller. The representatives of Western Australia had to travel from 2,000 to 2,500 miles in order to attend the meetings of Parliament, and

yet we find honorable members who live in Sydney attaching great importance to the question of a mere fifty or 100 miles of extra travelling. When once a man has to travel, of what importance is an extra fifty or 100 miles? Are we going to sacrifice the very best site that can be found in Australia for the sake of bringing the Federal city 100 miles nearer to some particular point? Honorable members who regard the matter from that stand-point lose sight of the most essential consideration. I began by saying that I should prefer to see the establishment of the Capital delayed for fifty or 100 years rather than that we should engage in such an enterprise in any spirit of parsimony. Although I am now prepared to vote for the site I have indicated, with Dalgety as a second choice, I still hope that there will be no undue haste in arranging for the establishment of the Federal city. The people of New South Wales may, perhaps, grumble if we do not make as much haste as they think we should, but we have to consider the whole of the Commonwealth. Instead of building the city with borrowed money, we should cut our coat according to our cloth, and defray the cost of the preparatory work out of revenue. Then, by-and-by, when we have to build the city, we may possibly have to resort to some other means of raising the necessary funds. I hope, however, that for some years to come we shall not be under the necessity of borrowing money. The suggestion has been made by one or two honorable members that we ought to make haste to leave Melbourne. I confess that I am in no hurry to get away from this city. I am aware that some honorable members—myself amongst the number—occasionally chafe under what we regard as the unfair criticism of the press. But I am not going to allow that criticism to drive me to take up my abode in a desolate wilderness. I like to read my morning newspaper, as well as do most honorable members. Those who cry out most loudly against press influence would probably be the first to grumble if they woke up in the Federal Capital and lacked their morning newspaper. To my mind, it would be a calamity if Parliament were placed out of touch with the best thought which finds expression in our great cities. Upon more than one occasion I have had to fight the press, and I may yet have to repeat the experience. Nevertheless, I do not hold with the cry that we should place ourselves outside the sphere

of press influence as speedily as possible. When we go to our new home we should do so because we are under an obligation to acquire a territory of our own, and not from any other reason. Of all the localities in respect of which we are asked to vote, I regard the Tumut area as the most suitable for the establishment of the Federal Capital. The Bombala district is my second choice, and, I think, that Lyndhurst is the very worst site that is available. In my judgment it would be disastrous to the best interests of the Commonwealth if that site were selected.

Mr. BROWN (Canobolas).—Of all the questions upon which we are empowered to legislate under the Constitution, that which is now engaging our attention is one of the most important. It was embodied in our charter of Government by our eminent constitution builders, upon the understanding that as soon as this Parliament was in a position to deal with the question, it should receive careful consideration. As head of the first Commonwealth Government, Sir Edmund Barton distinctly promised in his pre-election addresses, and also in the Governor-General's speech at the opening of the Commonwealth Parliament, that it should be given early attention. Before that promise could be redeemed, however, a considerable amount of work had to be undertaken, in order to place honorable members in possession of information which was essential to enable them to arrive at a just decision regarding the particular site which should be selected. Consequently, no attempt was made to deal with the matter, until towards the close of the first Parliament. Even then the information which was supplied to honorable members was very incomplete. As a matter of fact, official reports relating to various sites were still being received whilst the Seat of Government Bill was under consideration. Moreover, the time which was then at the disposal of honorable members was very limited. Those who took part in the discussion of that Bill were urged to compress their addresses within the narrowest possible limits. They were assured by Ministers that anything in the nature of an exhaustive debate of the measure must inevitably lead to the question being shelved. As we are all aware, the attempt to determine a site upon that occasion proved fruitless, owing to a difference between the choice of this House and that of the other Chamber. Since then we have had the advantage of being furnished with

additional information concerning the different sites, and upon the present occasion we are not pressed for time as we were previously. I am bound to admit that during the present discussion some very excellent speeches have been made. In accordance with the decision of the House, we are now invited to select the Federal Territory rather than a site for the Federal Capital. The choice of a site is being made the peg upon which to hang the debate in respect of the territory. The most eligible areas have been narrowed down to three—namely, the Western, Southern, and South Eastern Districts. With the exception of what is contained in the report which was compiled at the instance of the Government of New South Wales by the late Mr. Oliver, honorable members have little or no information relating to the question of territory. That was one of the points upon which I joined issue with the Barton and Deakin Governments in dealing with this matter. When the Capital Sites Commission was appointed, I understood that the scope of its inquiry would extend, not only to the sites submitted, but to the suitability of the territory surrounding them. I was under the impression that the information to be supplied by them would be as complete as possible. Under instructions issued by the Government of the day, however, that Commission limited its investigation practically to a site of 4,000 acres. Outside of that area it sought information only as regards the possibility of supplying the population of the future Capital with water. We are, therefore, called upon to deal with the question of the Federal Territory, lacking a considerable amount of information which would be of immense value to us in enabling us to arrive at a just determination. Of course I recognise that the present Government is not responsible for that absence of information. It was obliged to take up this question at the point at which it had been left by its predecessors. To me it seems extraordinary that the members of the late Government, who were responsible for the investigation of the Capital Sites Commission being conducted in the way that it was, should now turn a complete somersault, and be consumed with a desire to select territory in the first place, and to make the choice of a site a matter for subsequent consideration. How they have come to arrive at this position I fail to understand.

Mr. Brown.

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—We shall have to decide the site also.

Mr. BROWN.—As I am reminded the honorable member for North Sydney we shall also be invited to decide the site. But we are, first of all, invited to deal with the territory, and we are asked to select that territory on information that relates to sites only. I contend that we should be placed in possession of further information, for the purpose of selecting the territory. The question of the site should be for after consideration. Before dealing with the territories, or sites within the territories, I should like to say a word upon the constitutional aspect of the question, particularly as it relates to the interests of New South Wales. It is a matter upon which, even in this House, there is a considerable difference of opinion. Some honorable members hold that as the Constitution provides that the site must be within the territory of New South Wales, no obligation is imposed upon Parliament beyond placing the site within the State. They urge that the particular position of the State in which the site is located is of no importance. In fact, several honorable members have expressed the opinion that in the interests of the Commonwealth the site should not be within the territory of New South Wales, as we understand it, but upon the border, so that New South Wales territory will actually be taken for site purposes, whilst the people living within it will have access to another State entirely independent of New South Wales. The question of how this position has arrived at is very interesting. The Constitution itself provides, in section 125, that the Seat of Government shall be in the State of New South Wales, and shall be distant not less than 100 miles from Sydney; and it goes on to say that the Parliament shall sit in Melbourne until it meets at the Seat of Government. In order to understand the position more roughly, honorable members must call their minds back to the discussion which took place in connexion with the framing of the Constitution, particularly in the stages that led to its adoption by the peoples of the different States. The principle which animated the Convention was not merely that of devising a perfect instrument of Government theoretically, but making it workable practically, but there was also introduced the question of what concessions the different States should make for themselves, or what disadvantages

ey would suffer under this new form of Government, as compared with the State form of Government that had previously existed; what were the powers which they surrendered, and what effect those powers had upon their industrial life; and to what extent they could make terms with their fellow States, which would compensate them for losses, fancied or otherwise, in other respects. I think it can be fairly claimed that New South Wales, through her representatives — particularly through her Federal leader, Sir Edmund Barton — raised this question from the wider standpoint of the interests of the whole Commonwealth. The people of that State were not disposed to subordinate principles which they considered essential to the proper working of the Constitution, to mere questions of particular advantage to their own State. But when terms of this character were being forced upon their consideration by the other States, and special conditions were being secured by them, it became necessary — in order to secure the co-operation of the people of that State, without which the Constitution could not be adopted and Federation consummated — for the members of the Convention representing New South Wales to show their people that in making these concessions to the other States, they were not giving away the whole of the interests of their own State. One natural condition was that the Senate should represent the States as States, one State being one electorate for that particular purpose, so that senators should not represent sections of the people, but the whole State. Queensland had special interests at stake. There was a divergence of conditions and interests as between Southern Queensland, Central Queensland, and Northern Queensland. Apparently her representatives, who were engaged in framing the Constitution, desired that these interests should be specially considered. The Constitution builders had to depart from their ideal to this extent — that Queensland received the right, if she chose, not to elect her senators for the whole State as one electorate, but to divide her State into three sections for that purpose. That was one concession which Queensland received. I do not say that it was an improper one, but it was a departure from the ideal of the framers of the Constitution for the purpose of meeting State

needs. Then again Tasmania recognised that in so far as her revenue was so largely derived from Customs and Excise, in handing over those methods of taxation to Federal control she was depriving her Government of a source of revenue that was essential in the conduct of her administration.

The CHAIRMAN.—Order! Are the honorable member's remarks to be connected with the question of the Capital sites?

Mr. BROWN.—Yes; I am showing that because of those concessions that were made to other States New South Wales was justified in asking for a concession with respect to the Capital. Tasmania obtained the insertion in the Constitution of the section which became known afterwards as the Braddon section. Then, again, South Australia wished to have the rivers—particularly those running through Queensland, Victoria, and New South Wales, and meeting in her territory, per medium of the Murray—to be preserved for navigation purposes. That question affected such vital interests in more than one State with regard to the development of territories by means of irrigation that it led to almost a dead-lock in the Convention. It seemed likely at one time that if South Australia insisted upon her own interests in this respect, the Convention would come to naught.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—South Australia neither asked for nor received any concession whatever from the Convention.

Mr. BROWN.—This matter was fought out by her representatives so strongly, and was resisted to such an extent by the New South Wales representatives, that on more than one occasion those representatives were prepared to pack up their carpet bags and leave before any result was arrived at. However, despite the strong protests of the representatives of New South Wales, and to a lesser degree of those of Victoria, a condition was inserted that secured special consideration for the interests of South Australia.

The CHAIRMAN.—I must draw the attention of the honorable member to the fact that he is not really discussing the matter which is now under the purview of the Committee. He is going into the question of the right of New South Wales to have the Capital site within her territory. That is not under consideration at all. What we now have to discuss is the suitability of the various areas which have

been submitted for the consideration of the Committee. I ask the honorable member to confine himself to that question.

Mr. BROWN. — But, sir, during the course of the debate the constitutional side of the question has been raised, and the New South Wales representatives have been charged with being provincial, and so forth, in asking that the terms of the Constitution should be adhered to.

The CHAIRMAN. — The honorable member was really discussing the action, not of this Parliament, but of the Convention, and that is going outside the question before the Chair. We are not now debating the action of the Convention.

Mr. BROWN.—I am not discussing the action of the Convention.

The CHAIRMAN. — The honorable member is discussing the reason why certain concessions were made by the Convention at the instance of the representatives of certain States. The remarks which the honorable member says have been made by other honorable members in regard to the action of the New South Wales members were merely incidental, and were not pursued at considerable length.

Mr. BROWN.—I have practically concluded my references to this point. I do not wish to transgress the rules, and am prepared to bow to your decision.

The CHAIRMAN.—I think the honorable member will find that the subject is quite wide enough as it is.

Mr. BROWN.—I am aware that it is a fairly wide question, but, as these points had been dealt with, I was simply showing what were the concessions made to the different States. The concession made to Western Australia was, of course, the provision with regard to Customs duties, and the understanding as to the Transcontinental Railway. If I am in order, I wish to deal with the questions which have been put to the Committee—that the Capital site must be in such a position that, whilst the territory is within New South Wales, there must be egress to a State independent of New South Wales, either by reason of the site abutting upon the territory of the other State or by reason of the fact that the territory will embrace a Federal harbor. Those questions have been raised at considerable length, and I wish to reply to the remarks which have been made concerning them.

The CHAIRMAN.—The honorable member will be quite in order in doing so.

Mr. BROWN.—In the first place, when the matter was being dealt with in our State

Parliament, Mr. Reid, as Premier, asked permission to negotiate with the Premier of the other States. I was one of the members of the Legislative Assembly of New South Wales who voted against the proposal to remit this question of the Federal Capital Site to the State Premiers, and therefore, I cannot be charged with having any prejudice. In my opinion, there are other issues so important that they ought not to be overshadowed by any consideration of this particular State concession. Pleading for the interests of the State which I represent, I only urge that special concessions granted under the Constitution shall be carried out, not only in letter, but in spirit. Victoria, for instance, insists not only that the Federal Parliament shall meet in Melbourne, but that all functions of the Executive Government shall be discharged in that city. And Victoria is quite within her rights in so insisting.

Mr. CROUCH.—How has Victoria insisted?

Mr. BROWN.—Shortly after the Federal Parliament met in Melbourne, the Prime Minister, Sir Edmund Barton, paid a visit to Sydney on Commonwealth business, and a suspicion immediately arose that the intention was to discharge the functions of government in that city. Thereupon a great *furor* was raised in the Victorian press, which demanded that the spirit of the Constitution should be served. When the Commonwealth Government decided to rent some small office in Sydney for Federal purposes, even this course was resented in Victoria.

Mr. RONALD.—The press is not people.

Mr. BROWN.—But the representatives of Victoria in this Parliament would be resented any such idea had they not been satisfied there was no intention to remove the administrative government. There is no doubt that Victoria is quite right in insisting on the spirit of the compromise bargain being observed.

Mr. CROUCH.—The Governor-General spends most of his time in Sydney.

Mr. BROWN.—Only a small fraction of the Governor-General's time is spent in Sydney. While Victorians insist on the compact being carried out in spirit as well as in letter, they ought to extend fair and reasonable consideration to the sister State of New South Wales. It must not be thought at a moment that to fix the Capital site at the border would be to carry out

compact in full; and, as justifying that opinion, let me read an extract from Messrs. Quick and Garran's valuable work on the Constitution of the Australian Commonwealth. At page 219 we read that the Premiers of the various States, in Conference, reported—

It is considered that the fixing of the site of the Capital is a question which might well be left to the Parliament to decide; but, in view of the strong expression of opinion in relation to this matter in New South Wales, the Premiers have modified the clause, so that while the Capital cannot be fixed at Sydney, or in its neighbourhood, provision is made in the Constitution for its establishment in New South Wales at a reasonable distance from that city.

I draw honorable members' attention to the words "at a reasonable distance from that city," as showing the opinion of the Premiers who revised the Constitution, and who were responsible for the alteration which fixed the 100-miles limit.

This document was issued by the Premiers, not to the people of New South Wales for their guidance and information, but to the people of the whole Commonwealth, who were subsequently asked to indorse the Constitution as altered.

Mr. KELLY.—And they indorsed the Constitution by largely increased majorities.

Mr. BROWN.—Can it be contended that a site selected on the border, hundreds of miles distant, and most difficult of access, as the Tooma site is, is within "reasonable distance of Sydney"? Could the selection of such a site be said to comply with the spirit which underlies the agreement entered into at the Premiers' Conference? I am supported in my present attitude by some of the leading men who took part in that Conference. The right honorable member for Balaclava, in one of his addresses, said—

We, in this Colony, have made a contract with New South Wales, and we are not going back on it.

When, in the last Parliament, the right honorable member for Balaclava was asked to vote for a border site, which had considerable support from the press and representatives of Victoria, he refused to do so, and gave his voice in favour of the Tumut-Lacmalac site. To the honour and credit of that right honorable member, let it be said that he was the only member of the then Government who viewed the question from that liberal stand-point.

Mr. KELLY.—The right honorable member knew the feeling of the Premiers' Conference.

Mr. BROWN.—That is so, seeing that he was one of those instrumental in bringing about the agreement then arrived at. The Cabinet, when the voting on the sites took place, contained two representatives of New South Wales, but the right honorable member for Balaclava was the only member of the Ministry prepared to vote in favour of Tumut, as against a border site.

Mr. CROUCH.—Does the honorable member say that Tumut is within a "reasonable distance" of Sydney?

Mr. BROWN.—Tumut is within a much more reasonable distance from Sydney than is Albury, Tooma, Bombala, or Dalgety. Sir Alexander Peacock, when occupying the important position of Premier of Victoria, is reported to have thus expressed himself in an interview with a representative of the *Sydney Daily Telegraph*—

Albury is too near to Melbourne, you know—a province of Melbourne. You might as well have the Capital in Victoria as at Albury. Oh, no; this is a serious business; Albury is impossible—we admit it.

Those utterances were largely instrumental in leading the people of New South Wales to suppose that, all things being equal, a site within a reasonable distance beyond the 100-miles limit, would not be excluded from the consideration of this House. While honorable members are willing to select a site in New South Wales, because the Constitution compels them to do so, they do not appear to be prepared to fix on a place within a reasonable distance of Sydney, but would rather locate the Capital on the border, either west or east of the mountains or of the Snowy River.

Mr. CROUCH.—Two Victorian members voted for Albury; why not say so?

Mr. BROWN.—Some honorable members afterwards transferred their votes. There was not a Victorian member who voted for a site further north than Tumut. Some honorable members view the Constitution as though it not only provided that the Capital site should not be within 100 miles of Sydney, but also that it must not be more than fifty miles from the River Murray or the Victorian border. That is the position to which I take exception, as not being in accordance with the spirit of the Constitution or fair to the interests of the State which I represent.

Mr. KELLY.—These honorable members desire New South Wales to provide the land, and to receive no benefit in return.

Mr. BROWN.—If New South Wales is expected to hand over a big area, it is only reasonable to suppose that she anticipates to derive some benefit. But if a border site be selected, any benefit there may be will be divided between New South Wales and Victoria. The fact of the matter is that the natural conditions in New South Wales, in point of distance and accessibility, are such that her borderlands are practically Victorian. What I want to impress on honorable members is that in pressing for the selection of a site which is not on the border, I am asking for nothing unfair. The disadvantages of sites not on the border may be more than compensated for by advantages which border sites do not possess; and, all things being equal, there is no unreasonableness in the position I am advancing. As I have said before, it is not enough to observe the mere letter of the law; the spirit of the law is its very essence. The words of the Premiers who met in conference indicate the spirit of the Constitution, and its words clearly mean that if a suitable site can be secured within a reasonable distance from Sydney, that site should at least receive fair consideration at our hands. I have been greatly disappointed with the attitude assumed on this question by some of the representatives of Victoria. Arrangements were made to enable honorable members to visit the different sites suggested that they might make themselves personally acquainted with them; but I regret to say that, whilst amongst the visiting parties the other States have been amply represented, honorable members representing Victorian constituencies have not availed themselves of these opportunities to the extent that might have been expected, and as the visits were extended northwards, and into the interior of New South Wales, the number of Victorian members joining in these visits of inspection became less. This has not been very promising, but I trust that Victorian representatives will not deny just treatment to the mother State in this matter. I am encouraged to view the situation more hopefully after the address I heard from the honorable and learned member for Wannon, who represents a Victorian constituency. In his able address, that honorable and learned member viewed the question, not from a provincial, but from a comprehensive national stand-point. He was prepared to admit that New South Wales had some claims to consideration which ought not to be ignored. One subject to

which the honorable and learned member referred is worthy of the special attention of the Committee, and that is the amount of expenditure involved on the site under review. I am aware that the honorable and learned member has been twitted with Kyabramism, because he has endeavoured to view this question from the economic stand-point, and because he suggested the selection of the site which would involve the Commonwealth at the least expense. Without any suggestion of cheese-paring, it must be admitted that the honorable and learned member has raised a very important question which must be fully considered in justice to the people not of any particular State but of the whole Commonwealth, because they will be expected to find the money for the establishment and equipment of the Federal Capital. If one suitable site involves less expense than does another, it should certainly have some weight with honorable members in its selection. The question of expense has a very important bearing on this matter. There are those who would appear to dissociate Federal interests from State interests. Because the Federal authority is charged with the carrying out of a certain work, some people think that the States are affected. But the Federal Parliament is to govern the same people as the State Parliaments, and the burden of unnecessary extravagance on the part of the Federal Parliament must fall upon the people of the States, in just the same way as the extravagance had been committed by the States Parliaments. It must not be forgotten that the people of the various States will have to foot the bill for all expenses in connexion with the Federal Capital. For this reason honorable members should closely consider the cost to the people of the Commonwealth of establishing the Capital at a particular site. As against an expenditure of millions, a few scattered mountains, or what honorable members may deem to be beautiful scenery should not count. The various States to-day, in connection with the pioneering which they have had to undertake, carry a burden of something like £222,000. A handful of people, numbering 4,000,000, has to bear a burden of £222,000,000 of public debt already incurred, and honorable members should be very careful before they do anything which will add to that burden. It is their duty, not only to see that the people

the Commonwealth get full value for the money to be expended in connexion with the Federal Capital, but also to see that no further addition shall be made to their enormous burden of debt. This, with a little consideration may be avoided. Honorable members can verify the figures I propose to quote from the official reports before them. I should say that for the Tumut district I am compelled to take the Lacmalac site as the basis of my comparison, because I have detailed information for the purpose of the comparison with respect to that site only. Of course, with respect to the newer sites submitted for our consideration, there is no information upon these points before us. But we know that they will not be cheaper, but very much dearer, than the Lacmalac site. On turning to the Commissioners' report I find that the expenditure estimated for Bombala, and including the railways, resumption of catchment area, resumption of city site, and water supply amounts to no less than £11,000,000. It is estimated that the actual expenditure necessary to give reasonable access to that site would be about £3,000,000, and the projected expenditure on railways necessary for a complete connexion with the site is estimated to amount to another £8,000,000. I should say that the estimate of £3,000,000 includes harbor accommodation on the lower scale indicated in Mr. Oliver's supplementary report, and not on the more extensive scale set out in his original report. The estimate of £11,000,000 is for what would be required to make the Bombala site reasonably accessible from the chief cities of the Commonwealth—to bring the Capital into touch with the whole of the people. With respect to Tumut, the actual expenditure necessary is stated at £1,515,000, and the expenditure upon prospective railway extension £752,000, bringing the grand total, in round numbers, up to £9,000,000. The much-despised site of Lyndhurst has railway communication already provided so far as Sydney and Melbourne are concerned, and so far as Brisbane is concerned to a lesser degree. So that the actual expenditure in connexion with that site, which would be largely in connexion with water supply, as provided in Mr. Pridham's estimate, and the resumption of catchment and city areas, is estimated at £456,000. The expenditure necessary to complete the railways projected, as indicated in the Commissioners'

report, would amount to £7,352,000. So that the cost of completing the wide scheme for Lyndhurst outlined by the expert Commissioners appointed by the Government would amount to £7,800,000. This is the comparison of estimated probable expenditure—for Lyndhurst, £7,800,000; for Tumut, £9,047,000; and for Bombala, £11,029,000. Millions are easily said, but these figures should have some weight in determining the selection of the site for the Federal Capital. If, in making a selection of a site, other things being equal, or nearly equal, we can secure what we require at a much less expenditure at one place than would be involved at other places, the necessity for avoiding an undue burden upon the people of the Commonwealth should not be overlooked.

Mr. CROUCH.—What about the expense of bringing water 100 miles?

Mr. BROWN.—I am not aware of any proposal to bring water a distance of 100 miles. I should like to point out that the estimates of expenditure to which I have referred are estimates based on the probable cost of the resumption of the Capital site and catchment area, securing access, and water supply, and it must not be forgotten that the expenditure necessary to provide the buildings which we would associate with a city of this character, and which must necessarily be expensive, will be an additional charge upon the people of the Commonwealth I now desire to deal with the question of territory. We have to look to the reports upon the sites for the information necessary to guide us to a conclusion with regard to the territories. In other words, we have to adopt some particular site as a peg upon which to hang our territorial arguments. A great change has taken place since the last Parliament dealt with this matter. The sites most favoured then were Lyndhurst, Lacmalac, and Bombala. Now, judging from the opinions expressed by honorable members, it would seem that two of these sites have been displaced. I cannot regard this change as due to the altered personnel of the House, and I am, therefore, forced to the conclusion that it has been brought about by the more complete information that has been placed at the disposal of honorable members. Owing largely to the inquiries and valuable report made by the right honorable member for Swan, Bombala has been displaced by Dalgety, which on the former occasion did not secure a

single vote. Then, in respect to the sites in the southern district, Lacmalac, which was boomed last session, has had to give way to a new site, which had not previously been seriously considered. Therefore, the only site that has retained its old position is Lyndhurst. I regret that the further investigations, which have been made since we last discussed this subject, in respect to the southern and south-eastern districts, have not been fully extended to the sites available in the western district. I have been surprised at the prejudice manifested by some honorable members. For instance, one honorable member, referring to Lyndhurst, described the country as very inferior, and devoid of vegetation, and stated that even the rabbits to be found there were in a starving condition. I fancy that that honorable member must have worn coloured glasses when he travelled through the district. In contrasting the merits of the various sites, I shall endeavour to avoid following the honorable member's example. I have had the pleasure of visiting all the sites that have been brought prominently under notice. Whilst I regard some of them as having stronger claims than others, I do not think that any one can be said to be unworthy. We should not make a great mistake if we selected any one of them. The preliminary investigations were so complete that we were safeguarded against being called upon to discuss the merits of any really inferior site. New South Wales is not so poverty-stricken in respect to her territory that she cannot find a site for the Federal Capital possessing all the chief requisites for such a city. Some honorable members, myself amongst them, consider that a rich territory is one of the most important essentials. I hold that it would be impossible to build up or to maintain the Federal city entirely upon Federal expenditure, and that if we are to attract to the Seat of Government a population of, say, 30,000 or 50,000, a large proportion of those who live in our territory must be able to sustain themselves upon the land. Moreover, if it is contemplated that the Federal Territory shall embrace a large area in order that the revenue derived and the profits accruing from the unearned increment may be applied to the improvement of the Capital, we must acquire land that will be suitable for agricultural purposes. It is true that many of our cities owe their existence to the fact that gold or some other

Mr. Brown.

mineral has been discovered in the vicinity. We know of many instances which towns containing a population of perhaps as many as 30,000 have been established as the result of the discovery of alluvial gold-fields, and that as soon as diggings have been exhausted the population has gradually decreased, and nothing more than a nucleus has remained. Agricultural development has afterwards taken place in the neighbourhood, and prosperity has been, at least, to some extent, restored. This statement would fairly outline the history of many cities in the Commonwealth, and it is sufficient to show that a large proportion of the people who settle within the Federal Territory must maintain themselves on the land. Unless we can secure good land in the immediate vicinity of the Federal city, we cannot look forward to any appreciable growth of population. Some honorable members regard the acquirement of a rich territory as a secondary consideration, and an ample water supply has first place in their estimation. Others, of an artistic or poetic temperament, attach the greatest importance to the beauty of the scenery in the vicinity of the Capital. So long as there are towering snow-clad mountains in the background they care little or nothing whether the site itself is suitable for building purposes, whether the surrounding territory is one that will support a reasonably large population. The considerations indicated by me are less an authority than the present Chief Justice of the Commonwealth. Sir Samuel Griffith, should, in my view, have great weight with us. That eminent Judge has contributed very largely to the development of the Federal idea, and to the building up of the Commonwealth. He took part in the first Conference, of which the late Sir Henry Parkes, the statesman of whom New South Wales is so proud, was a member. He largely assisted to lay the foundations of the Constitution, which was ultimately adopted by the Federal Convention, and the traces of his master-hand are everywhere to be seen throughout its fabric. He was, in my opinion, deservedly rewarded by his appointment to the position of first Chief Justice of Australia, and the Commonwealth did honour to itself by that appointment. In 1886, before the subject was consolidated to anything like a concrete proposal, he wrote a paper entitled, "Notes on Australian Federation," in which, speaking of the Federal Capital, he said that

Should be central, easily accessible, not unduly exposed to the risks of war or invasion, and its climate should not be such as to render it an undesirable place to live in.

We shall not go very far wrong if we consider the question before us from those points of view. Dealing first with the feature of centrality, I think that any honorable member who looks at the maps which have been placed before us, and reads the recommendations of the Commission appointed by the Barton Government to inquire into the matter, must come to the conclusion that, having regard to railway communication, present and prospective, Lyndhurst is much more central than any of the other sites. The Lyndhurst territory is situated on the main western line from Sydney to Bourke, and the branch which proceeds to Condobolin. It is also on the line which connects the Western system with the Southern. The Southern line, as honorable members know, is the great railway thoroughfare from Adelaide, through Melbourne and Sydney, to Brisbane. Moreover, it is now proposed by the New South Wales Government to construct a railway from Wellington to Werris Creek, not with a view to improve the communication with a proposed Federal Capital site, but to develop the country which such a line would traverse, and to connect the western and northern railway systems. When that line is made, Lyndhurst will be much nearer to Brisbane than it is now, and it is already nearer to that city than is any of the other proposed sites. Parliamentary sanction has also been given to the construction of a railway from Cobar to Wilcannia. I understand that that line has been commenced, and that it is proposed to extend it to Broken Hill. When that is done, there will be direct communication between Lyndhurst and Adelaide, and, if the transcontinental line, of which the right honorable member for Swan is so able and strenuous an advocate, is constructed, Lyndhurst will be in direct communication with Perth also. Furthermore, it has been suggested, as within the scope of future extension, that a second transcontinental line may be made from Bourke to Port Darwin. As honorable members are aware, the railway system of Queensland differs greatly from those of her sister States, inasmuch as, while the railways of Victoria practically all converge on Melbourne, and those of New South Wales on Sydney, Queensland, in addition to her coastal line, has three inland lines which feed three separate ports.

The suggested railway of which I have spoken would connect these lines, that is, the line from Brisbane to Cunnamulla, the line from Rockhampton to Longreach, and the line from Townsville to Winton. Such a railway would open up a vast area of rich pastoral country. The districts through which it would pass are noted for their great cattle carrying capacity. Although, within the past few years, the herds have been decimated by the drought which afflicted Queensland, as well as New South Wales and Victoria, the district will do in the future what it has done in the past. It has in the past largely supplied the meat markets of the southern States, and, in years to come, will do so to a still greater degree, and will, of course, be the great source of supply for the Federal Capital. The question of present accessibility, however, was dealt with so ably by the honorable and learned member for Wannon the other night that there is no need to again quote the figures which he gave, or to do more than refer honorable members to the information on the subject available in the reports of experts. It is evident, however, that taking into consideration the present location of population, Lyndhurst is much more central than any other site under consideration. Moreover, it has been proved that the centre of the present population of the Commonwealth is considerably north of any of the border sites, and is constantly trending northwards. Mr. Coghlan, whose estimate is a very conservative one, puts the probable annual increase of our population at 2.40 per cent., and is of opinion that thirty years hence, of all the sites Lyndhurst will be the nearest to the centre of population. The probability is that when Australia has become largely populated, the centre will be still nearer to the Armidale site; but as that site is not now under consideration, we must give the more weight to the fact that of the present sites Lyndhurst will be the nearest to the centre. Sir Samuel Griffith regards as the next essential that the Capital shall not be exposed to the risks of war. No one will challenge the statement that, with the exception of Tooma, Lyndhurst is more completely protected from invasion than any of the sites. Both Lyndhurst and Tooma lie west of the great dividing range, which extends like an immense barrier between the sea coast and the interior. That range was pierced only after the country had been settled for many years, and at the present time there

are only two or three places in which it is crossed by a railway. The Lithgow Zigzag, while giving communication between Sydney and the Lyndhurst territory, could be defended by a very small body of men against an almost untold host. That is a condition which does not apply to the Monaro sites. Whilst it is true that those sites are situated on a high tableland, they are very much more vulnerable than is the Lyndhurst site. If we are to establish a Capital of this character, it should be representative of the wealth and influence of the Commonwealth. It will be the home of all that the people of the Federation hold dear. It will contain all the historical documents of the Commonwealth. It will be the centre from which the functions of government will be discharged, and from which its banking and commercial transactions will extend throughout the whole of Australia. Consequently we must see that whilst it is reasonably accessible to the centres of population, it also offers facilities for defence against a hostile force. I claim that the western district conforms more nearly to the ideal conditions which have been laid down by that great authority, Sir Samuel Griffith, than does any other site, and would best lend itself to the mobilization of the Commonwealth Defence Forces. In my earlier remarks I made some reference to the question of accessibility. Let me now examine the merits of the rival sites from that stand-point. According to the report of the Capital Sites Commissioners the cost of providing an efficient water supply at Bombala—a supply drawn from the Delegate River—would be, roughly speaking, £531,000. If the supply were drawn from the Snowy River, its cost would be £617,000. The resumption of the catchment area would involve an expenditure of £121,000, and that of the city site of £24,000. Unfortunately, the Bombala district labours under a very great disadvantage in respect of railway communication. I believe that it is deserving of more consideration in this respect than it has hitherto received. At the same time I do not think that it is the rich district which some of its advocates would lead us to believe. As far as I am able to judge each of the rival districts possesses distinct characteristics. For example, the western area is largely composed of rich, volcanic, high lands. A feature of that district is that the soil on the top of the hills is as rich as is that in the valleys. Those honorable members

Mr. Brown.

who visited the Orange site will recollect seeing potatoes under cultivation the right at the summit of the ridges, plain indicating that the land along those ridges was very rich. As a matter of fact, the sides of Canobolas itself are cultivated to a very considerable elevation. Indeed, the hills and rolling downs of the western district are famed throughout New South Wales for their productiveness. The Tumut district is distinguished by high hills and deep valleys. The latter are exceedingly rich, some of them being of a semi-tropical nature. The Tumut valley is famed for the growth of the finest leaf tobacco, and the best maize produced in New South Wales. The area of rich land, however, is not very extensive. I hold in my hand a report upon this very subject by Mr. Chesterman, in which he points out the extent of very rich, and of medium country, which is contained in the Tumut district. He says—

The extent of alluvial land in the valley of the Tumut was some years ago estimated as follows:—Tumut River (including the Goobaragidra, from four miles below Brungle to Talbing 14,860; Brungle Creek, 600; Killimicat Creek, 500; Bombowlee Creek, 600; Gilmore Creek, 800; Total, 17,360 acres.

That is the estimate furnished by the officer, who is well acquainted with the entire district. He goes on to quote the following paragraph, from a report prepared by Mr. Gilliat, in 1891:—

The above-mentioned report estimates the extent of arable upland at 100,000 acres. This, of course, will vary according to the limit adopted. The area remaining may be classed as pasture land, better adapted to sheep than large stock. Some of it is very inferior, while in other places sheep thrive well.

Later on he quotes an extract from the report of a local Committee, the members of which would not be likely to underestimate the area of rich land within the district. The report states—

The area within a radius of twenty miles of the proposed site is composed of 170,000 acres of rich chocolate-colored volcanic soil, and 300,000 acres of rich alluvial flats (much of which has been cultivated for fifty years, with little or no deterioration), whilst the more elevated portions afford splendid grazing country for sheep right to the mountain-tops.

The soil upon the hills there is not so rich as is that of the western district, because it is largely subjected to weather conditions. The much-talked-of Tooma site, upon the Upper Murray, also comprises rich narrow valleys with high uplands, which are not calculated to support an agricultural population.

ation. The Bombala area, extending from the Snowy River to the Victorian border, consists largely of undulating country with frequent granite outcrops. It is fairly good grazing country, and parts of it are of a rich volcanic nature; there is not, however, a very great extent of it. Towards Bombala itself, the valleys become deeper, and a greater area of rich soil is to be found there. These constitute the highly-cultivated parts of the district. When we recollect, however, that this country was occupied sixty years ago and before the western district was opened up, that about £1,000,000 has been expended in an effort to develop it, with very little success, it is at once patent that some very great natural disadvantages must confront the settlers there. On the other hand, the people in the western district originally had to contend with the barrier of the Blue Mountains. Teams had to laboriously drag their loads over that range. It was only after considerable development had taken place in that district that the Government of New South Wales undertook the great engineering feat of constructing a railway across the Blue Mountains. To put the matter tersely, the railway did not develop the western district, but the western district developed the railway. That fact discloses a material difference between this site and its rivals, and one to which I would invite the attention of the Committee. The cost of connecting Cooma and Bombala by rail, according to the report of the Capital Sites Commissioners, would be £337,000, whilst that of constructing a line from Bombala to Bairnsdale is estimated at £1,181,000. I notice that the surveyors, who have since examined this site, have not departed from that estimate. From Bondi to Eden the cost would be £931,000. These are necessary lines, if the site which I have mentioned is to be chosen. One of the arguments in favour of the Capital being located there, is based on the cheap water carriage to Eden. If that is to be of any advantage, there must be railway connexion with the Capital. That railway would be perhaps as expensive a bit of work as any of the lines that have been mentioned. Then, again, there must be connexion between Cooma and Bombala, in order to give railway communication with Sydney; and if Victoria is to be satisfied with that connexion, it will mean a great detour round by Goulburn. But, assuming that Victoria will want to get as direct a connexion as possible, it will be

necessary to construct the Bombala-Bairnsdale line, which will, on the estimate to which I have referred, cost £1,181,000. So that in these railways will be involved an expenditure of £2,449,000.

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—Then there is £1,028,000 for the port.

Mr. BROWN.—Yes; with respect to the port—it is called a harbor by courtesy—if it is to be made of any value, the expenditure will be considerable. A human-made harbor has never yet been a success.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—What about Fremantle?

Mr. BROWN.—I say nothing of Fremantle; but New South Wales has tried the experiment of making harbors on the east coast, and practically the money might as well have been thrown into the sea. It is a most expensive work to undertake. But if a harbor that could stand could be constructed, there might be a justification for it. Engineers, however, have not been able to construct harbor works on the east coast of New South Wales that could stand against the varying influences of the currents, tides, and storms that obtain there. If the harbor is to be a success, Mr. Oliver states, on the authority of Mr. Darling—who had charge of the New South Wales harbors at that time—that an expenditure of £1,028,000 would be required to construct the breakwaters, to say nothing of the wharfs and other facilities necessary for shipping. But suppose we take the lower estimate of Mr. Oliver, produced in his criticism of the Commissioners' report. It is an estimate furnished by Mr. G. H. Halligan, an officer of the Works Department of New South Wales. He showed that a small breakwater, at a cost of £150,000, would give harbor accommodation of less than a mile. The actual area being 0.8 of a square mile. The depth would be about four fathoms. He also indicates that for a further expenditure of £450,000, four and a half square miles of harbor accommodation might be provided, and that it would also be necessary to meet the shipping requirements to expend about £30,000 upon jetties, and so forth, or a minimum of harbor accommodation. But this is not the only expenditure which the Commonwealth would be called upon to incur. The very position of the harbor, and the uses to which it would be put, would necessitate its being fortified. We know, from our experience in Melbourne and Sydney, what enormous sums

of money can be sunk in providing means of defence for harbors on anything like a reasonable scale. That item has not been considered in the preparation of the estimates to which I have alluded.

Mr. KELLY.—There is an additional item—we should have to subsidize the shipping companies heavily to get them to allow their vessels to go there.

Mr. BROWN.—That may be the case, as there is considerable danger in navigating that coast. I do not know whether the ship-owners would require subsidies, but they certainly would require the money which I have mentioned to be spent upon the harbor, to make the accommodation for their vessels reasonable. Even then our experience shows us that we could not guarantee to make the harbor absolutely safe. The necessary expenditure on account of the harbor on the lowest scale would be £180,000, which makes the actual expenditure £3,000,000, in order to give reasonable means of access to Bombala or Dalgety. If the harbor is to be of the character indicated by Mr. Darley, who reported upon it, another £1,000,000 will have to be expended. The Federal Capital Commission shows that other railways will have to be constructed, and they estimate that their cost—that is, to give further facilities to connect the Capital with Adelaide and with the north—would be £7,000,000. So that the total expenditure, in order to make Bombala or Dalgety anything like reasonably accessible for the purposes of the Federal Capital, and to provide a port, and a water supply for a population of 50,000 people, would be no less than £11,022,680. With regard to Tumut, the water supply is reasonably cheap. I wish to indicate that in dealing with the Tumut site, I have to take the figures for the Lacmalac site as the basis of my estimate. The Lacmalac site is the only one for which we have any data. It is the cheapest site in the district, with the exception of Gadara. At Tumut the water supply would cost £200,280. The resumption of the catchment area would cost £180. The city site would cost £25,000. Railway extension, six and a half miles, would cost £50,000. If the connexion be made with Victoria—and we have every reason to believe that that connexion is held by a large number of honorable members to be essential—upon the Victorian estimate the line would cost £1,240,000. In addition, it would cost

£6,000 to construct a bridge over the Murray. I am simply giving the lowest estimate, furnished by the Victorian railway engineers. But the other evening, the honorable and learned member for Werriwa who is a practical man in connexion with surveying, stated that he had thoroughly examined the country, and had arrived at the conclusion that, instead of its being possible to construct that line for £8,500 mile—which is the basis upon which I made this calculation—it would cost nearly £20,000 a mile to build the line from Tumut to the Victorian border. I can just understand, from the little acquaintance I have with that country, and from its prepossessing character, that it certainly would cost a very large sum to give it the benefit of railway connexion. The actual expenditure on this site would be £1,515,000—the lowest estimate; but if the testimony of the honorable and learned member for Werriwa is of any value, the cost would be considerably more. But I do not think that the line can be constructed more cheaply than according to the Victorian estimate; and that means that, in order to give facilities for communication, an actual expenditure of £1,515,000 will be necessary. According to the expert Commissioners' estimate, £7,532,183, is required for projected railways, making a total of £9,047,719 for means of communication, water supply, and assumption and catchment area. A railway is suggested from Warwick to Brisbane.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Oh!

Mr. BROWN.—The right honorable member takes exception to that statement, but it must be remembered that I am quoting the same authorities in connexion with all the sites.

Mr. TUDOR.—That is a new line?

Mr. BROWN.—It is a new line in order to get through communication; and the Wellington to Werris Creek line and the transcontinental line are included in the estimate. According to the reports, water supply at Lyndhurst for a population of 50,000 people means an expenditure of £427,000; the resumption of catchment area, £160,100; city site, £20,000; or a total of £607,000. The actual expenditure contemplated at Bombala, on the basis indicated, is £3,006,680; and at Tumut the expenditure is £1,515,460, if the line be taken down to the Murray and across into Victoria as proposed in last Parliament. Honorable members will see how these

figures compare with an actual expenditure of £607,000 at Lyndhurst. Before a single pound is spent on buildings at Bombala, there must be an expenditure of over £3,000,000 in order to give reasonable accessibility.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—All that is wanted is a railway of thirty miles from Cooma to Dalgety.

Mr. BROWN.—If the right honorable member is of opinion that a railway from Cooma to Dalgety will satisfy the Commonwealth, what becomes of the great argument as to the necessity for a port? Of what good is a port without connecting railways? Would Victorian members be satisfied to journey right round by Albury and Goulburn? There is no doubt that if the Capital site be fixed at Bombala, the Victorian people will be asked to incur an expenditure of over £1,000,000 in order to provide reasonable means of communication. That is the estimate made by the expert Commissioners. I am not a Kya-ramite to the extent of believing that all expenditure should be cut down to the narrowest limits; but such great divergence between the estimates ought to have some weight with us in selecting a site. These are not my own figures, but the figures of the expert Commissioners, with the exception of those relating to the harbor, which were supplied by Mr. Oliver. And we must not forget that these figures are placed before us for the purpose of guiding and assisting us in arriving at a decision. If honorable members will turn to page 51 of the Commissioners' report, they will find that, in order to provide prospective railway facilities at Lyndhurst, there must be a total expenditure of £7,353,414. That includes a railway from Wellington to Werriis Creek, at £514,576; from Warwick to Brisbane, £631,500; from Cobar to South Australia, £1,117,338, and the transcontinental line, costing £5,090,183.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—That is a million and a quarter too much for the transcontinental line.

Mr. BROWN.—I am quoting the report of the expert Commissioners.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—According to the latest report, the estimate is £4,050,000.

Mr. BROWN.—I do not know whether the right honorable member has later reports than have been given to the House.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The engineers have reported since then.

Mr. BROWN.—Well, let us reduce the estimate by £1,000,000. In respect of the projected lines, the total cost at Bombala is estimated at £10,000,000; at Tumut, £8,000,000; and Lyndhurst, £6,000,000. According to the expert Commissioners, 288 miles of railway on the Bombala site would cost £2,449,500; while the Lyndhurst extension, of 475 miles, is estimated to cost £1,633,914. The Lyndhurst extension would bring Queensland nearer, by the Werriis Creek extension, and would shorten the distance to Adelaide, by the Cobar-Wilcannia and Broken Hill extensions. Those extensions are under the consideration of the State Legislature of New South Wales, quite apart from any considerations of a Federal Capital. The Cobar-Wilcannia line was authorized by the last Parliament in New South Wales, and the Werriis Creek extension has been under the consideration of the Public Works Committee; so that both have reached a progressive stage. One condition laid down as essential in a Federal Capital by Sir Samuel Griffith is a suitable climate, and in this connexion, altitude has a very important bearing. When the Tumut site was selected by the last Parliament, the right honorable member for Swan succeeded in having fixed a minimum altitude of 1,500 feet, below which he considered it would be unwise to locate the Capital.

Mr. SKENE.—That "knocked out" some of the sites.

Mr. BROWN.—It "knocked out" Lacmalac, Gadara, and Tumut.

Mr. KELLY.—And Tooma, also.

Mr. BROWN.—That is so, if Tooma is to be considered a factor. Lyndhurst has an elevation of 2,280 feet; Orange, 2,880 feet; Bathurst, 2,200 feet, or an average for the western sites of 2,453. At Bombala itself the elevation is 2,400; at Dalgety, 2,650; at Delegete, 2,550; at Coolringdon, 3,000 feet, or an average for the four sites in that district of 2,400 feet. Tumut town site has an elevation of 1,000 feet; Gadara, 1,050 feet; Lacmalac, 1,050 feet; Ellerslie, 1,300 feet; Mundongo, 1,250 feet. These four sites are under the minimum fixed by the right honorable member for Swan, the average being 1,150 feet. When we get into the higher country we find that the elevation of Table Top is 2,000 feet; Batlow, 2,550 feet; Wyangle, 1,650 feet; Red Hill and Bondo, 2,500 feet; Toomarrama, 2,350 feet,

or an average of 2,210 feet. Now we come to Welaregang. Mr. Chesterman, in his report, gives the average elevation of this site at approximately 1,100 feet. If the right honorable member for Swan is still of the opinion he expressed in the last Parliament—

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I am.

Mr. BROWN.—And if the members of the Ministry to which he belonged are still of the same opinion, this Tooma site has no show.

Mr. KNOX.—If the honorable member is correct the map must be wrong.

Mr. BROWN.—But I am going by Mr. Chesterman's report, and as that is only a few days old, I presume that the gentleman who made it secured the most up-to-date information.

Mr. KELLY.—That country was only explored quite recently.

Mr. BROWN.—The first expedition from this Parliament visited it only about three weeks ago. I have no desire to be unduly severe in my criticism of other honorable members, but I must say that the attitude adopted by the honorable member for Hume, with respect to this particular site, is most extraordinary when compared with the attitude which the honorable gentleman has adopted with respect to other sites. When this Tooma site was brought forward by the honorable member for Grampians in the last Parliament the honorable member asked the Government to remit it to the expert Commissioners for report. I know that the honorable member strongly impressed upon the Minister of Home Affairs at the time the necessity for extending the inquiry of the Commission to that particular site. He spoke to me on the subject, and I told him that I was opposed to all the sites on the border, but that if the Government intended to include Albury I saw no reason why this site at Tooma should not be included amongst those on which a report was to be made. It is neither more nor less a border site than is Albury. Why the honorable member for Hume, who previously objected to this site because it was too near the border, should have given his first preferential vote for Albury is a paradox which I cannot pretend to understand.

Mr. KELLY.—Does the honorable member for Hume now intend to vote for Tumut?

Mr. BROWN.—I do not know how the honorable gentleman intends to vote now. The question of temperature is a very im-

portant one, and in this connexion I shall not confine myself to the information supplied by the report of the expert Commissioners; I have also before me the information contained in the very severe caustic, and, to some extent, deserved criticism of the Commission's report by the late Mr. Oliver. The figures he quotes are: For Bombala, highest 104·1 degrees, lowest 15·3 degrees, and the mean annual shade temperature, 54·3 degrees. For Dalgaty, he says that no official records are available, but the expert Commissioners in their special report, at page 2, give these figures for that site: Highest temperature 104 degrees, lowest 14 degrees, mean from 70 degrees to 8 degrees. For Lyndhurst, the figures given are: Mean annual shade temperature 52·1 degrees, highest 98·4 degrees, and lowest 15·4 degrees. For Tumut: Mean annual shade temperature 62 degrees, highest 100 degrees, and lowest 27 degrees. It will be seen that in the matter of temperature the western site shows to very considerable advantage. I wish now to deal with the question of productivity, and I shall then conclude what I have to say. The expert Commissioners in their report had to consider whether the sites could afford reasonable support for a population of 50,000. It will be seen that in their report they give an estimate of the acreage under cultivation, and the productiveness at each of the different sites. They take for Bombala the counties of Auckland and Wellesley, and they give the average area under cultivation for eight years preceding March, 1903, for the Bombala territory at 12,513 acres, and for Dalgaty 33,329 acres, or a total for the district of 45,742 acres. At Tumut the area under cultivation was included in the counties of Buccleuch and Wynyard, and is stated at 33,329 acres. Coming to the western sites, the area under cultivation at Lyndhurst is given at 179,303 acres. I should like the honorable member who told us that Lyndhurst was in a third-rate agricultural district to explain how it is that there were 179,000 acres under cultivation in that district, whilst in the districts which he preferred to it, Tumut and Bombala, there were only 33,000 acres and 45,000 acres respectively under cultivation. In the case of the latter sites the acreage given covers the whole of the sites within the territories mentioned, but the acreage given for Lyndhurst covers but a small portion of the western territory suggested. We have now

to consider the fifty miles radius, and the land under cultivation at Orange was 147,259 acres, and at Bathurst 119,488 acres. So that if we consider Lyndhurst, as including these three sites, there were there 446,050 acres under cultivation. The honorable member who, in the face of that, will say that it is a poor agricultural district must consider that the men who work the land, and who should be the best judges of farming conditions, are fools. In view of the figures I have given, it must be clear that the contention against the productivity of the western district cannot survive the hard test of facts. When in Sydney some little time ago, I asked the Statistical Department to supply me with last year's figures of production for these districts. The figures referred to in the Commissioners' report were brought up only to 1903. I asked that I should be supplied with figures brought up to 1904 showing the area under cultivation, and the produce taken from the different sites. From the return supplied to me, I find that Bombala last year produced 42,149 bushels of wheat, and Dalgety 51,317 bushels, or a total of 93,466 bushels for the district. Of maize Bombala produced 274,803 bushels, and Dalgety nil. Of oats Bombala produced 16,009 bushels, and Dalgety 31,014, or a total of 47,023 bushels for the district. The Monaro sites last year produced 93,466 bushels of wheat, 274,803 bushels maize, and 47,023 bushels of oats. I find that Tumut produced 261,483 bushels wheat, 229,975 bushels maize, and 20,987 bushels of oats. Lyndhurst produced 2,852,859 bushels of wheat, 157,243 bushels of maize, 207,599 bushels of oats. Orange produced 1,408,366 bushels of wheat, 120,496 bushels of maize, and 185,412 bushels of oats. Bathurst produced 1,146,525 bushels of wheat, 93,450 bushels of maize, and 165,047 bushels of oats. The total production of the western sites was:—Wheat, 5,407,750 bushels; maize, 371,189 bushels; and oats, 558,058 bushels. I ask honorable members if, on the actual facts, they think there is any comparison between the productiveness of the districts surrounding these three sites. I have given the produce of the sites' districts, but it should not be forgotten that Lyndhurst commands the great wheat territory to the west of the particular sites at that place, and the railway goes through Lyndhurst territory, which carries the wheat from those districts to the Sydney market for export. In New

South Wales we have only 1,500,000 acres under wheat, and yet last year we produced something like 27,000,000 bushels. According to our statisticians we have 20,000,000 acres of land in New South Wales fit for wheat cultivation, and most of it is on the slopes of the western tableland. For convenience, the statisticians divide the State into districts, in making their estimates of wheat production. The highest is the central western district, which is under the dominance of the western sites, and the southern-western, a considerable part of which is under the dominance of the central western sites. The railway, carrying the products from those districts, runs through this central western territory, extending from Orange *via* Wellington, and Narramine to Nyngan; from Orange to Molong, Forbes, Parkes, and Condobolin, and a small area on the southern line, embracing Grenfell. On the central-western slopes, which are supplied with railway communication, there were produced last year 7,743,000 bushels, and on the southern-western slopes 8,798,000 bushels. The southern border of the central-western slopes is the Lachlan River, and the railway to Forbes and Condobolin draws traffic from a considerable area to the south of that river, so that part of the southern-western slopes, including the counties of Gipps, Forbes, and part of Bland, would furnish supplies for the Federal Territory. Coming now to the question of water supply: If Lyndhurst has been attacked on one point more than on another, it is in regard to this matter. An anonymous communication, signed by one who terms himself "A resident of Carcoar-Garland," and purports to speak from personal knowledge, has been printed in the *Bombala Times*. In it the statement is made that the water in the district is highly mineralized, and, therefore, unfit for city purposes. I am surprised that any sensible man should give weight to an anonymous communication of that description in preference to the reports of experts. The Capital Sites Commission investigated the matter thoroughly, and they say nothing about the water there being impregnated by deleterious mineral matter. If, in their opinion, the water in the district was unfit for human use, or to any extent affected by the presence of mineral substances, it would have been their duty to inform us of the fact. Some honorable members have asked why a special analysis of

the Lyndhurst water has not been made. But I would point out that analyses of the water at Orange and Bathurst, both of which places are near to Lyndhurst and derive their water supply from practically the same source, have been made. I have tried to ascertain from those who have resided for a long time in the Lyndhurst district, and are well acquainted with it, what modicum of truth lies in the statement to which I have referred, and I have been informed that the only foundation for it is the fact that a small creek to the south-west of the site, which empties itself into the Belabula River, runs through some limestone country. That creek, however, is not within the proposed catchment area. If honorable members are not satisfied with the reports which we have already obtained from experts, why not have a special analysis of the Lyndhurst water? It has been further stated that the creeks in the district are often dry; but to those who hold the opinion that the water supply there is not permanent, I commend the report of Mr. Pridham, the report of the Commissioners, and, lastly, the report of the right honorable member for Swan, who recently visited the place. If they read those reports they will find that a supply sufficient for 100,000 persons can be brought to the proposed city site by gravitation. The Lyndhurst site is the only one which can be so supplied. Both the Tumut and the Dalgety supplies would have to be obtained by pumping.

Mr. CROUCH.—No; Dalgety would have a gravitation supply.

Mr. BROWN.—Well, the Bombala supply would have to be pumped. In my opinion, the Government made a wise choice in selecting Mr. Stewart, of South Australia, to deal with the question of water supply. I was in Orange while he was making his investigations, and I know that he gave his personal attention to the whole matter. He did not regard the reports of other officers as sufficient, but travelled over the site himself, took his own measurements, and worked out his own estimates. Of course, he had the assistance of Mr. Pridham in checking his calculations. The Commission visited the district when it was suffering from the severest drought ever known since its settlement by white people, and when it showed to greatest disadvantage. Furthermore, for the purposes of their estimate, they took the minimum run-off. The estimate given,

however, is not entirely theirs, but is based upon supplementary estimates of expert officers in the employment of the Government of New South Wales. They do not say that there is no water at Lyndhurst. On the contrary, they say that the catchment area there would, under the most unfavourable conditions, provide a supply sufficient for a city of 100,000 inhabitants while Mr. Wade says that at a reasonable expenditure a supply can be provided sufficient for the purposes of extensive irrigation, and to meet the requirements of an additional population of 200,000, or in all 300,000 persons. The right honorable member for Swan referred to the river Lachlan as a stream that could not be regarded as perennial. My acquaintance with that river dates back to a period long prior to that of the visit paid by the right honorable gentleman, for I was born in the Lachlan valley.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I only quoted the honorable member for Hume. He said the river was dry when he was there—had not seen it.

Mr. BROWN.—The right honorable gentleman did not quote a very good authority.

Mr. CROUCH.—Does the honorable member say that the Lachlan contains pure drinkable water?

Mr. BROWN.—Yes. The towns of Forbes, Condobolin, and Cowra draw their supplies from the Lachlan. That river, common with most inland rivers, overflows its banks in times of heavy flood, and have known the low-lying land along the Lachlan valley to be submerged for a distance of twenty miles, on either side of the river bed. The Lachlan basin was described by some of the early explorers as an inland sea. Very considerable losses are entailed upon farmers and stock-owners by these inundations. I have seen whole flocks of sheep washed away in a night.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—There have been lakes in Australia in places which are now occupied by considerable sandhills, the change having been brought about within three or four years.

Mr. BROWN.—That does not apply to the country of which I am speaking. The proposal which has been mentioned to block the river Lachlan and impound a large quantity of water, has been made with a two-fold object. It is intended first of all, to prevent the land on the low reaches of the Lachlan from being inundated at times of heavy flood, and

secondly, to impound a sufficient quantity of water to enable the river to be maintained at normal level during the drier periods of the year, and to provide for the requirements of irrigationists along the banks of the stream. The drought of 1902 was the severest ever experienced in that part of the country. It was the worst that I have ever known, and my recollection extends as far back as 1865. In the midst of the drought, the river, instead of being the sand-bed that has been represented, contained a supply of water sufficient to meet the requirements of several large irrigation plants. One station proprietor, at a point about twenty-one miles below Forbes, fed seventy-five sheep per acre throughout the drought, by irrigating land on the banks of the Lachlan with water drawn from the river, and below that point, as far as Cowra, a considerable number of large irrigation plants were kept going continuously. I admit that the large quantities of water drawn off from the river in this way, and impounded in dams that were constructed on the upper part of the stream, caused the river to run dry lower down, but the supply of water was not exhausted for a length of fully 100 miles. Therefore, the Lachlan could not be truthfully described as dry, and unreliable as a source of water supply.

Mr. CROUCH.—Did the honorable member say that some of the land carried seventy-five sheep to the acre during the drought.

Mr. BROWN.—Yes. I am speaking of a well authenticated case. The operations were carried out under the supervision of an officer of the Agricultural Department of New South Wales, with a view to demonstrate the advantages of irrigation, and the honorable member may, if he chooses, obtain further particulars by consulting the official reports from which my information is derived. I do not come here to tell fairy tales, because the facts are sufficient to enable me to establish the claims of Lyndhurst. What did Mr. Wade say with respect to catchment area in connexion with the gravitation scheme mentioned by the Commissioners? He said—

I am personally acquainted with all of these catchments, and am in accord with the Commissioners in their views as to basis of run-off, and consider that, by amplifying the storage, a population in round numbers of 100,000 people could be supplied with 100 gallons per head per diem.

Mr. Wade, who is the Chief Engineer of Water Conservation in New South

Wales, pointed out that the Commissioners were well within the mark when they said that 100,000 people could be supplied. Then, dealing with the supplementary scheme, he said—

In addition to these gravitation sources, the Federal Royal Commission suggested the Lachlan River as an additional source of supply by pumping from the storage proposed for irrigation purposes by the State, at Wyangala. It was suggested that a supply for an additional 203,000 could be obtained. . . . The Wyangala storage, if carried out to the fullest extent of the proposals for irrigation purposes, will store seventy-eight thousand million gallons, and be capable of supplying 135 million gallons per day throughout the driest succession of years experienced on the Lachlan, such as 1901-2.

Mr. Wade has adopted a very safe basis for his calculations, and there need be no fear that his estimates will not be realized. I wish to say that, as the result of my own experience and observation, from the point of view of productiveness, and of the possibility of founding a city from its own latent resources, no site submitted for our consideration can compare with the western sites. I think I have amply demonstrated that, by showing the very wide margin which exists between them and other sites so far as productiveness and the areas under cultivation are concerned. That is an item which is worthy of very serious consideration. From the stand-point of splendid panoramic country, the Orange site stands unrivalled. On the other hand, for scenic beauty, in the shape of high snow-capped mountains, Tooma probably excels all others, whilst Dalgety undoubtedly would furnish the best water supply. But I would point out that we are not called upon to select a site simply on account of its water supply, or because it is within seventeen or thirty miles of snow-capped mountains. It must possess other qualifications. On the grounds of centrality, accessibility, general climatic conditions, altitude, facilities for defence, and of a reasonable water supply, I think I have shown that the western site is at least deserving of very serious consideration at the hands of honorable members. I trust that the Committee will not say that because this site happens to be only seven hours distant by rail from Sydney, and eleven hours' journey from Melbourne, it should not be considered. I claim that the spirit of the Constitution, as well as its letter, should be respected. I trust that we shall make a selection which will justify our wisdom, not only to the present generation, but to the generations to come.

Mr. KNOX (Kooyong).—I do not propose to follow the example of the honorable member for Canobolas by making a lengthy speech. He has supplied the Committee with a large amount of valuable information, which will prove very convenient for the purposes of reference. He gave us statistics which had not been presented by any other honorable member. When he put forward the estimate of the cost of making the necessary railway connexions to Lyndhurst, he included in it the construction of a railway to Western Australia, and the extension of a line to connect with Brisbane. Surely, when he entered into such figures, he departed from the practical character of his address. I can speak with personal knowledge of the various centres of population in the western district. I have paid many visits to it, and am intimately acquainted with all its varied resources. I am prepared at once to acknowledge that there are many advantages associated with it. The one feature connected with it which appeals to me more than does any other is that of its accessibility. If the Lyndhurst site be ultimately selected, no serious outlay will be required in connexion with railway extension. I frankly confess that that district contains great possibilities for the support of a large and prosperous city. Its mineral resources are great, its agricultural capabilities very considerable. But when I have said that, I have, in my judgment, exhausted all the advantages which it possesses. Coming to the Bombala and Dalgety sites, I say that if there were no consideration affecting their claims other than that of the enormous expenditure which would require to be incurred by Victoria before they could be linked with this State by necessary railway communication, that would be sufficient to prevent them from being seriously considered. The district has very many advantages, which have been justly enumerated by my honorable friend who preceded me. I have to confess that, although I have had a business association with it, I have not inspected the area. But I have means of forming estimates of the character of the country, of its possibilities, of its mineral resources; and I have the knowledge which enables me to arrive at a conclusion that for the proper development of that country an expenditure would have to be incurred which we should not be justified in undertaking at the present time. As I have

already indicated, I favour a site which day by day, is growing in favour among honorable members—that is the Tooma site. The visits which have been made to that site have impressed honorable members as to its great natural features. I can speak from personal knowledge, extending over a number of years, of the possibilities of the district. The honorable member for Canobolas attempted to show that the Tooma site were chosen a very large initiatory expenditure would have to be incurred by the State of Victoria. I am prepared to say, as one who hopes to continue to occupy a seat in this House—I can speak on behalf of others who are in the same position—that we should be quite willing for a very long time to come to suffer the inconveniences which would necessarily be entailed in getting the Seat of Government, if it were Tooma, without asking the Victorian Government to incur the expenditure necessary to carry the railway to the river, and to construct a bridge across it. But the extension of the railway from the main line to Sydney from Germanton to the Ga and onwards to the point at which I think the Capital might suitably be located, is a work that would not involve anything like the expenditure which the vivid imagination of my honorable friend has led the Committee to believe. That extension is a work which the New South Wales Government would be abundantly justified in making, because of the country which would be opened up. I do not propose to follow my honorable friend in all his various arguments, figures, and quotations in support of his own site. Nor will I follow him in his remarks with respect to climatic conditions, the fertility of the soil, and the possibilities in other directions. I would simply state what with me was the one guiding factor in pledging my support all the way through, to the area which commences at Albury and runs along the Upper Murray. Honorable members are aware that Albury dropped out of consideration in practically the first vote at the time when the sites were balloted upon. Tumut then succeeded, as I trust the district will succeed again, in securing the support of honorable members. I have supported that district for this reason: There is no other part of Australia where the Capital could be placed in a reasonably accessible position at the foot of a range of mountains that forms one of the finest natural features

almost in the world. The site is practically at the foot of Mount Kosciusko and the magnificent ranges that make a background to the district. The climate is not so cold as to be other than agreeably and healthily bracing. We want, as one of the essential conditions of any centre of future population, a permanent and enduring supply of water, fed if possible from snow-capped mountains. There is no other part of Australia where those conditions exist, except on the western side of the Great Dividing Range of which Mount Kosciusko is the prominent feature. Of course, my honorable friends who support the Bombala and Dalgety sites will remind us that the Monaro district also has great natural features. But I have shown that the insuperable objection to it is the enormous initial expense which would be necessary, apart from other objections, to which I shall presently refer. Another consideration influences me, and it is this—that every capital city in the world is placed beside a stream leading to the sea. It may be said that although the waters of the Upper Murray are permanent they are not, at the present time, very considerable in volume. But we have seen in other parts of the civilized world what has been done in the direction of the enlargement of rivers by weiring, and by various other methods known to engineers. The Murray at this site has possibilities of extension, because of the waters which can be successfully diverted into it from other sources, which we cannot at present adequately calculate. I, therefore, say that we have an opportunity of placing our Capital, and we expect that it will become a magnificent city, right beside this great and isolated national feature of Australia—the high permanently snow-capped Mount Kosciusko. In this district there is also a river which connects directly with the ocean, and it has the further advantage that in the case of the approach of an enemy it would have the protection of a range of mountains. I am prepared to admit, with the honorable member who preceded me, that the latter advantage is possessed equally by Lyndhurst; but for resisting an aggressive attack, I say that Tooma is more advantageously situated. The main points which I urge are the great natural features I have described, including a river to the sea, and a fertility of soil which cannot be denied by any one possessing knowledge of the country. These are magnificent advan-

tages which cannot be claimed for any other site which has been named. But I have been forced, very much against my will, to consider the merits and demerits of the various sites. As I have said, I had earnestly hoped that ordinary common sense would prevail, and that this question would be deferred until there was some justification for its immediate settlement. The debate has revealed a great diversity of opinion, and honorable members have advocated various sites with a political bias, which, no doubt, is unconscious; I do not suggest, for one moment, that that bias has been knowingly allowed to prevail. It is a great misfortune that a Royal Commission, comprising a Judge of the High Court of Australia, and perhaps also a Judge of the Supreme Court of New South Wales—an independent body—has not been appointed to take into consideration the opinions expressed in this House, the evidence supplied in the various reports presented to us, and also evidence which they might have collected independently. Such a Commission might have been allowed to practically decide the question. I am perfectly aware that the Constitution provides that this Parliament shall select the Seat of Government, which in the meantime must remain in Melbourne. But the Constitution could have been complied with by the appointment of such a Commission as I have suggested. If the choice had been limited to the three districts mentioned during the discussion, I am quite sure that the choice of an independent Commission would have removed all the heart-burnings which I am afraid may be felt by honorable members who have so strongly advocated certain sites. To my mind, such a course afforded the only possibility of a satisfactory solution of this question which naturally arouses local jealousies, and may disturb the good feeling we all desire to see between honorable members, not only of this House, but of another Chamber. Indeed, I go further, and regret that we have not adopted the Canadian method. It will be remembered that the choice of the site of the Canadian Capital was left to Queen Victoria; and, in my opinion, it would have been a wise course to have supplied the King with the necessary information, and asked him to name the place.

The CHAIRMAN.—It has already been decided that this Parliament shall select the Capital site.

Mr. KNOX.—I am merely pointing out that in my opinion the adoption of such a course as I suggest might have removed a possible cause of great conflict of opinion amongst members of both Houses. It would then have been felt that a disinterested person or persons had made a choice, with a desire to preserve the interests of all the States concerned. Notwithstanding that it has been decided that this House must make the choice, to me it is a matter of regret that this other course has not been adopted; and the debate which has taken place has only strengthened the view I hold. I only rose to express my opinion, based on an anxious appreciation of the heavy responsibility which rests on every honorable member to avoid burdening the community with enormous expenditure. The effects of the choice we make will be felt by succeeding generations; and, with reasonable delay, the spirit of the compact with New South Wales might have been faithfully carried out. In expressing those opinions, I feel that I am only doing my duty, not only to the electors I have the honour to represent, but to the State of Victoria, with which I have been associated since my boyhood. For the reasons which I have given, I think our wisest selection would be the site the great natural advantages of which I have placed before honorable members. May I say one other word on the question of delay. During the debate it has been made clear that many honorable members have altered the views which they previously held as to the comparative advantages of the various sites. The supporters of the Lyndhurst district, for example, are now concentrating the whole of their efforts on the one site at Lyndhurst, although, as a matter of fact, we know that when a vote was last taken on the question Lyndhurst occupied but a moderate place, even in the opinion of those who believed that it was in the best district. Honorable members are aware that we have been forced back from Tumut to Tooma. Further inquiry, and riper knowledge have led us to believe that on the Murray, and nearer to the great range to which I have referred, there is a site to be found possessing greater advantages even than Tumut.

Mr. BROWN.—We are asked to take Tooma largely on trust.

Mr. KNOX.—I shall come to that. Then again, honorable members who have said

that there is no site which approaches that of Bombala are now as eagerly, eloquently, and as warmly advocating the claims of Dalgety. In view of the changes of opinion which have taken place, can we now say that further consideration of the question and full information would not enable us to make a better selection than we are likely to make at this time? I say that from the New South Wales standpoint, if that be the consideration of any great weight, honorable members representing that State are throwing away the best site it possesses, which is at Captain's Flat, Lake George. We should there, at Jervis Bay, have a harbor worth speaking about. I know the district well, and can speak from my knowledge of it. That harbor at Eden is but an open roadstead yet it has been urged as one of the main weights in the claims of the Bombala district. It is a farce to ask honorable members who know the place to believe that a useful harbor could be provided at Twofold Bay, without an enormous expenditure of money. I feel that as a member of the Committee I am expected to inform myself of the advantages of the various sites. I believe that Tooma possesses all the qualifications which would make it a great city in the future. I invite honorable members to consider that there is still much to be adjusted, and much work to be overtaken in connexion with the establishment of the Commonwealth Government. Many years have yet to come and go before we shall have succeeded in getting the Commonwealth Government into proper working order, and before the States will have adjusted themselves to the new conditions of Federation. Yet while all this work is still in hand, or going on, we are asked to undertake the enormous expenditure in connexion with the Federal Capital.

Mr. KELLY.—The least expensive site shown to be Lyndhurst.

Mr. KNOX.—I have shown that that site has many disadvantages. I have admitted that, if accessibility is to be considered, it has a great advantage, but have not dealt with the water supply at that site. A memorandum on the subject of the water supply at Lyndhurst has the last moment been circulated among honorable members. I cannot pretend to dispute what is contained in that memorandum, from the knowledge of the d

riety which I have gained from my visits to Lyndhurst. I must say, however, that they have been most unfortunate, in that I have never seen any indications of the large water supply which is referred to in the memorandum of which I speak. I cannot put my opinion on this subject against the report of a responsible officer, who pledges his reputation, and his position, on the statements he makes to this Parliament. I say, however, that if it were only to convince one doubtful voter, an opportunity should be afforded to supply the information necessary.

Mr. ROBINSON.—We should have another jaunt.

Mr. KNOX.—I have held that it was desirable that honorable members should personally satisfy themselves in regard to this question. I wish that every honorable member had visited the various sites, to inform himself with regard to them. I think there has been adequate justification for the visits of inspection which have been made. As the result of those visits, many honorable members have come back with the belief that there is no place like Tooma.

Mr. LIDDELL.—No.

Mr. KNOX.—I am not aware that the honorable member for Hunter has visited Tooma. I think that any honorable member who has seen the district must be convinced that it possesses overwhelming advantages, as compared with the other sites which have been suggested. I have but the one complaint to make, and it is that the Government are too precipitate in expecting a vote to be taken on this question on Tuesday next. We have not the full information in connexion with Tooma, with which we have been supplied in connexion with all the other sites. In its absence there are honorable members who will vote against that site, and I think that they should be given an opportunity of personal investigation, when I am sure they would recognise that it possesses greater advantages than any other site which has been suggested. I desire only to indicate my first preference, and the reasons for it. I earnestly hope that when the ballot is taken, honorable members' votes will not be influenced by provincial considerations. Although the site whose selection I advocate borders on the State of Victoria, I shall vote for it, not for that reason, but because, in my opinion, it is the site most worthy to be the future Capital of the Australian Commonwealth.

Mr. CULPIN (Brisbane).—I wish to say a word or two upon this question, the settlement of which is to crown the Federal edifice, and to give this Parliament a permanent abiding place. I intend to put forward one or two considerations to which reference has not been made by those who have preceded me. Each of the State capitals—Sydney, Melbourne, Adelaide, Brisbane, and Perth—has been excluded, it may be because of their mutual jealousy, from the possibility of being selected as the Capital of Australia. But the Attorney-General of the late Government, speaking before Federation was consummated, pointed out that the land comprising the site of the Commonwealth Capital would be held on an entirely different basis from the tenure of the land on which the capitals of the States are built, because its unearned increment would remain the property of the people of Australia for all time. It is that consideration which I wish to put before the Committee, and, I think, it should influence us in deciding which site to vote for. In considering how the largest unearned increment can be obtained for the benefit of the people of the Commonwealth, as against private speculators, the question of railway communication must be taken into consideration. It is, undoubtedly, the fact that the presence of railway communication largely promotes the development of a district. The railways which run so close to the Lyndhurst site have obviously assisted to develop that district, and the honorable member for Canobolas pointed out that no less than 5,000,000 bushels of wheat were last year grown there. But the fact that that district is so greatly developed, and has such a large production, is not necessarily a reason for selecting it. There may be other sites whose natural productiveness may make them capable of similar development, and if we select one of them for a site, and make a railway to it, we shall bring that development to pass, and largely increase the present value of its lands. The question of centrality is to be considered without reference to present railway communication, and the fact that a proposed site does not now enjoy railway communication, and that if it be chosen for the Seat of Government we shall have to make a railway to it, should not frighten us, if it be otherwise suitable. It has been pointed out that the Lyndhurst site is nearer to Queensland than are the other sites. No doubt it would be of advantage to the

representatives of that State if that site were selected, because they could reach Brisbane in one day's travelling, whereas it takes them two days to get to Brisbane from Melbourne, and would take two days to travel there from any of the other proposed sites. But that is not an argument for or against the selection of the Lyndhurst site. The question is, which is the best site for the great nation which is to inhabit Australia in the future? The honorable member for Canobolas made a great point of the fact that last year Lyndhurst produced 5,000,000 bushels of wheat, while in the Dalgety district only about 93,000 bushels were grown. In my opinion those facts should induce us to select Dalgety, because unquestionably when the grazing land there, on which are now depastured sheep and cattle, is put under cultivation, the Dalgety district will grow as much wheat as the Lyndhurst district now produces, and the unearned increment obtained by the Commonwealth will be larger if Dalgety is selected than it will be if Lyndhurst is chosen. We shall do well to select either Welaregang or Dalgety. I believe that we should be as safe against foreign invasion at either of the sites I have named, as at Lyndhurst. If we consider the respective merits of the sites in a broad spirit, and ignore parochial considerations, we shall select the locality which is capable of the greatest improvement. I intend to vote for Dalgety, in the first place, and Welaregang will be my second choice.

Mr. LIDDELL (Hunter).—In view of the thorough manner in which this question has been threshed out, I shall not detain the Committee at any length. I regret that we should have occupied so much time in deciding the question. I admit that it is a very important one, and that we should deal with it very carefully, because we are legislating, not for to-day, or to-morrow, but for the centuries to come. I do not regard with any satisfaction the arrangement under which the 100-miles limit was imposed. I cannot say that I am particularly in favour of any one site over the others. I should have preferred to see the Capital located at Sydney, which is undoubtedly the front door—the portal of Australia. When the Panama Canal is constructed, Sydney will, beyond question, become the first port of call in Australia for all vessels coming from the other side of the world. It has been argued that Mel-

bourne is a more desirable place than Sydney, for the Seat of Government; but do not share that view. Whether it is due to the effects of the Tariff, or if Sydney is progressing by leaps and bounds, whilst Melbourne is receding from the proud place that it formerly occupied as the most prosperous city in Australia. In connexion with this question, honorable members might have directed their attention to the Hunter River valley, which I believe will in the near future become the work-shop of Australia.

Mr. KELLY.—Does the honorable member suggest a work-shop as the site of the Federal Capital?

Mr. LIDDELL.—Yes, because it is the great centres of industry that the new brains are to be found. Whilst I agree with other honorable members who have spoken, that we should approach this matter in a Federal spirit, I cannot ignore the fact that it is really a provincial matter. New South Wales entered the Federal Union on the condition that the Capital should be established within her territory. I do not think that that was a wise arrangement because I believe that if New South Wales had stood out a little longer, Sydney would have been chosen as the Seat of Government. However, as matters stand, we are called upon to select a site within New South Wales, beyond the 100-miles limit from Sydney. I cannot understand why so much favour has been shown towards the sites close to the Victorian border, and it is a matter for regret that some honorable members should have so earnestly "barracked" for the areas which happen to be within their electorates. I do not regard the proposed sites as possessing any great natural advantages. We know that all our great cities have grown up near good harbors. It has been said that Twofold Bay would make an excellent harbor, but we should have to spend many millions before we could render it capable of accommodating the large ships which now carry our commerce over-sea. Of the sites which have been suggested, I think that Lyndhurst has by far the best claims for consideration. It is unquestionably more accessible than any of the other sites, because railway communication is already established between it and the New South Wales metropolis; whereas in the case of Tumut and Bombala enormous sums would have to be spent before the places could be connected with the

railway systems. There is no finer climate in Australia than that of Lyndhurst. I was brought up there, and I am thankful for it, because I am satisfied that the good health I enjoy to-day is due to the fact that I lived for many years in that locality. I am sorry that the Victorian and New South Wales press should have scoffed at those honorable members who have visited the sites, and have spoken of their engaging in picnic excursions, and strewing the track with whisky bottles. Such comments are unworthy of a sober press. I regard it as the duty of every honorable member to visit the proposed sites, and, as far as possible, judge for himself as to their respective claims. The honorable member for Hume merits our reproaches for having at the eleventh hour asked us to leave our comfortable homes, in Melbourne and elsewhere, and face the icy blasts which blow over Tooma. Twenty honorable members accompanied him upon the recent visit of inspection, and they required to be of Spartan mould, to visit Tooma in the depth of winter. I went to Bombala, and I saw that the churches had chimneys in place of steeples. I asked one man where he lived, and he said, "You cannot see my homestead, it is over there in the creek." I asked him why he had built his house in such a place. He said, "It is very cold here, and the wind sweeps very strongly over the higher land, and, therefore, we build our houses in the sheltered hollows." I found that many of the public buildings were propped up with huge beams, whilst the few trees to be seen were all leaning in the one direction. These features were quite sufficient to indicate to me that heavy winds sweep over the country.

Mr. FRAZER.—Are those winds as bad as the dust-storms at Lyndhurst?

Mr. LIDDELL.—They have no dust-storms at Lyndhurst. In connexion with the treatment of consumption, it is well-known—and I speak with a certain amount of authority—that it is essential to remove patients from localities where they suffer from the deleterious effects of dust and dust-storms, and that one of the best places in New South Wales to which they can be sent is the Orange district. I think that one of the most positive proofs which can be advanced that dust storms are not prevalent at Lyndhurst. Instead of dust-covered plains, we find acres of smiling farms and homesteads there. The district is a settled and happy one, despite the fact that it is far removed from the coast line.

It has grown by its own unaided efforts. But what do we find at Bombala? A desolate country, which is covered with stones and boulders, and which is capable of carrying perhaps one sheep to the acre. When honorable members visited it did they see any fine rosy-cheeked children there? No; the whole place was a dreary desert. I should be sorry indeed to condemn the future members of this Parliament to eke out an existence in a country like that. From what I saw at Bombala, and of its arid waste plains, it would be impossible to obtain building material there. At Lyndhurst, on the contrary, there is basalt and marble. Indeed, I believe that the marble man was discovered in that country.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I think there is basalt about Bombala, too.

Mr. LIDDELL.—I saw nothing of it. The report of the Capital Sites Commission also states that very little building material is to be obtained in that neighbourhood. Moreover, Lyndhurst is very accessible, whereas Tumut and Bombala are quite the reverse. I believe that the right honorable member for Swan, and the honorable and learned member for Ballarat, recently made a pilgrimage to the Bombala district, as the result of which they declared that it would be almost impossible to join Melbourne with that locality by rail, on account of the large expenditure that would be necessary.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I did not say so.

Mr. LIDDELL.—I believe that a bigger outlay would be required to build a railway to Bombala than would be absorbed in the construction of the Transcontinental line. I sincerely hope that the Committee will not be led away by the partisanship which has been exhibited during the course of this debate. I believe that the Lyndhurst site, though it has been least boomed, is absolutely the best. The people of New South Wales are particularly anxious that this question shall be settled without delay. No doubt it would have been decided by the last Parliament had a strong Government been in power. If the members composing that Ministry had been the men we credited them with being they would have made it the subject of a Government measure, and would thus have arrived at some finality. I should like to see the Labour Ministry take the matter up in that way and settle it. I can assure them that if the right honorable member

for East Sydney becomes Prime Minister, it will be very promptly determined. His Ministry will do the proper thing. They will recommend a site, and will stand or fall by their recommendation. That is what the people of New South Wales would admire and applaud.

Mr. DAVID THOMSON (Capricornia).—I rise to speak upon this important question from a perfectly impartial stand-point, inasmuch as I have no electors to please or displease, and, therefore, have no political axe to grind. I disagree with those advocates of the Lyndhurst site who affirm that in declaring that the Federal Capital should not be located within 100 miles of Sydney, the Conference of Premiers responsible for the limitation, intended that the Seat of Government should be established as near to that limit as possible. In my opinion, no such idea was present in their minds. They merely intended to provide that the Federal Capital should not be within 100 miles of Sydney. I believe they desired that the determination of what was the most suitable territory in which to locate the Seat of Government should be left to this Parliament. If the representatives of New South Wales desire to settle this question without any further delay they can easily do so by agreeing to the selection of the Bombala district, which is the territory that has been chosen by the Senate. I claim that it would be difficult to find better land than exists in the Bombala district. Its great drawback is that it is not connected by railway communication. There we find beautiful streams of water, and undulating country, interspersed with occasional belts of trees. I have seen no finer stock than is to be found there, in any part of New South Wales. Although the weather is usually cold, the climate of Bombala is quite equal to that which obtains in any other district. There is certainly a disadvantage in connexion with the water scheme of Bombala. The water would have to be pumped to convey it to the Federal Capital. But to obtain an excellent water supply, we have only to go to Dalgety. There the Snowy River flows through the site, which is sheltered by the mountains from the westerly winds. I do not want to pit the Dalgety country against other districts. I admit that the land is poor as far as quality is concerned. It is principally granite boulder country. There is very little

basalt. If we took a large area probably it would include some basalt country, there would be none within a limit of miles square. I do not, however, attach much importance to the quality of the land. It has been proved that by means of scientific manuring poor land can be put to good uses. There is land in Victoria formerly returned only three bags to the acre, but which now, in consequence of scientific manuring, is yielding seven to the acre. Therefore, I do not attach much importance to the land at Dalgety being inferior, and there are other considerations which make the site very desirable. There is water in sufficient quantities to supply a city very much larger than we shall have for many years to come. There is enough water to give us electric power. With respect to railway communication, Dalgety, there would be thirty miles line to construct. That is not a very large undertaking. In connexion with the Lyndhurst site, we hear of the possibility of connecting Werris Creek with Wellington and running a railway on to Western Australia. As compared with schemes of that kind, the thirty miles of line that would have to be built to Dalgety, would be a trifling scheme. The honorable member for Moira speaks of the Dalgety country as being too cold for his horses. But any person who knows anything about stock will be aware that horses that have been fed in the Riverina country would necessarily suffer on being taken to a cold climate 2,000 feet above the sea-level. Therefore, there is not much in that point. I do not think I have seen finer cattle anywhere than I saw there. The sheep also were excellent. It seemed to me to be good stock country, though I do not attach much importance to that from the point of view of establishing a Federal Capital.

Mr. LIDDELL.—They were very good horses that we had in our coaches.

Mr. DAVID THOMSON.—They were not grass-fed station horses. There are just as good horses on the stations in the Bombala district as are to be found in any part of Australia. They do not go to draught horses there. Coming to Toowoomba on the western side of the mountain, I do not think there is finer country in Australia than can be found there along the flats of the Murray, and also along the creeks leading into the main river. I have not seen finer land anywhere for grass

or agricultural purposes. The cattle also look well. We have heard something about sheep records to-night. Some of the Upper Murray residents told me that they knew of land that was carrying seventeen sheep to the acre. That statement was too much for me. I flatly said that I did not believe it. But to-night the honorable member for Canobolas assured us that land to which he referred carried seventy-five sheep to the acre. The statement of the Tooma residents was mild compared with his.

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—That was on irrigated land.

Mr. DAVID THOMSON. — Fancy, 75,000 sheep on 1,000 acres of land! I profess to know something about sheep and stock, and I venture to say that 75,000 sheep on 1,000 acres of land would trample down the grass in one night. You cannot make grass grow above the sheeps' heads. It does not matter whether the land was irrigated or not, the sheep would trample down the grass.

Mr. BROWN.—The sheep were not fed on the land, but were fed off it.

Mr. DAVID THOMSON.—That is quite another thing. I am speaking of running sheep on to land. When I was told of land carrying seventeen sheep to the acre I said that I did not believe the statement, although some of my colleagues thought I was rather sceptical. I have never seen a finer site than that at Welaregang. Probably there is not a grander view in Australia. You see the snow-capped mountains running from Kiandra to the Bogongs in Victoria, and standing above them all is Kosciusko with its pyramid of snow. The climate is not too cold. I do not know what it may be like in summer, but when we were there in winter it was beautiful.

Mr. LIDDELL.—Are there no blizzards?

Mr. DAVID THOMSON.—We experienced none. You see on your right the beautiful crystal streams of the Tooma and the Murray trickling away on their course to the sea. I admit that if we intend to have an area of 900 square miles, we cannot get that extent of good land at Tooma. We can get it at Dalgety or Bombala. But if we are content with ten miles square, there is not a finer site obtainable than that of Tooma. The only objection to it appears to be that it is too near to Victoria. That is the whole cry of the New South Wales people. But that consideration has nothing to do with us. We need not care whether

it is near Victoria or not. We have to decide which is the most suitable site for the benefit of the people of Australia. We are not deciding for ourselves, but for posterity; and if we choose the worst site, posterity will curse us for what we have done. As to its being inaccessible from the point of view of railway construction, I would remind honorable members that some years ago there were many situations which were inaccessible from a railway point of view. The railway over the Blue Mountains from Penrith to Glenbrook, had to go by means of the zig-zag. But that has been largely overcome, and to-day the engineers have the plans of a line to go straight to Lithgow, without using the zig-zag at all. In these days of engineering advance, difficulties of that kind are more easily overcome than was the case in former years. The honorable and learned member for Werriwa, to whose opinion some credit has been attached, because he is a practical surveyor, spoke of the difficulties of the country. But, as a matter of fact, he took no levels, and his opinion is worth no more than mine. We must remember that in constructing railways, engineers do not go over mountains if they can help it. They follow the course of the creeks. That is always done in making roads and railways in any part of Australia. I happen to know something about Lyndhurst, because I lived in the neighbourhood for a considerable time. I have also read a great deal about the suggested site there. A picture book has been circulated amongst honorable members, in order to show them the beauties of the site. But half of the pictures in the book do not pertain to Lyndhurst at all. They have printed pictures of the Wentworth falls, and the Katoomba falls, and they have had to go up to Pera, across the Darling, to find a picture of an artesian bore.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—Did the honorable member ever see any dust in that country?

Mr. DAVID THOMSON.—As to the water scheme, I know the Lachlan from one end to the other, and at numerous places I have stepped across it in normal seasons, while in years like 1883 and 1884 no water is to be seen. If water does flow down the Lachlan at such times it is underground, like some of the engineering of which we have heard in connexion with this question. I do not know the exact proposed site, and, therefore, I do not question the engineer's figures. While it may

be rough country for prospecting, I believe that a large water catchment could be made by building dams; but my experience of dams is that wherever they are built the water becomes objectionable to use. At the source of the water supply in Brisbane the water is full of weeds in the summer season, and the wild birds deposit foul matter in it.

Mr. FULLER.—What about the Prospect Dam?

Mr. DAVID THOMSON.—The Nepean, which supplies the dam, is always running, and that makes a difference. Rockhampton, too, has a stagnant water supply; and we should have the same experience if a dam were constructed at Mt. McDonald. There is the Carcoar "sewer," as it is called, which runs through the town right up to the proposed Capital site. In the picture-book which we have seen, a weir, built by one of the mining companies, is shown with the water pouring over it; but that place is something like the Coombing Falls—when you go there no water is to be seen. As to the climate, I think that of Lyndhurst is as good as that of any other area. The Minister of Home Affairs asked about dust; but my experience is that there is no place in Australia where dust is not to be found. Wherever we find auriferous country and mining we have poor country.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—What about Ballarat?

Mr. DAVID THOMSON.—I admit that Ballarat is an exception, but it is mostly deep sinking at that place.

Mr. KELLY.—It was alluvial at one time.

Mr. DAVID THOMSON.—It is alluvial now. At Canowindra, and round about there, we find good country, but that is thirty or forty miles away from this proposed site. At Orange there is good country, too; but if Lyndhurst be chosen, Orange is out of the question. It is said that a railway will have to be made from Werris Creek to Brisbane. This is held out as a bait to Queensland; but I do not think that it is at all likely that the New South Wales Government would build a railway which would divert the traffic from Sydney.

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—That railway has been submitted to the Public Works Committee.

Mr. DAVID THOMSON.—Many works have been before that Committee; indeed the honorable member was recently twitting the honorable member for Hume

about the many proposals he has submitted to that body. Honorable members who talk about the cost of thirty-one miles of railway to Bombala or Tumut, say nothing about the cost of the railway from Werris Creek to Wellington.

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—That railway would be wanted if the Tooma site were selected.

Mr. DAVID THOMSON.—But it would then open up much better country than there is about Lyndhurst.

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—There is very limited area of good country near Tooma.

Mr. DAVID THOMSON.—I am only speaking of the country which I know, and there are large areas which I have not seen but which I am informed comprise splendid land. Then I do not think that it is at all likely that the New South Wales Government will build a line from Cobargo to Wilcannia and Broken Hill.

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—That line has been passed by the Public Works Committee, and has been constructed as far as Cobargo.

Mr. DAVID THOMSON.—But the New South Wales Government will not extend it to Mount Hope or to Louth; it will not take a line through mallee or salt. I am a Queenslander, but I shall not vote for a site, the selection of which would prove a national calamity, and I say so with a full knowledge of every inch of the country. It is poor, miserable country where the only object that can be shown is Mount Macquarie in the distance. Whatever site may be chosen, I hope it will be Lyndhurst.

Mr. R. EDWARDS (Oxley).—I am aware that this debate must close to-night, and, therefore, I shall occupy only a few minutes. I do not desire to give a silent vote, because I regard this question as one of great importance to the Commonwealth. The sooner it is settled the better it will be for the Federal Parliament and the community generally. Much time was occupied in the discussion of this matter during last session, with a strong feeling was manifested, particularly as between the representatives of New South Wales and Victoria. I hope that on the present occasion none of that feeling will be evinced, though I am afraid that the result of the present discussion will be very much the same as it was then. It appears to me that some of the Victorian

members would like to delay the settlement of the question as long as possible, or, failing that, to have the Capital city on the Victorian border. That has evidently been the object aimed at by the Victorian members in both sessions. The 100-miles limit was arrived at as a compromise, because there was an unwillingness in both of the States to have the Capital at either Melbourne or Sydney. In agreeing to that compromise, I am sure that no member of the Premiers' Convention thought for a moment that it was of such a nature as to lead to the establishment of the Federal Capital on the Victorian border. The meaning of it was that the Federal Capital should be established within a reasonable distance of the 100-miles limit from Sydney.

Mr. FRAZER.—How can the honorable member say that?

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—I am perfectly satisfied that that was the intention, and it never could have been contemplated that the Capital would be established on the banks of the Murray, or the Snowy River, or on the Australian Alps.

Mr. DAVID THOMSON.—Or at Lyndhurst.

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—Lyndhurst is the proper place for it. I may say that when the question was last before us for settlement, I voted in the first instance for Armidale, and I very much regret that Armidale is not to-day in the running.

Mr. DAVID THOMSON.—More provincialism.

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—Armidale would be a most suitable place for the Federal Capital. I expect to be able to convince the honorable member for Capricornia presently, and on Tuesday next I shall certainly claim his vote for Lyndhurst. I voted for that site when the question was last before this Parliament. The speech delivered by the honorable member for Macquarie, in which that honorable member dwelt upon the many advantages which Lyndhurst possesses over all the other sites, and Mr. Wade's report, have confirmed me in the conviction that Lyndhurst is the proper place for the Federal Capital. There are two qualifications which should be specially considered in coming to a decision with regard to the Federal Capital site—the climatic conditions, and the possession of an abundant supply of good and wholesome water. If there is one consideration of more importance than

another in the establishment of a city, great or small, it is that there shall be an abundance of pure water available at all times. In my opinion it has been proved beyond doubt that the district of Lyndhurst possesses such a supply. It has a further advantage in possessing good soil, as was proved to-night by the honorable member for Canobolas from the figures he quoted, showing a production of wheat, maize, and oats greater than that of Rom-bala, Dalgety, Tumut, or any of the other areas.

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—The honorable member was not satisfied with generalities; he gave actual quantities.

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—The honorable member gave quantities, details, and figures for every statement he made. He gave proof beyond the possibility of dispute. I am aware that many members of the Committee are not prepared to entertain the idea of any site north of Sydney; but I still say that it would be wise to establish the Federal Capital north of Sydney. Mr. Sawers, then member for New England, placed before this Parliament some very interesting figures, which went to prove that the population of Australia forty years hence will be much greater north than south of Sydney. It would, perhaps, not be out of place if I were to refresh the memories of honorable members with respect to those figures. Mr. Sawers said—

If honorable members draw an imaginary line from a few miles south of Sydney, due west, I venture to predict that in 100 years' time the area of New South Wales north of that particular line and Queensland will contain at least three-fourths of the population of the Commonwealth. That opinion is based not merely upon my own knowledge of the magnificent area in northern New South Wales, and my profound belief in the great future before the State of Queensland, but is backed up by a report presented by a Committee of Statisticians to the Federal Convention on the question of the trend of population. The members of the Committee were unbiased, and their opinions may surely be regarded with some respect. I admit that what they predicted is not likely to happen quite as rapidly as they believed, because they did not take into account the possibility that such an overwhelming and disastrous drought as Australia has passed through recently would seriously retard settlement for a time. What was the opinion of those gentlemen? They reported that in a period of thirty-eight years from the date of their report the population of Australia would be as follows:—New South Wales, 8,000,000; Queensland, 7,500,000; Victoria, 4,000,000; and South Australia, Western Australia, and Tasmania combined, 2,500,000.

Mr. DAVID THOMSON.—Sheep?

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—No; white people who I hope will be in Australia at that time. Mr. Sawers went on to say—

I allow a few more years, and I say those gentlemen contemplated that within fifty years the portion of New South Wales north of the line I ask honorable members to draw in imagination, from a little south of Sydney to Broken Hill, and Queensland would contain fully two-thirds of the population of the Commonwealth. If that is a fair estimate, it is shown that the great State of Queensland will within fifty years have double the population of Victoria. Although honorable members representing Victoria may think Melbourne at present the hub of Australia—and they always do—

and that their convenience is of paramount importance, I conceive it to be an unanswerable argument that the trend of population will inevitably be northwards; and that Queensland within little more than a generation will contain double the population of the great and thriving State of Victoria. To go further, though honorable members may say that one is romancing, and is looking a little too far ahead, I believe that within 100 years three-fourths of the population of Australia will be found in the north of New South Wales and in Queensland.

There can be no doubt that the trend of population is to the north.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—It has been west during the last year or two.

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—It has from Victoria. I am aware that Victoria has lost a large portion of her population, and that many Victorians have settled in Western Australia, but some, I am afraid, have disappeared altogether.

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—That does not decrease the northern population.

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—Quite so. The bulk of the population of the Commonwealth will, in the future, be north of Sydney, and we have a right to consider what is likely to be the position of the Commonwealth in this respect. In the interests of the future welfare of the people of the Commonwealth, I shall give a vote for Lyndhurst, and I hope the supporters of that site will be successful this time. Honorable members will probably remember that on the last occasion Lyndhurst was in the last ballot, and if it had not been that honorable members, who had lost Bombala, voted for Tumut, Lyndhurst would have been the site selected, and the whole question would have been settled by this time.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—We should have had to get the Senate to agree to Lyndhurst.

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—We could, perhaps, have brought some influence to bear upon the Senate to induce honorable senators to agree to the decision of the House of Representatives.

Mr. DAVID THOMSON.—Honorable members are going in the right way to hang the question.

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—I have no intention of trying to influence the honorable member for Capricornia, or any of representatives of Queensland. I shall attempt anything of that kind, but I have no hesitation in saying that, in the interest of the large population that will inhabit the immense territory north of Sydney the near future, every representative for Queensland should vote in favour of Lyndhurst. I desire to say that I do not agree with the proposal of the Government that we should demand an area of 900 square miles.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—That will be discussed on the next clause.

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—I cannot see what possible object the Federal Parliament have in deciding that the area of the Federal Territory shall be 900 square miles. In my opinion, 100 square miles would be sufficient, though, if the justification was shown, I should be prepared to consent to the acquisition of an area of 200 square miles. I sincerely hope that the Government of New South Wales will not entertain an application for 900 square miles. Even 100 square miles would be a larger area than that of the district of Columbia in which Washington, the Capital of the United States, is situated. A friend of mine, Captain Russell, who resided in America for some time, and is well acquainted with the country, writing from Brisbane a month or two ago, has given me the following information, which I will read for the benefit of honorable members:—

The capital of the United States is Washington in the district of Columbia. The district of Columbia is situated in latitude 38 degrees 45 minutes north, and longitude 77 degrees west of the border line of the two States—West Virginia and Maryland—and the city of Washington, capital proper, is situated at about the centre of the district. The area of the district of Columbia was originally 100 square miles, but thirty square miles were ceded to Virginia in 1846, thus leaving the present area seventy square miles. The population of the United States in 1846 was 23,000,000, now about 82,000,000.

The Government of the district of Columbia is vested by Act of Congress, approved 11th July 1878, in three Commissioners, two of whom are appointed by the President from citizens of the district, having had three years' residence there immediately preceding their appointment, confirmed by the Senate. The other Commissioner is detailed by the President of the United States from the Corps of Engineers of the United States.

States Army, and must have lineal rank, or be a captain who has served at least fifteen years in the Corps of Engineers of the Army.

The Commissioners appoint the subordinate official service of said Government.

Washington had a municipal government from 1802 to 1871. By an Act approved 21st February, 1871, Congress provided a territorial form of government for the entire district of Columbia, with a governor, secretary, board of public works and council, appointed by the President of the United States, and a House of Delegates, and a delegate in Congress elected by the citizens of the said district.

This form of government was abolished 20th June, 1874, and a temporary government by three Commissioners substituted.

The temporary form of government was succeeded by the present form of government, 1st July, 1878.

Congress makes all laws for the district, but has intrusted to the Commissioners authority to make police regulations, building regulations, plumbing regulations, and other regulations of a municipal nature.

I am very anxious that this question shall be settled, though I fear that the result of its consideration by Parliament will be similar to that which was obtained last session. The honorable member for Koo-yong suggested that it might be decided by a Committee, consisting of Supreme Court Judges, and a Judge of the High Court. No doubt all the information for and against each of the proposed sites has been laid before the Committee, so that every honorable member must be thoroughly aware of their advantages and disadvantages. I would therefore suggest that if we fail to come to a decision next week, a Committee of ten members should be chosen by ballot, six being taken from the House of Representatives, one for each State, and three from the Senate, and that in addition the Prime Minister should act as Chairman. I am aware that the Constitution does not provide for the appointment of such a body, but, judging from the experience of last session, I think that the two Houses are not likely to agree as to a suitable site. I hope, however, that my predictions will not be fulfilled, and that the matter will be satisfactorily settled for all time.

Mr. BATCHELOR (Boothby—Minister of Home Affairs).—I desire to announce that on Tuesday next the first business taken will be the ballot to determine the district in which the Seat of Government shall be located.

Mr. BROWN.—How do the Government propose to fix upon a particular site?

Mr. BATCHELOR.—That can be done in Committee, by an amendment on the

proposed insertion. It will be very easy to move the insertion of words which will provide that the Seat of Government shall be within so many miles of such and such a place within the district chosen. I thank honorable members for remaining to-night to keep a House, and to enable the discussion to be concluded.

Progress reported.

House adjourned at 11.7 p.m.

House of Representatives.

Tuesday, 9 August, 1904.

Mr. SPEAKER took the chair at 2.30 p.m., and read prayers.

PERSONAL EXPLANATIONS.

Mr. CROUCH.—I desire to make a personal explanation. Last week, when the Seat of Government Bill was being discussed, and the honorable member for Hume was speaking, I interjected that a statement had appeared in the *Sydney Morning Herald* to the effect that the honorable member had said that he preferred Lyndhurst to the southern sites. His reply was that that was not so; but I am now able to read to the House the absolute words of the statement to which I have referred. It occurs in a letter written to the *Sydney Morning Herald* on the 4th April, 1904, by the Rev. H. D. Seely-Vidal, a Church of England clergyman, residing at Carcoar, in New South Wales, and is as follows:—

Ere going on board the special train at Lyndhurst, when the subject of the possible sites was being discussed, I heard Sir William Lyne distinctly say, in the presence of several others, that he, personally speaking, considered Lyndhurst the most eligible site, but that South Australia, Victoria, and Tasmania would outvote the other States, and keep the site down south. I then spoke to Sir William, and said—"Look here, Sir William, you throw all the weight of your influence on to the side of Lyndhurst, and we will chance South Australia, Victoria, and Tasmania outvoting it."

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I have never read the letter from which the honorable and learned member has quoted, nor have I heard it read before; but the statement itself is untrue.

Mr. HUME COOK.—I also desire to make a personal explanation. When on Thursday last I moved a motion affirming

the desirability of a re-adjustment of the Tariff, I stated that the total value of some twenty lines of food stuffs produced in Victoria was £12,000,000 per annum, and that the local consumption of these lines was about £1,200,000 per annum. The figures were challenged at the time by the honorable member for Gippsland. As I then explained, I had received them only the night before, so that I had not had time to digest them. On referring to them again, I find that my statement of the total production was correct, but that my statement as to the local consumption was incorrect, because, instead of the line relating to local consumption, I read a line relating to population. I desire to acknowledge and to correct the mistake, so that honorable members may not be misled by my original statement.

PREFERENTIAL TRADE.

Mr. DEAKIN.—I ask the Prime Minister whether his comments upon the suggestion for the holding of an Imperial Conference to consider the question of preferential trade were based on general cable information only, or on some other communication which had reached him. If based only on press statements, they were, I venture to suggest, premature. I ask him whether, in view of the vital importance of the matter to Australia, he considers it desirable to discourage the formulation of an official proposition by the British Government as soon as possible. If the question is officially submitted to him, will he not feel it his duty, before replying, to afford honorable members an opportunity to express their views in regard to it?

Mr. WATSON.—The observations which I made were based upon no other foundation than the ordinary press cables. I was asked by the representative of one of the great English dailies to express an opinion on a suggestion which had been made, and my reply was to the effect that a Conference is hardly necessary at the present time, and that we should await the declaration of the people of Great Britain of their own desires in the matter.

Mr. DEAKIN.—Even before a preliminary discussion?

Mr. WATSON.—I think that the preliminary discussion has already taken place.

Mr. DEAKIN.—Not a discussion between Great Britain and her Colonies.

Mr. WATSON.—The Australian Government was represented by Sir Edmund

Barton at an Imperial Conference which carried a resolution approving of preferential trade, and the matter was afterwards put before the electors at the last general elections by the honorable and learned member himself, who was then at the head of the Government. Later on, it was referred to in the Governor-General's speech. I do not suppose that I should be justified in asking if the concurrence of the other leader of the Opposition had been arranged for in this matter; but the fact that no action in regard to it was taken on the Address-Reply practically amounted to an admission that, so far as Australia is concerned, a decision has been arrived at, and the electors generally favour preferential trade. Assuming that to be so, I do not think that any further step can be taken until some tangible proposal is made to us by the Imperial Government. I do not see the value of another Conference because details cannot be arranged upon the principle of preferential trade which has been assented to in Great Britain.

Mr. DEAKIN.—A Conference would prepare the way.

Mr. GLYNN.—This House has not spoken on the subject.

Mr. WATSON.—Australia has pressed her wishes.

Mr. GLYNN.—The opinions of the people of Australia have never been tested in the Chamber.

Mr. WATSON.—The fact that the matter was allowed to go by default is equivalent to a test having been made. Free-trade friends did not test the opinion of members in reference to an alteration of the Tariff; but the feeling of the people was admitted when they allowed it to remain in its present condition.

Mr. SPEAKER.—I have already pointed out that when questions are put to the Minister it is only courteous for the House to let him give his own answers to them. I ask honorable members not to attempt to put words into the mouth of the Prime Minister, and to receive without interposing the replies which he pleases to give. I would remind the House that at question time members may only ask direct questions, and Ministers may only reply to them. Questions of policy must not be debated.

Mr. CONROY.—Is it in order for the Prime Minister to express views which many of us think absolutely erroneous?

Mr. SPEAKER.—I understand that question time was instituted to give honorable members an opportunity to ask questions to elicit the views of Ministers, and to give Ministers an opportunity to express their views.

Mr. WATSON.—I was expressing merely my own views; I would not attempt to express those of the honorable and learned member. I have shown how the matter appears to me. In my opinion, we should now wait until a proposal comes from Great Britain.

Mr. DEAKIN.—What I speak of would be a proposal for a Conference.

Mr. WATSON.—If the proposal for a Conference is made to the Government it will have our grave consideration. Hitherto I have dealt only with a suggestion which was not put forward by any one holding office. Although Mr. Chamberlain occupies a very prominent and honoured position in England, he is not at present a responsible Minister. It therefore remains merely a suggestion. If it takes shape, and becomes more than a suggestion, it will, of course, receive every consideration.

MEDICINE CHESTS: PORT DARWIN TELEGRAPH LINE.

Sir LANGDON BONYTHON.—Last week I asked the Postmaster-General—

Are medicine chests supplied to the outlying stations on the Port Darwin telegraph line, as was the case when the line was under the control of the South Australian Government? The Minister replied—

Yes, except at Port Darwin and Pine Creek, where medical services can be obtained.

I have excellent authority for believing that that answer is not correct. I am informed that Sir Charles Todd, the Deputy Postmaster-General of South Australia, on the 24th February, 1902, formally notified that supplies of medicine for stations on the overland line were to be discontinued, and that no medicines whatever have been provided by the Federal Government. Mr. Herbert and Mr. Mitchell, the representatives of the Northern Territory in the South Australian House of Assembly, have been in communication with me in regard to this matter. Mr. Herbert writes as follows:—

I have noticed the information elicited by you from the Federal Government to the effect that medicine chests are supplied to outlying stations on the overland telegraph line, as was the custom under the State control. The answer, I fear, has been given under a misapprehension.

I believe I am absolutely correct in saying that the supplies of medicine for the chests referred to were stopped by the Department, and that they have not been since resumed.

If the Minister would like me to give him a specific case of a station not having a chest of medicines provided, I think I can name one—the Powell Creek Station. I desire to know whether the Minister will make further inquiries into the matter.

Mr. MAHON.—I certainly shall make further inquiries. It would appear, from the information furnished by the honorable member, that there has been some misapprehension. When the Department was under State control, the authorities supplied medicines at the outlying stations, and it may be that in the departmental view this duty still rests with the State Government, because it cannot be contended that it is necessary for the proper administration of the Telegraph service that medicines and surgical appliances should be supplied in such cases. They are provided for the convenience and assistance of persons who are travelling, and that being so, I conceive that the matter is entirely within the domain of the State Government.

Sir LANGDON BONYTHON.—But the officers employed at the stations, and also the stations, are under the control of the Federal Government.

Mr. MAHON.—That is so, and to the extent that such officers require medicines or surgical appliances, I presume that the Department will be prepared to supply them; but I am not aware that it is our duty to keep medicines or appliances for the convenience of the travelling public. However, I shall make further inquiries, and furnish the honorable member with any additional information that may be available.

SERVICES RENDERED TO STATES GOVERNMENTS.

Mr. ROBINSON.—I desire to ask the Prime Minister whether it is a fact, as stated in the *Age* of Friday last, that the Commonwealth Government is making a claim upon the Victorian Government for £12,000 odd for various services rendered by Post and Telegraph officers; further, whether it is a fact that this claim would not have been made had it not been for some remarks made by the Premier of Victoria. I trust that the Minister will be able to enlighten us upon this point, because it is distinctly stated that the Government are

playing a game of tit-for-tat, and that the claim would not have been made but for their resentment of Mr. Bent's criticisms.

Mr. WATSON.—I understand that some claim against the Victorian Government is being prepared by the Post Office authorities, in consideration of services rendered to the State. I am not aware of the details, or the grounds upon which the claim is made, because it has not yet come to me for presentation.

Mr. ROBINSON.—The claim is not being made in a spirit of revenge?

Mr. WATSON.—Certainly not. The relations which have, so far, existed between all the States Governments and this Government have been of the most cordial description. We have had no reason to complain, nor do I think that this Government have given any cause for complaint by the States Governments.

UNIFORM WHARFAGE CHARGES.

Mr. McWILLIAMS.—I desire to know from the Prime Minister what steps, if any, have been taken with a view to secure uniform wharfage rates in the various States?

Mr. WATSON.—Some little time ago I stated that it was the intention of the Government to take whatever steps were possible to persuade the various States authorities—whether the States Governments or bodies acting under their authority—to so regulate their wharfage charges, and to so harmonize them, that no distinction would be drawn between the produce of any of the States; the idea being, of course, to obviate the necessity for appointing the Inter-State Commission, so far as that aspect of the matter is concerned. Since then my honorable colleague, the Minister of Trade and Customs has, in one or two cases, asked to be relieved of the work of collecting differential rates, as a preliminary to further action being taken by the States Governments themselves. That has occurred in Victoria. My honorable colleague holds that we have no power to collect the differential rates, and I believe that the Victorian Government proposes to take action in the direction of equalizing the charges. I have addressed letters upon the subject to some of the other States Governments. I am not yet aware of the detailed proposals which they intend to carry out; but I am satisfied that there should be no great difficulty in arriving at some arrangement for getting rid of the existing anomalies.

ELECTORAL ACT COMMITTEE

Mr. CONROY.—I wish to ask the Minister of Home Affairs whether, in view of the very serious irregularities that seem to have occurred in the Electoral Department in Sydney, he will take steps to appoint a Royal Commission to pursue the inquiry commenced by the Electoral Act Committee, which seems to be unable to spare the time necessary to attend to the matter. At present, I need not say any more than that the evidence recently taken in Sydney discloses a very serious state of affairs.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—I do not think that the Select Committee are unable to obtain the evidence necessary to enable them to arrive at a conclusion as to whether or not grave irregularities have occurred. I do not regard it as necessary to appoint a Royal Commission, because I consider that the Select Committee will be in a position to inquire fully into the whole question. Evidence in rebuttal of that recently given in Sydney will be presented by the department.

STEAMER SUBSIDY: WESTERN AUSTRALIA.

Mr. KELLY.—I desire to ask the Prime Minister, without notice, whether he will take steps to test the legality of the action of the Western Australian Government in granting a subsidy for a fast steamer service between Geraldton and Perth.

Mr. WATSON.—I have not had time to look into the matter referred to, and therefore, I should like further notice before I am called upon to give an answer. I imagine that the subject is rather an important one.

OBSOLETE FIELD GUNS.

Mr. CARPENTER. — I desire to put before the Prime Minister a question having reference to the offer of certain obsolete field guns, for ornamental purposes, which was recently made to the States Governments. I understand that some of the States Governments have declined to accept the guns upon the conditions laid down in the offer. In view of that fact, and in order that the municipality may be deprived of any gun which it may desire to obtain, will the Government make a similar offer to the municipalities direct?

Mr. WATSON.—I am aware that the Government of Western Australia has intimated that it scarcely cares to accept the responsibility of these obsolete weapons. In some cases—I do not say that my rem-

plies to all—it seems that the guns are so heavy that a fair expenditure would require to be incurred to remove them, and some people do not care to be saddled with 'white elephants' of that description.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Very few of the guns are mounted.

Mr. WATSON.—That is so, and consequently it is necessary to construct carriages or some kind of mounting for them.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—It cost the municipality of Parramatta £15 to mount their guns.

Mr. WATSON.—It is satisfactory to know that Parramatta could afford to spend that sum in beautifying its public parks.

Mr. CROUCH.—Does that remark apply to any part of Australia, as I have applied for some of the guns for Geelong?

Mr. WATSON.—The Government entertain no objection to allowing any local body or representative institution to obtain these guns so far as their number will permit. My general impression is that the military authorities are very anxious to use the storage room which is at present occupied by these obsolete weapons, and therefore they would be extremely glad to get rid of them.

SEAT OF GOVERNMENT BILL.

Mr. REID.—I desire to ask the Prime Minister whether he is prepared to allow of a short suspension of the sitting prior to the ballot being taken in connexion with the Seat of Government Bill. I understand that some of the trains were late to-day—the Sydney express was somewhat behind time—and I believe that one or two honorable members who have come to Melbourne for the express purpose of taking part in the ballot have not yet reached the House. I suppose that there is a disposition upon all sides to allow honorable members who have journeyed here for that purpose an opportunity of recording their votes.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—How long an interval does the right honorable member suggest?

Mr. REID.—I think that a suspension of the sitting until a quarter-past 3 would allow a very fair latitude. I know that one or two honorable members who have come to Melbourne for the purpose of recording their votes have not yet reached the House. They may put in an appearance at any moment, and I am sure that nobody desires them to be shut out from the ballot for the sake of a minute or two. I would therefore suggest that the sitting of the

House be suspended until a quarter-past 3 o'clock, if the Prime Minister thinks that is a reasonable proposal.

Mr. WATSON.—I have no objection to meeting the convenience of honorable members in the way suggested; but perhaps some other honorable member might desire a suspension of the sitting for a few minutes longer. If not, at the conclusion of the ordinary business, Mr. Speaker might leave the chair, and resume it at the hour named.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—If any delay is to occur in the taking of the ballot, I would suggest that the sitting should be suspended for a little longer period—say till half-past 3 o'clock—because there are several honorable members in the city with whom we cannot communicate.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—There are several others who wish to get away.

Mr. WATSON.—I am quite prepared to fall in with the suggestion of the honorable member for Hume.

Mr. SPEAKER.—In accordance with the arrangement which has been arrived at, I shall leave the chair after questions have been answered until half-past 3 o'clock.

NEW SOUTH WALES VOLUNTEER REGIMENTS.

Mr. FULLER asked the Minister representing the Minister of Defence, *upon notice*—

What was the establishment, strength, and percentage of efficient of each of the following Volunteer Regiments in New South Wales on the 30th June, 1904 :—

1st Scottish Rifles;
Australian Rifles;
St. George's Rifles;
Australian Irish Rifles?

Mr. WATSON.—The following is the information asked for by the honorable and learned member :—

Regiment.	Establishment as per Estimates.	Strength.	Number of Efficient.	Percentage of Efficient to Strength.
1st Regiment, New South Wales				
Scottish Rifles...	509	460	352	76.52
Australian Rifle Regiment ...	509	450	353	78.44
St. George's English Rifle Regiment ...	509	452	319	70.57
New South Wales Irish Rifle Regiment ...	509	436	398	91.28

PAPER.

Mr. BATCHELOR laid upon the table the following paper:—

Further report by Mr. Surveyor Chesterman on the proposed Federal Capital site at Tooma.

SEAT OF GOVERNMENT BILL.

The order of the day for a ballot to determine the district within which the Seat of Government should be situated having been read,

Mr. SPEAKER.—When a similar ballot was taken last year some rules for the conduct of the ballot were prepared and followed, and I propose, with the approval of the House, that these rules shall again be observed.

HONORABLE MEMBERS.—Hear, hear.

Mr. REID.—I understand, Mr. Speaker, that the signature of an honorable member is essential?

Mr. SPEAKER.—Absolutely.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Are honorable members to understand that they must place a cross opposite the area for which they desire to vote?

Mr. SPEAKER.—Honorable members, of course, may make only one cross and that must be placed opposite the one of the three areas for which they vote.

The House then proceeded to the first ballot.

Mr. SPEAKER.—The votes were cast in the first ballot as follows:—

Southern District	...	...	21
South-Eastern District	...	...	22
Western District	...	...	25

The second ballot having been taken,

Mr. SPEAKER.—The votes were cast in the second ballot as follows:—

South-Eastern District	...	...	39
Western District	...	...	28

BALLOTS.

Districts.—1, Southern District* (comprising an area of land within a radius of fifty miles from Batlow); 2, South-Eastern District (comprising an area of land within a radius of fifty miles from Bombala); 3, Western District (comprising an area of land within a radius of fifty miles from Lyndhurst).

Ballots.	1st.	2nd.
Bamford, Mr.
Batchelor, Mr.
Bonython, Sir J. L.
Brown, Mr.
Carpenter, Mr.
Chapman, Mr.
Conroy, Mr.

Ballots.

1st.

Cook, Mr. Hume	...	...	2	...
Cook, Mr. Jos.	...	...	3	...
Crouch, Mr.	...	...	2	...
Culpin, Mr.	...	...	—	...
Deakin, Mr.	...	...	2	...
Edwards, Mr. G. B.	...	...	3	...
Edwards, Mr. R.	...	...	3	...
Ewing, Mr.	...	...	1	...
Fisher, Mr.	...	...	2	...
Forrest, Sir John	...	...	2	...
Fowler, Mr.	...	...	1	...
Frazer, Mr.	...	...	2	...
Fuller, Mr.	...	...	3	...
Fysh, Sir P.	...	...	2	...
Gibb, Mr.	...	...	2	...
Glynn, Mr.	...	...	2	...
Groom, Mr.	...	...	3	...
Harper, Mr.	...	...	2	...
Higgins, Mr.	...	...	2	...
Hughes, Mr.	...	...	3	...
Hutchison, Mr.	...	...	1	...
Isaacs, Mr.	...	...	1	...
Johnson, Mr.	...	...	3	...
Kelly, Mr.	...	...	3	...
Kennedy, Mr.	...	...	1	...
Knox, Mr.	...	...	1	...
Lee, Mr.	...	...	3	...
Liddell, Mr.	...	...	3	...
Lonsdale, Mr.	...	...	3	...
Lyne, Sir W. J.	...	...	1	...
Mahon, Mr.	...	...	1	...
Maloney, Mr.	...	...	1	...
Mauger, Mr.	...	...	2	...
McCay, Mr.	...	...	1	...
McColl, Mr.	...	...	1	...
McDonald, Mr.	...	...	3	...
McLean, Mr.	...	...	2	...
McWilliams, Mr.	...	...	3	...
O'Malley, Mr.	...	...	2	...
Page, Mr.	...	...	2	...
Phillips, Mr.	...	...	1	...
Poynton, Mr.	...	...	2	...
Reid, Mr.	...	...	3	...
Robinson, Mr.	...	...	3	...
Ronald, Mr.	...	...	1	...
Salmon, Mr.	...	...	2	...
Skene, Mr.	...	...	1	...
Smith, Mr. Bruce	...	...	3	...
Smith, Mr. Sydney	...	...	3	...
Spence, Mr.	...	...	3	...
Storrer, Mr.	...	...	2	...
Thomson, Mr. David	...	...	1	...
Thomson, Mr. Dugald	...	...	3	...
Tudor, Mr.	...	...	1	...
Turner, Sir G.	...	...	2	...
Watkins, Mr.	...	...	1	...
Watson, Mr.	...	...	1	...
Webster, Mr.	...	...	1	...
Wilkinson, Mr.	...	...	3	...
Wilks, Mr.	...	...	3	...
Willis, Mr.	...	...	3	...
Wilson, Mr.	...	...	3	...

* This district was not in the second ballot.

NOTE.—The figures appearing opposite name of each member indicate the district which he voted.

In Committee:

Clause 2—

It is hereby determined that the Seat of Government of the Commonwealth shall be at that portion of New South Wales bounded as

orth by a direct line running from the town of Pambula to the town of Cooma, thence due west to the border of the State of Victoria, and within fifty miles of Bombala, in the State of New South Wales.

Mr. BATCHELOR (Boothby—Minister of Home Affairs).—The ballot which has just been taken leaves the wording of the clause now under consideration very much as it stands. The Government have stated throughout the discussion that it was their intention to narrow down the locality to much more restrictive limits than a radius of fifty miles. A radius of fifty miles would include two or three sites which have been suggested. But the important sites in the South-Eastern District are Bombala and Dalgety. I understand that the majority of honorable members who voted for a site in the South-Eastern District are in favour of the Dalgety site. In order that we may obtain an expression of opinion which will be more definite than the clause at present contains, I think that it would be better for me to move the omission of all the words from "within" to "Bombala," with a view of inserting the words "twenty-five miles from Dalgety." The radius would give us a sufficient margin to enable the best site within that district to be selected. It would exclude Bombala and a number of towns which, it is generally agreed, it would not be desirable to select. If the course which I suggest is adopted, it will be understood as an instruction to the Government to obtain a site within a reasonable distance of Dalgety. That, I believe, is what is generally desired. I therefore move—

That the following words be left out:—"that portion of New South Wales bounded on the north by a direct line running from the town of Pambula to the town of Cooma, thence due west to the border of the State of Victoria, and within fifty miles of Bombala."

Mr. HUME COOK (Bourke).—I wish to obtain a somewhat clearer explanation of what the amendment means than I have been able to gather from the statement of the Minister. Does the amendment mean that when the area is selected any possibility of obtaining a port within the Federal Territory will be excluded; or does it mean that we are choosing the actual Seat of Government, reserving the right at a later stage to take in a port with the territory? It is due to the Committee that honorable members should know exactly what is meant and how far the proposal goes.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—The territory is dealt with in the next clause. The purpose of the clause under consideration simply is to determine the locality of the Seat of Government.

Mr. HUME COOK.—That only?

Mr. BATCHELOR.—Yes, that only. The question of the territory to be chosen will be considered in connexion with clause 3.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN (Eden-Monaro).—I would suggest to the Minister of Home Affairs that the better way to amend the clause in order to attain the object in view is first to settle which site is the more favoured by the Committee, Bombala or Dalgety. We should take a vote in order to elicit an expression of opinion as between Bombala and Dalgety. If the proposal which the Minister has submitted is adopted we shall probably find ourselves blocked in the endeavour to obtain a port within the Federal area.

Mr. WATSON.—Not at all.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—Then an amendment will be required in clause 3, which provides that the territory to be acquired is to be the territory mentioned in clause 2. We must first of all obtain an expression of opinion as to whether Bombala or Dalgety should be selected, and we must not deprive ourselves of the right to claim a port, the desirability of which has recommended the Bombala site to many honorable members. To lay it down in clause 2, as the Minister proposes to do, that the site selected shall be within a radius of twenty-five miles of Dalgety, would, unless clause 3 were amended, exclude all possibility of the territory embracing a port. We should endeavour to leave the Bill as nearly as possible in the state in which the Senate sent it to us. To adopt the amendment proposed by the Minister would be practically to make a new Bill of it.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—The object of the Government is to get a nearer indication of the opinion of the Committee. In order that that may be done, we must first settle the question whether Bombala or Dalgety is to be chosen. That can be determined by one vote.

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON (North Sydney).—I quite agree with the proposal submitted by the Minister. The words which he proposes to omit are absolutely useless for the purpose for which they have been inserted in the clause. In the first place, they

provide that the Seat of Government shall be within a territory which in one direction would be 150 miles in length, and the description of the territory is then limited by a subsequent description that it shall be within fifty miles of Bombala. As applied to the Seat of Government, the two descriptions are inconsistent. The proper place in which to define the territory is the next clause.

Mr. WATSON.—If it is necessary to define it at all.

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—Just so; but the words proposed to be left out are absolutely useless, and are made useless by the subsequent provision that the Seat of Government shall be within fifty miles of Bombala. I can only account for the inconsistency of the clause by assuming that the various amendments proposed in the Senate created confusion. We are here not to fix a district, but to determine the Seat of Government. We should do that, and we should not leave it to a subsequent selection from a large area which may include several sites.

Mr. McCAY (Corinella).—I agree with the honorable member for North Sydney as to the vagueness of the clause. I desire to know something with respect to the method by which the Minister proposes to ascertain the desire of the Committee. I should like to say that Governments and Parliaments have, before now, found that it is easier to create a blank than to fill it. If we create a blank in this clause as proposed, there will be nothing to prevent that blank remaining unfilled for ever, so far as this Committee is concerned, by a combination of supporters of two sites as against the supporters of a third. I am not saying this with any desire to secure an advantage for the site mentioned in the Bill, or the site which was selected a few minutes ago by honorable members, because neither of them is my first choice. We have had previous examples of combinations. To move that these words should be left out, with a view to insert other words, would be a perfectly right course to pursue, in the circumstances, if we knew that, as a matter of course, the striking out of these words would be followed by the formal insertion of the other words proposed. But once these words are left out, the whole question is again enlarged. I should advise the insertion of certain words first, if they could be agreed to, and we could strike out the superfluous words afterwards. My only

desire is to secure fair play for all concerned, because, as I say, Bombala and Dalgety are by no means the objects of my primary selection in this matter.

Mr. WATSON (Bland — Treasurer).—In accordance with the suggestion of the honorable and learned member for Corinella, it might simplify the procedure, and assuage any fears which some honorable members may entertain of the difficulty always liable to crop up in connexion with matters of this sort, if the Minister for Home Affairs were to withdraw his present amendment, and move the insertion, at the word "within," of the words "a radius of twenty-five." Then any honorable member, who desired to do so, could move an amendment upon the amendment, with the object of altering the word "twenty-five" to "fifty," if that should be desired.

Mr. DAVID THOMSON.—Why not make it fifty miles in the first instance?

Mr. WATSON.—Because, in my view it is absolutely ridiculous to talk of the selection of a site within a radius of fifty miles. The necessity for getting this determination, indicate where it wishes the Federal Capital to be, and if we indicate a territory with a diameter of 100 miles, one can say that we have thus indicated where the Capital should be. It might be anywhere within that vast range of country.

Mr. CROUCH.—We could leave that to the two Governments concerned.

Mr. WATSON.—In my opinion, the Federal Parliament should indicate its choice much more nearly than that, for the benefit of the Government. I do not say that it would be putting too much responsibility upon the Government, but it certainly would be burdening the Government to ask them to interpret the will of the House in making a selection within such an area as that which I have referred to. I think that a radius of twenty-five miles would cover the maximum range of choice which should be allowed. Even that would give a diameter of fifty miles to the circle, and I am rather inclined to agree that that is a little too much.

Mr. BAMFORD.—It would cover 1,000 square miles.

Mr. WATSON.—That is a very large range. The object should be to cut the area down to as fine and definite a point as is consistent with our present information, and with the possibility that a new location may be necessary for the actual site of the Federal capital.

—that is to say, within a mile or two of the particular place we select. I think, therefore, that the better plan, following the suggestion of the honorable and learned member for Corinella, would be to propose the insertion of the words I have indicated, including the words "twenty-five," and the Committee could afterwards take a vote upon the insertion of the word Dalgety in lieu of the word Bombala, if honorable members so desired.

Sir JOHN FORREST (Swan).—We have selected the district in which the Seat of Government is to be located, and it has now become our duty to select the site. The best way in which to proceed is to ascertain from the Committee which site within this district honorable members prefer. Four sites have been named and inspected—Dalgety, Bombala, Delegate, and Coolringdon. It appears to me that what we have to do now is to find out which of those four sites is favoured by the majority of the members of the Committee. Having done that, the Seat of Government should be fixed within a reasonable distance of the site selected, and twenty-five miles would be a more than ample range, knowing the localities as we do. We know that the Bombala site is not more than three or four miles from the town of Bombala; the Dalgety site would be within a radius of five miles of the bridge at Dalgety; the Delegate site would be within three or four miles' radius of the town of Delegate; and the Coolringdon site is well known. No doubt the choice of the Committee will be either Dalgety or Bombala. A very few miles from either place would suffice to include the site of the actual Capital, and whether we say ten or twenty-five miles will make no difference in the selection. Then we have the question of the area of the territory, which will have to be considered on clause 3. By the course I suggest, we should let it be well known that every site in this district has had a fair chance of being dealt with; whereas, if we adopt the proposal of the Government—though I have no objection to it, personally—it might be thought we were barring the claim of some sites. What we have to do now is to definitely say which site in this district is approved by a majority of the Committee.

Mr. REID (East Sydney).—I quite agree with the course the Government have taken; in fact, I think they are scarcely

definite enough in the amendment. However, the amendment means a better state of things than is contemplated in the clause. So far as I am concerned, as a representative of New South Wales, though I have strongly and consistently endeavoured to procure the selection of Lyndhurst, I have the consolation, after the division which has taken place, of recognising that that division is an honest expression of opinion by the House. I accept that decision as not brought about, as some other position might have been, by any unfair means, but as a fair and honest expression of the views of the majority. The decision is much against my own views, but I have at least the satisfaction of feeling that the selection which has been made does represent the honest conviction of the majority of the members of this House. Therefore, so far as I am concerned, I want to help the Government so far as I can. What New South Wales may think is another matter; it is for New South Wales to look after her own affairs in her own Parliament. I am strongly against the large area, but it must be left to the Government and the people of New South Wales to look after their own interests. I will do all I can in this Chamber to get the views I represent expressed in the provisions of the Bill; but, so long as the procedure is, as it has been, thoroughly *bonâ fide*, I am not going to carry my protest further. I wish to say that I accept in good faith this amendment to insert Dalgety, upon the understanding that the site is within a reasonable distance of Dalgety, as intended by Parliament. I have made no secret of my view that I should not consider the choice of Dalgety one which, manifestly, I could not regard with some sort of feeling of respect; I have never denounced that site as one with regard to which I had any sort of decided feeling one way or the other. I am prepared, so far as I am concerned, as a member of this House, to accept the decision which has been honestly arrived at, without any manipulation of votes—which expresses a preference as between Lyndhurst and Dalgety. But I do not think that, having now chosen Dalgety, we ought, in the interest of all parties, to make our selection as definite as possible in the Bill. Of course, I shall accept the Government amendment, to make the radius twenty-five miles, as an improvement on a radius of fifty miles; but I do so on the distinct understanding that the Government place upon that amendment a

reasonable interpretation—that it means Dalgety, and not some other places twenty-five miles away.

Mr. WATSON.—Quite so.

Mr. DAVID THOMSON.—Why not take a vote on Dalgety as against Bombala?

Mr. REID.—I think that would be the straightest course of all.

Mr. WATSON.—The Government should not be tied to a mile or two—there ought to be an allowance of ten miles, at least.

Mr. REID.—I desire that we should carry out the spirit of the decision arrived at by the House.

Mr. WATSON.—That is the idea.

Mr. REID.—The Government will be charged with carrying out the spirit of the decision; and the spirit is that the site shall be within the Dalgety district. If it is found that by going a mile or two away from a particular spot a better site may be found, no human being will raise the slightest objection. But it is to be understood that there must be no sort of undermining, so as to bring about the selection of Bombala.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—Bombala is over thirty miles away.

Mr. REID.—The distance is greater, I think; but I should like to be satisfied by the honorable member for Eden-Monaro, that he, as the representative of the district in which these two sites are, accepts the decision of the House in regard to Dalgety—that he accepts that decision, just as I do.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—That is a question for the decision of Ministers.

Mr. REID.—But I want to be satisfied that the honorable member for Eden-Monaro has not in his pocket some other site within twenty-five miles.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—Coolringdon is inside that radius, and I take it that if the amendment be carried, Dalgety will be regarded as the centre.

Mr. REID.—As honorable members will see, it is not on this clause that the question of territory arises. We are now simply dealing with the spot near which the Capital is to be.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS (South Sydney).

—I agree with the honorable and learned member for Corinella as to the way in which we should proceed. It would be a mistake, I think, to omit a large portion of the clause, with a view to inserting some other words. By so doing we may get into trouble; and we ought, therefore, to insert after the word "bounded" some

words which will clearly express what is intended. The only difficulty is as to radius.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—Should not the words which I think the honorable member has in mind, be inserted after the word "within"?

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—I suggest after the word "bounded," the following words be inserted: "by a circle, the radius of which measures seventeen miles from the township of Dalgety." That is the site marked out on the map as the Dalgety site. With a radius of fifty miles, or even of twenty-five miles, we should increase the subsequent difficulty in settling the site; and I think that a radius of seventeen miles, as marked on the map, is amply sufficient, as we have already decided on the district. I am quite in accord with the leader of the Opposition that the House has come to an honest legitimate decision. I have supported Lyndhurst all through, but I recognise the decision now arrived at as one we must respect, and, notwithstanding differences of opinion as to the relative merits of the sites, a decision amply justified by the qualifications of the site chosen. It would be a mistake to create trouble such as we have had in the past, and such as might be supposed to have got rid of; difficulty might arise if we created a large circle in which the Seat of Government must ultimately be fixed. If the Government will not adopt my suggestion, I should like to test the feeling of the Committee by moving an amendment in the terms I have indicated.

The CHAIRMAN.—The honorable member cannot submit that amendment. The question before us now is the omission of certain words.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—I am pressing that the amendment to omit certain words will be withdrawn by general consent. I should like the Government to adopt my amendment, which seems to be a simple expression of the desire of the Committee.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Why a radius of seventeen miles?

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—Because that is the area marked out on the map, which I have studied very carefully while the debate has proceeded. It seems to me, from a view of the reports of skilled officers, that this area probably contains any site that could have had in mind when discussing the merits of Dalgety. To extend

area to twenty-five miles would be to give a great deal further trouble in the ultimate decision. I think the Prime Minister admits himself that we should be wrong in making the area too large—that we should thereby complicate the final settlement. If, however, we have a radius of seventeen miles, as marked on the map, we shall keep faith with the decision of the House, and by adopting the Dalgety district with that limitation, we shall be much nearer to having the exact site fixed beyond all question. If we adopted a larger area, we should probably have other sites submitted, and the whole competition, though narrowed down to a smaller compass, would practically have to be once more faced.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE (Hume).—I think that some of the speeches which have been made upon the amendment have been a little previous. There is nothing to prevent an honorable member from moving the insertion of any site. It is not to be supposed that we are confined to sites within the South-Eastern District. I intend to move the insertion of a site which is not in that district. The balloting was no doubt honest, but, unfortunately, two honorable members were absent. Had they been here, the South-Eastern District would have been rejected on the first ballot, and the contest would have been between the Southern District and the Western District, which would have entirely altered the position of matters. Honorable members have not yet had an opportunity to give a straight-out vote for or against any particular district. I am not raising this objection for the first time now, because some time ago I suggested to the Minister that an exhaustive ballot should be taken. What we have just had has been only a single ballot, whereas an exhaustive ballot would have pitted every proposed site against every other proposed site. After the first ballot had been taken, and the Southern District rejected, there should have been a ballot between the two remaining sites, and then the southern site should have been pitted against each of those sites. That would have been an exhaustive ballot. I tried to induce the Minister to adopt that manner of balloting, because it is the only fair one. I understand, however, that now it is open to me to move the insertion of any site in the Southern District, while other members could move the insertion of Lyndhurst, Dalgety, Bombala, or any

proposed site they wish. This will be the only opportunity to really test the feeling of honorable members in regard to the proposed sites.

Mr. EWING.—The words proposed to be left out must be left out before the name of any proposed site can be inserted.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Quite so. I think that the proposal made by the Minister in the first instance is the proper one to adopt.

Mr. PAGE.—Why does not the honorable member accept his “licking” like a man?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I always do so. I compliment the honorable member for Eden-Monaro on the accident which has placed him in so fortunate a position.

Mr. REID.—It was not an accident. There was too great a difference in the numbers for it to be an accident.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—As I have mentioned, there were two honorable members absent when the ballot was taken. One of them is on his way here now, and if, when an adjournment was being asked for, I had received from him the telegram now in my possession, I would have asked for a still further adjournment to enable him to take part in our proceedings.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—But the right honorable member for Adelaide was not accounted for.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—The honorable member to whom I refer is in the train from Echuca, and I know what his opinion is. I think the matter too serious and important to be settled without an exhaustive ballot. Honorable members should have been given a proper opportunity to decide directly upon the sites. I do not wish now to speak upon any of the proposed sites in detail, but I shall later on refer to the conduct of one or two honorable members who would not look at a certain proposed site. I think that if the amendment for the striking out of certain words be agreed to—

Mr. WATSON.—The question now before the Committee is, what area should be taken—within what radius of any site the Seat of Government shall be located?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—If the words proposed to be left out, be so left out, it will then be open to any honorable member to move the insertion of any area of country he pleases.

Mr. WATSON.—What the Minister proposes to do now is to move the insertion, after the word “within,” of other words providing that the Seat of Government shall

be within a radius of so many miles. After that amendment has been carried, it will be open to any honorable member to move the insertion of the name of a site.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—The question which will be put from the Chair will be, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause."

The CHAIRMAN.—That amendment is to be withdrawn, and the Minister is then going to move another amendment.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—The amendment which the Minister intends to move seems to me not the right one. I think that he should see that his original amendment is put. The right thing to do is to create a blank in the clause. That is the first step to take. When a blank has been created, it will be open to honorable members to move the insertion of Lyndhurst, Bombala, Dalgety, Tumut, or any other name, including even that of the much-opposed Albury.

Mr JOSEPH COOK.—And the still more-opposed Lake George site.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I would not oppose the Lake George site. I never have opposed it.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—The honorable member can propose the insertion of any one of the sixteen sites which he has brought forward.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I hope that the honorable member will not be offensive. If he is, he will get a Roland for his Oliver. I do not wish to say anything about his success, though, no doubt, it has been obtained by accident. I do not say that, finally, honorable members might not in any case have selected Dalgety, even if the South-Eastern District had been rejected on the first ballot; but every site and territory should be opposed to each of the others, so that honorable members may give a direct vote on them all. That is what I wish to see done.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The winning site ought to beat every other.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—That is so. But we have not yet got to that stage.

Mr. WATSON.—It is not proposed to prevent that.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Honorable members will see that the site which I was advocating has not yet had an opportunity to compete against the other sites, and it should have that opportunity. If honorable members by a majority select any site, they will find me willing to accept the general verdict; but I wish first to

see that there is a fair competition between the sites. I regret that the Minister did not do what I asked him to do first of all, and so arrange the balloting that every site would be opposed to every other site.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—It was a very difficult matter to arrange.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I do not think so. Every site could have been pitted against every other site. Now, however the sites will have to be voted upon in the ordinary way, and I wish the Minister not to do anything which will prevent an amendment being moved under the Standing Orders—because what has been done hitherto in regard to balloting has been under a suspension of the Standing Order—to test the feeling of the Committee in regard to the sites. I do not wish to do more than that. But I should not be doing my duty to the States, to New South Wales or to Australia, if I did not see that that was done.

Mr. POYNTON (Grey).—Could we not simplify matters by moving the insertion of the name of a site after the word "be"? For instance, I might move the insertion of the words "at Dalgety." I would be open to any honorable member to move an amendment. If the words I have indicated were inserted, and others were struck out, the clause would read—

... The Seat of Government of the Commonwealth shall be (at Dalgety, or any other site that may be determined) in the State of New South Wales.

Then the next clause would have to be amended by the omission of the reference to the area mentioned in clause 2.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—My proposal would meet the views of the honorable member.

Mr. POYNTON.—I do not know that it would.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—The honorable member has not heard it.

Mr. POYNTON.—I have heard one proposal, with reference to a twenty-five miles radius, which would include Coolringdon and that would not suit me. I shall not approve of any site which would have to be supplied with water by means of a pumping scheme. We know that, in the matter of water supply, Dalgety possesses a great advantage over all the other sites.

Mr. KENNEDY.—Not over all the others.

Mr. POYNTON.—Yes, it does. I am quite in sympathy with the attitude assumed by the honorable member for Hume. I am one of the supporters of his proposal and

not been absent the results might have been very different.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—No, they would not. Two supporters of the Dalgety site, namely, the right honorable member for Adelaide, and the honorable member for Brisbane, were also absent.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE. — The honorable member for Barrier was absent, and that is why the honorable member for Brisbane stood out.

Mr. POYNTON.—I am quite sure that no honorable members wish to see a selection made by means of a catch vote.

Mr. REID. — Hear, hear. The site selected should stand against every other.

Mr. POYNTON.—Exactly. I trust that, after the site has been selected, all honorable members will assist the Government in bringing about a practical result, because it may be necessary for all of us to make a stand against outside influences in order to achieve our object. I shall wait until I hear what the Minister of Home Affairs proposes. If I do not approve of his amendment, I shall propose to insert the words, "at Dalgety" after the word "be."

Mr. BATCHELOR.—The objection to the amendment suggested by the honorable member for Grey is that it would be too rigid altogether. If it were determined that the Seat of Government should be at Dalgety, we should be compelled to select a site within the boundaries of the township of that name. I am sure that the honorable member does not wish that. The amendment which I desire to submit is upon the lines of the suggestion of the honorable member for South Sydney, that the Seat of Government should be situated within a radius of seventeen miles from the town of Dalgety, but I have framed my proposal in a somewhat different form. As the Prime Minister has pointed out, it would be better not to create a blank, but to first fix upon a site, and then to afterwards strike out any words that may be unnecessary. Before we create a blank, let us decide what we intend to do. I desire to withdraw the present amendment, and to then submit a proposal to insert after the word "within," the words "seventeen miles of."

Mr. CROUCH.—Why not specify a radius of twenty-five miles?

Mr. BATCHELOR.—I do not care very much whether we adopt a seventeen or a twenty-five mile radius, but as we are to fix the site and not the territory, I think

that the Committee should give the Government a clear indication of the locality in which they desire the Seat of Government to be, and not leave the question too open. If we adopt a radius of seventeen miles from any given point, we shall embrace an area of 900 miles, and surely that should be sufficiently large to afford the Government and their officers the necessary latitude in choosing a site.

Mr. SPENCE.—Should not the site be in the centre of the territory?

Mr. BATCHELOR.—Not necessarily.

Mr. REID.—The territory could afterwards be so shaped as to insure that the Capital should be in the centre.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—Under my suggested amendment, it would be open to the honorable member for Hume to propose some site other than Dalgety. All I suggest at present is that the words "seventeen miles of" should be inserted after the word "within." Afterwards Dalgety or any other site could be submitted.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—My only chance would be to move an amendment upon the first site proposed.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—It would be open to the honorable member to move any amendment he chose. What he desires to obtain is a straight-out vote for or against the Tooma site.

Mr. REID.—No; the honorable member for Hume wants to pit the Tooma and Tumut sites against the Dalgety site; two against one would not be fair.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—Every fair opportunity would be afforded to the honorable member for Hume to propose a site in the Southern District. He could propose his site before any other was submitted to the Committee. I shall place no obstacle in the way of his moving an amendment before that which I have indicated.

Mr. SPENCE (Darling).—I object to the reduction of the radius to seventeen miles.

The CHAIRMAN.—The only question before the Committee at present is the omission of certain words embodied in the amendment which the Minister of Home Affairs desires to withdraw.

Mr. SPENCE.—I cannot see any reason for the fear entertained by some honorable members that the creation of a blank would allow of an unfair advantage being taken, and of the whole question being "hung up." The disposition of the Committee is to definitely select a site, and, that being so, it will make no difference

whether we create a blank or insert certain words in the first instance. I do not see any objection to the form of the amendment now before us. I hope that the Minister will not propose to reduce the radius to seventeen miles, because our object in asking for an area of 900 square miles is to prevent persons outside the Federal territory from deriving the advantage of the unearned increment accruing from the expenditure upon the Capital.

Mr. WILKINSON (Moreton).—I understood that the site was to be selected by means of an exhaustive ballot, but that course has not been followed. I have not had an opportunity to vote for any other than one site. I voted for Lyndhurst on both occasions, but if I were offered a second choice I should give my support to a site in the Southern District as against either of those in the South-Eastern District. We are determining this question for all time, and I think that honorable members should be afforded an opportunity to vote straight-out for one site against another. I admit that the Southern District was rejected upon the ballot taken in the House, but that was due to the fact that several honorable members gave the western site their first preference.

Mr. PAGE.—Which site does the honorable member now prefer?

Mr. WILKINSON.—I should give my support to the Tooma site.

Mr. PAGE.—The honorable member's choice has already been knocked out.

Mr. WILKINSON.—Yes, but I think that an opportunity should be afforded to myself and others to vote in favour of any site which we prefer, as against those which are embraced in the South-Eastern District.

The CHAIRMAN.—The honorable member would have an opportunity of doing as he desires if the amendment now before the Committee were withdrawn.

Mr. PAGE (Maranoa).—I cannot understand the attitude assumed by the honorable member for Hume. He has been fairly and squarely beaten, and I do not know what further he wants. The honorable member for Moreton is not satisfied because the Lyndhurst site has not been selected, and he now wishes to vote for a site in the Southern District. Apparently, "he dunno where 'e are." If honorable members were to be allowed to back and fill in the way suggested there would be no finality. The position was clearly defined by the Speaker, and I think that we should proceed to make a definite choice. If

Tooma had been selected we should have heard no such question as that which is now raised. I agree with the right honorable member for East Sydney that we have had a good square "go" in connexion with the balloting. There has been nolog-rolling, and every honorable member has had a fair opportunity to vote for the site he preferred. I am pleased to notice that the honorable member for Macquarie is sitting back smiling.

Mr. REID.—He has made a good fight and has not turned sour.

Mr. PAGE.—He accepts his defeat like a man. The honorable member for Hume wants votes to be taken with regard to Tooma, Tumut, Tumberumba, and other sites, and will not be satisfied until Dalgety has been rejected. If both Houses decide that the Capital is to be established in the South-Eastern District we shall arrive at finality, and the honorable member for Hume will have no more picnic parties to cart around.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—That is a mean thing to say.

Mr. PAGE.—It is absolutely true.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—It is a mean suggestion.

Mr. PAGE.—The honorable member had nothing to say about Tooma last year, but strongly advocated the claims of Tumut. This year the Tooma site was introduced, and now that it has been rejected, the honorable member wishes to secure the defeat of the Bombala site. If he is a sportsman he should take his defeat like a man.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I always take my defeats better than does the honorable member.

Mr. PAGE.—I take them as gracefully as I can. I can do no more. If the honorable member can accept defeat more philosophically than I can, that is his gain and my loss. He reminds me of the little boy playing marbles, who, when he is defeated, exclaims: "Give me back my marbles. You did not beat me fairly." His action is equivalent to a regular school boy's trick. The Southern Monaro district has been selected by this Committee, and the Bombala area has been chosen by the Senate. Consequently, there is every prospect of an agreement being arrived at between the two Houses. Let us show that we are men by respecting the vote which has been arrived at upon this question.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Mr. WEBSTER (Gwydir).—I move—

That after the word "within," line 2, the following words be inserted—"the Southern District, as indicated in the recent ballot."

I submit this amendment upon the same ground that has been taken by others who have addressed themselves to the question during the course of this debate. I contend that we have not had an exhaustive vote as to which site is preferred by a majority of the Committee. Like the honorable member for Maranoa, I desire to see some finality arrived at, and I move the amendment with a view to ascertaining whether honorable members do not prefer the Tooma site to that of Dalgety.

Mr. REID (East Sydney).—I think that the honorable member is perfectly justified in the course of action which he has adopted. We do not desire to shut out any honorable member who advocates a particular site or to compel him to submit to a legitimate grievance. The amendment submitted will give the advocates of the Tooma site a straight run in this Committee. At the same time I do not pledge myself to vote for it.

Mr. McCAY (Corinella).—I would urge the honorable member for Gwydir to withdraw his amendment. Upon the first ballot I voted for the selection of the Southern District, but when my choice was defeated I thought that the matter was at an end. I would suggest to the honorable member that he would achieve his purpose more satisfactorily from the stand-point of draftsmanship and of practical work, by waiting until the amendment proposed by the Minister for Home Affairs has been disposed of. The honorable gentleman wishes to insert after the word "within" the words "seventeen miles of," and I understand that subsequently he will move to insert after the word "of" the word "Dalgety." The honorable member for Gwydir will then be afforded an opportunity of proposing by way of amendment to insert before "Dalgety" the word "Tooma." The adoption of that course will enable the Committee to reach some finality. If the honorable member will agree to my suggestion I shall adhere to my first choice and vote for the selection of the Tooma site, although I do not suppose for a moment that it has any chance of winning. After we have turned our backs upon the vagueness represented by districts, and have set our eyes upon a definite locality, it seems to me very undesirable that we should retrace our steps. Per-

sonally I cannot understand how any honorable member can object to the course proposed by the Government. I ask the honorable member to withdraw his amendment.

Mr. WEBSTER (Gwydir).—I must admit that the suggestion of the honorable and learned member for Corinella is a thoroughly practicable and reasonable one, and consequently I shall accept it.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Amendment (by Mr. BATCHELOR) proposed—

That after the word "within," line 2, the following words be inserted, "seventeen miles of."

Mr. SPENCE (Darling).—I would point out that the next clause provides that the territory shall be fixed within the area specified in this clause. Consequently, if we decide that it shall be within a radius of seventeen miles of Dalgety, our whole aim in seeking to secure a territory surrounding the site, so that we may obtain from it the unearned increment for the use of the Commonwealth, will be defeated.

Mr. McLEAN.—The Federal territory has nothing whatever to do with the Seat of Government.

Mr. SPENCE.—It appears to me that it has.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—The word "territory" governs the entire provision. The same thing might happen if, instead of fixing a radius of seventeen miles, we fixed one of 1,000 miles.

Mr. SPENCE.—I presume, then, that after the site of the Capital has been selected we shall require to enact legislation in respect of the territory surrounding it. If that be so, of course I am satisfied; but it appears to me that in its present form the Federal territory will embrace an area within a radius of seventeen miles of Dalgety.

Mr. REID.—Absolutely. no. The two matters are quite distinct.

Mr. SPENCE.—I should like the right honorable member to explain why it is not so. It has occurred to me that a greater radius would confer a greater degree of safety.

Mr. REID.—We are now fixing the site of a city only.

Mr. SPENCE.—Then the next clause will require to be amended, because it has no meaning in relation to this provision.

Mr. CROUCH (Corio).—I do not understand why a radius of seventeen miles has been decided upon by the Government. As the Minister of Home Affairs has pointed out that the radius proposed will embrace

an area of 900 square miles, I desire to know whether the territory comprised within that area has any relation to the 900 square miles mentioned in clause 3?

Mr. BATCHELOR.—None at all.

Mr. CROUCH.—I shall vote for the amendment, upon the understanding that I do not subsequently limit myself to that territory. My desire is that the Commonwealth shall possess a port of its own. It was for that reason that I voted for Dalgety.

Amendment agreed to.

Mr. WEBSTER (Gwydir).—I move—

That after the word "of," in the words inserted, the word "Welaregang" be inserted.

I do so because of the alteration which has been made in the radius within which the Seat of Government shall be selected. It has now been fixed at seventeen miles. The Tooma and Welaregang sites are identical. The former name has been used by honorable members during this debate, merely because it is that of the township adjacent to the site, and is better known to honorable members because it is the terminal point of the visits which they paid to that district. I hold that a serious injustice will be done, not only to the people of to-day, but to those of the future, if we do not select the site which is superior, on account of its situation. In spite of all the reports which have been submitted for our consideration—and I have read them very carefully—I claim that the Welaregang site, or one within a radius of seventeen miles of it, would afford a unique position for the Federal Capital. In discussing the relative merits of the Tooma and Dalgety sites, I need not recapitulate the statements which I made upon a previous occasion. The climatic conditions obtaining at the two places constitute a most material difference between them. Moreover, the land adjacent to the Welaregang site is of better quality, and consequently far more productive than is that in the neighbourhood of Dalgety. These two factors have weighed very strongly with me in inducing me to conclude that the former site is preferable to the latter. Some honorable members affirm that the Commonwealth should possess a port of its own. If it be possible for us to secure a port—and I believe it is very improbable that we can obtain a port in connexion with the Seat of Government in the Southern Monaro district—I hold that no honorable member can express a definite opinion as to the expenditure

which will be required to establish it, and to construct a railway to it. In my judgment, the possession of a port is not so essential to the Seat of Government as some honorable members appear to think. I believe that its possession would render the Capital more easy of attack than it would otherwise be.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—Whereabouts Tooma is there a port?

Mr. WEBSTER.—I am not speaking of a port at Tooma. The honorable member has a habit of misconstruing the remarks of others.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I merely put the question to the honorable member; there was a possibility of misunderstanding.

Mr. WEBSTER.—If the honorable member were speaking there would be a still greater possibility of misapprehension.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—Are we to have another general discussion?

Mr. WEBSTER.—I intend to express my opinions with regard to the relative merits of Tooma and Dalgety, and, if the opportunity offers, to vote for the better of those sites. If the Federal Capital were connected by railway with a port close at hand, which would be open to attack by an enemy, it would be exposed to great danger—to a danger which would not exist if the Capital were situated at Welaregang. I trust that a realization of the danger of having a port close at hand will deter honorable members from selecting Dalgety as against Tooma. It is also important that consideration should be given to the climatic conditions of the several sites. I have made inquiries from relatives and others who have lived in the Monaro district, and have been informed by them that the weather there is intensely cold, and that the winds are almost penetrating in their keenness. Surely honorable members are not anxious to select a site at which they could not reasonably reside for several months in the year. That would be the position if the Capital were established at Dalgety. At Tooma, however, the climate, in both summer and winter, is ideal, and, so far as I am aware, is unequalled by that of any other part of Australia. I trust that honorable members will recognise that we have to consider not our own personal comfort, but the desirableness of selecting a site which will cause the Capital to be attractive to tourists and others. If the Capital were situated in a picturesque spot

many persons would be induced to visit it from time to time, and in that way we should secure an increased railway revenue which would assist in the payment of interest on the cost of the railway to the Capital, or on the cost of the establishment of the Federal city itself. Tooma has a water supply, which, in its volume, purity, and permanency, is equal to that of Dalgety, and it has so many other essential elements that I feel that I am doing my duty to the State from which I come in recommending that it be selected. I do not wish to labour this question, because I have already dealt fully with the Tooma site, but I submit the amendment in order that the Committee may have an opportunity to arrive at a decision that will be in the best interests of all.

Mr. CROUCH.—I desire to know, Mr. Chairman, whether the amendment is in order, as I understand that the Welaregang site is not within the South-Eastern District, which the House has selected by ballot. If honorable members turn to the resolution passed on the 27th ultimo, determining the method of selection, they will find that it provides that—

. . . A further ballot shall then be taken on the names of the remaining sites, and the name of the site receiving the majority of votes shall be reported to the House by the Speaker, and such site shall be deemed to be the site preferred by honorable members. . . The House shall thereupon resolve itself into a Committee of the whole on the Bill.

The Standing Orders were suspended, and it seems to me that we can work only within the authority of the House, and that the resolution as to the method of procedure is binding.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—On the point of order I submit that the taking of the ballot has been practically a mere waste of time. That ballot had no necessary reference to the Bill, and there is nothing in the resolution to which the honorable and learned member has referred which relates to the measure now before us. It is open to the Committee to reverse all that we have done by the process of the ballot. The ballot did not take place in the House, and does not bind us in any way. A certain method of procedure was adopted, purely for the convenience of honorable members, and the Committee is not bound or limited by it in any way.

The CHAIRMAN.—The point of order raised is that the Committee is bound by the result of the ballot. I would point out to the honorable and learned member

that the Committee has no official cognizance of a ballot, and that we are dealing with the Bill now before us in the ordinary way. As the honorable member for Paramatta has said, the Standing Orders were suspended for the convenience of honorable members, and to conserve the time of the House. It will be competent for an honorable member to move any amendment, either on this clause or any other clause of the Bill, provided that it is in accordance with the Standing Orders.

Mr. HUTCHISON (Hindmarsh).—It is remarkable that, with only one exception, every honorable member who inspected the Tooma site came to the conclusion that it was the best that could be selected. Before visiting Dalgety, I was greatly impressed by what I had read and heard of its suitability, and remarked that if it came up to my expectations, it would assuredly receive my vote. I visited the district, and my expectations with but one exception were realized, the exception being in regard to the value of the soil. I should have been disappointed had I voted for Dalgety without visiting Tooma, and I feel sure that if honorable members had inspected both Dalgety and Tooma, as I did, the last named district would have secured an exceedingly large majority.

Mr. CONROY.—Would not the selection of Tooma be somewhat out of keeping with the spirit of the Constitution?

Mr. HUTCHISON.—Certainly not. It would be within both the letter and the spirit of the Constitution. The Constitution empowers us to select the best site in New South Wales, provided that it be not less than 100 miles distant from Sydney; and, therefore, we should not violate its spirit by voting for any site in the Tumut district.

Mr. CONROY.—Why was it agreed that, pending the establishment of the Capital, the Parliament should sit in Melbourne?

Mr. HUTCHISON.—That compact was entered into by the representatives of New South Wales and Victoria, and seemed at the time to be satisfactory to both parties. It was a bargain, and, to my mind, New South Wales is likely in the end to have the best of it.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Not if Tooma be selected.

Mr. HUTCHISON.—The honorable member seems to desire to secure for New South Wales the whole of the advantages

accruing from the establishment of the Capital; his one fear appears to be that some advantage may accrue to Victoria.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—No; we merely ask for some little advantage for New South Wales.

Mr. REID.—Dalgety is far enough away from Sydney.

Mr. HUTCHISON.—It is also so far away from Victoria as to render it impossible for that State to secure any benefit from the establishment of the Capital there. The honorable member for Parramatta is adopting a very narrow view of this question; he will be quite satisfied as long as the whole of the advantages go to Sydney.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I have not said anything of the kind.

Mr. HUTCHISON.—If the Capital be established in the Tooma district, New South Wales will certainly secure the greater advantage. Had it not been considered that the Capital would be an advantage to the State in which it was established, the right honorable member for East Sydney would have fought just as valiantly for its establishment in some other State, as he did for the insertion of the clause in the Constitution providing that it should be located in New South Wales.

Mr. REID.—Why this attack on me?

Mr. HUTCHISON.—I give the right honorable member the fullest credit for having made an excellent bargain for the State which he represents—a bargain in which the State from which I come will not be able to participate. The establishment of the Capital in New South Wales will be a great disadvantage to South Australia. At present the representatives of that State may attend the sittings of the Parliament in Melbourne, and at the same time give some attention to the businesses in which they are engaged; but when the Capital is established in New South Wales they will not be able to conduct any private business; they will have to remain at the Capital during the whole of each session.

Mr. REID.—They will be very desirable colonists.

Mr. HUTCHISON.—And I admit that New South Wales is a very desirable State for colonists; but I wish to secure the selection of the most eligible site in which to reside.

Mr. REID.—A burial ground.

Mr. HUTCHISON.—I have only say in reply to the right honorable member that I did not see a cemetery in the Tooma district.

Mr. CONROY.—Because the place is inhabited.

Mr. HUTCHISON.—I begin to think that the sooner it is inhabited the better. I am willing and anxious to see a large population settled at the earliest moment in that district. It is a much more desirable district than that of Dalgety. I deplore the spirit evinced by some of the representatives of New South Wales, who show that their one great fear is, that Victoria may derive some advantage from the selection of a certain site.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—So far there has been no such suggestion.

Mr. HUTCHISON.—The suggestions may not have been actually made, but actions speak louder than words; in this instance they have spoken much louder than words.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—There need be no advantage to either State.

Mr. HUTCHISON.—I speak as a looker-on. I am quite satisfied with the bargain which has been made with New South Wales—the mother State—that she shall have the Federal territory within her borders. We are not going to take the Federal Capital away from her. For having the Federal Capital within her territory, New South Wales will certainly derive advantages.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—That is precisely what is proposed to be done—we are talking it away.

Mr. HUTCHISON.—I call attention to the statement of the honorable member for Parramatta that we are going to take the Capital away from New South Wales. Away to where?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—We are going to place a portion of her territory under Federal control and ownership.

Mr. HUTCHISON.—We are going to have Federal control over a very small part of New South Wales, and that will lead to very great advantages to that State. In my opinion, Victoria would not have been a party to the Federal compact if it had not been that her people saw that there was going to be a very great advantage to this State through the Seat of Government being fixed in Melbourne for a considerable time.

Mr. ROBINSON.—There would have been exactly the same majority for the Constitution if the Seat of Government had been fixed at Brisbane.

Mr. HUTCHISON.—I doubt that statement very much. I doubt whether Victoria would have been a party to the Federal compact if it had not been seen that a considerable advantage would be derived by this State from the Federal Parliament meeting in Melbourne. I believe that every honorable member, representing Victoria, will admit that there has been a considerable advantage in that direction.

Mr. CONROY.—How does that affect the question before us?

The CHAIRMAN.—Order! I draw the attention of the honorable and learned member for Werriwa to the fact that the front seat on the right of the Chairman is reserved for Ministers.

Mr. HUTCHISON.—I am in favour of the best district being selected. We have heard the praises of another district sung by the right honorable member for East Sydney—

Mr. REID.—We are beaten, and we acknowledge it.

Mr. HUTCHISON. — I believe that all the right honorable member said of the other district was thoroughly justified. But I should have been very glad if he had been able to pay a visit to Tooma.

Mr. REID.—I should have done so, if beauty of scenery had been in my mind a chief factor. I admit that it is a beautiful place.

Mr. HUTCHISON. — I thoroughly agree that it is a most beautiful place.

Mr. REID.—I objected to it on account of its want of accessibility.

Mr. HUTCHISON.—No matter where we fix the Federal Capital, it is going to be made accessible at the earliest moment. Any part of New South Wales in which we choose to fix the Capital will be made accessible at once.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—By whom?

Mr. HUTCHISON.—I shall be sorry if that State is so short-sighted as not to provide access to the Capital. In that case it will be the duty of the Commonwealth Parliament to see that access is at once provided. I am quite satisfied that that will be done. The question of accessibility is the very one that weighs with me in deciding that the best district in which to have the Federal Capital is the Tooma district. The country is as fine as any in New South Wales. It is

so good, indeed, that it is only a matter of time when there must be a large increase of population, and when New South Wales would make it accessible to settlers, whether the Capital were fixed there or not. I am quite sure that that State will derive a very handsome return from the railway that she constructs to that district. Of course, New South Wales possesses so much fine territory that I can thoroughly understand that she cannot build railways to every part of the State. But I repeat that the consideration of accessibility need not weigh with honorable members. To my mind, Tooma is just as accessible as Dalgely. As far as railways are concerned, it is not so accessible as Lyndhurst; and the very fact that Lyndhurst, being so accessible, has made so little progress, does not say much in favour of our choosing a site in that district. At any rate, I am very pleased that we shall have one more opportunity, if not two, to obtain an expression of opinion from honorable members in regard to fixing the Federal Capital in the Tooma district.

Mr. KELLY (Wentworth).—I am rather surprised that the honorable member for Gwydir should have moved this amendment, because, some few weeks ago, he advocated first choosing an area, and then proceeding with the selection of a site within that area.

Mr. WEBSTER.—I am still of that opinion.

Mr. KELLY.—I hope so, because on turning to *Hansard*, page 3598, I find that while the Prime Minister was speaking, the honorable member made a significant interjection. The Prime Minister was saying—

The area within the fifty-miles' radius of a given point seems to be an enormous one to select as a site for the Federal Capital—

when the honorable member for Gwydir interjected—

The site for the Capital would be selected within that area.

The honorable member was not an irresponsible interjector. As the mover of the motion then being discussed, he interjected with a knowledge of what the result of it would be. We have just chosen a site in the South-Eastern District, and the honorable member is not pleased. Surely Tooma can hardly be said to be within the South-Eastern District. Yet the honorable member moves an amendment in favour of that site, although its selection would undo the whole of the work which we have just done. For that reason I am somewhat surprised

that he should have submitted this proposal. I do not propose to enter into the question of the relative merits of the sites. We have discussed that matter almost *ad nauseam*. Nor do I propose to follow the honorable member for Hindmarsh in his highly poetical panegyric with respect to the qualities of the almost uninhabited region that surrounds Welaregang.

Mr. WEBSTER.—Has the honorable member seen Welaregang?

Mr. KELLY.—No, but I should certainly have taken advantage of the very generous offer that was made to me to induce me to visit the site, except that, not feeling in the best of health, I feared that it might be fatal to me to visit such an inhospitable region. I do not propose to enter into the question of the relative merits of sites. I merely rose to point out that the honorable member for Gwydir seems to have reversed his former attitude. I think that the action of the Government is perfectly correct. We have reached the stage when we should deal with particular sites within the area the House has just chosen. We are dealing with them now in the best way. But I hope that we shall do nothing to stultify ourselves, by putting the question back to its position of two years ago.

Mr. ISAACS (Indi).—I think that if the matter of the selection of the Capital Site were determined on its merits, there can be no doubt that the proposal of the honorable member for Gwydir would be accepted. If we looked at this question, not from a provincial stand-point, but from a national stand-point — and that is the aspect in which we should regard it—I believe we should have no hesitation in selecting a site in the locality indicated in the amendment. It is strictly within the Constitution. It is not only literally within the Constitution, but it is within the spirit of it also, as being within New South Wales, but not within 100 miles of Sydney. I believe that if the natural advantages and the prospective advantages to the Federation from the selection of that site were taken into consideration, it would be looked upon by honorable members in this House, and by the members of another Chamber, as the one most suitable to contain the Federal Capital of Australia. It is upon the great Australian river. It is within a district that is practically unlimited in point of its capacity for growth. I do not believe that there is a single requirement of a great national Capital which cannot be obtained near Welaregang

or Tooma. It is of easy access, not only to New South Wales, being on a great trunk line of railway; but is equally easy of access to Victoria and to South Australia. I do not believe that if we were to estimate the relative advantages of Dalgety, and compare them with those of Tooma or Welaregang, there would be any hesitation whatever in choosing the latter site. Because what would the selection of Dalgety or Bombala mean to the Victorians and South Australians? It would mean a tremendous journey; we should have to go to Cooma, and then come back. The distance, as it appears upon the map, is not at all indicative of the actual distance that has to be travelled from the Southern States. There is nothing in the interjections we have heard that we shall be infringing the spirit of the Constitution in choosing this site, if we do choose it. There is nothing in the objection that we shall be favouring Victoria or any other State. And though it seems almost hopeless to expect it at this stage, I feel that we should be doing right not only to this State, but to the whole Continent, if we were to choose the Federal Capital in the district now indicated. I cannot help expressing my surprise that so many Victorian members should differ from me in the view which they take upon this subject. I believe that from every stand-point we ought to select Welaregang.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE (Hume).—I do not intend to allow this matter to go to the vote without saying a few words in regard to some of the remarks which have been made. I would allude especially to an observation made, I think, by the honorable member for Wentworth as to the distance from Welaregang from Sydney. I think I have heard the right honorable member for Enmore, Sydney make some such reference. First of all, I want to make it clear that New South Wales has practically decided to build a railway to this very spot.

Mr. KELLY.—Practically decided?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Yes; and the line is to be built, not in the interests of Victoria, but of New South Wales.

Mr. KELLY.—Has the line from Tumbarumba to Welaregang been even surveyed?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Yes; it has been reported upon, and carefully examined up to what is called Yarra Gap, which is the highest point before reaching the proposed Capital Site. The object of building that line is to tap this very district, mainly in the interests of the tra-

of New South Wales. Of course, there is a double reason, to connect the head of the Murray—the river which is the main artery we have in Australia—with the lower dry plains, with a view to convey stock backwards and forwards, and to secure the Upper Murray trade. What is that trade now? Where does it go to? Practically the whole of the business at present is done with Melbourne.

Mr. KELLY.—What is the value of that trade?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—It is very heavy. I think the honorable member for Gippsland has some idea of its value. There are three districts, which mainly supply the Melbourne market with meat, namely, the Upper Murray, Gippsland, and the Western District of Victoria.

Mr. McLEAN.—The honorable member should have mentioned Gippsland first; it is a long way ahead.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Probably the honorable member is right, though I should have thought that the Western District came first. Most of the stock, and perhaps the best stock, they get come from the Upper Murray. It was to a large extent to retain part of that trade for the State that the Government of New South Wales commenced a railway, which will be extended right into the very heart of the country where this site is.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Where are these facts to be found?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—They will be found by reference to the records of the Public Works Department, in Sydney.

Mr. KELLY.—In pigeon-holes there.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—No. Honorable members speak about this site in a manner which betrays their absolute ignorance of the whole matter. I do not think that they knew sufficient of the geography of Australia before the site was mentioned here to be aware of its existence, which does not say much for their intelligence, or their interest in the State which they represent. This particular site, if selected, would shortly be much nearer to Sydney than it would be, even if connected by the railway of which I have spoken, because an extension of the Tumut line, which will not be a very expensive affair, will give it direct communication with the metropolis.

Mr. KELLY.—Mr. Surveyor Chesterman says that he cannot be sure that the route is a practicable one.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—The honorable member need not worry about that.

Mr. KELLY.—Mr. Surveyor Chesterman's report is the only official report which we have.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—And some honorable members appear not to wish for any other information. The honorable member tried to burke further inquiry in reference to this place. He told us to-night that he was afraid to visit it, because of its extreme climate, but the climate, compared with that of Melbourne in winter time, is very mild. This site is at the head waters of the only river in Australia worthy of the name, and the future large works which will be necessary for the conservation of water for irrigation in New South Wales and Victoria, and to keep the stream navigable, as required by South Australia, will have to be made in that part of the country. It is, moreover, the beauty spot of Australia. I think I have very great cause to complain of the action of the late Minister of Home Affairs—the right honorable member for Swan—in reference to the site, because I feel that he has done a great injustice to it.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I have never been there.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—The right honorable member would not go. He would not go when asked specially, or when other members went, nor would he go previously. Yet he complains that we have not sufficient information about the place. He did not wish to see it, because his mind had been made up long ago, for other reasons. That is the real truth, and it is just as well that honorable members should know it.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Until recently I had not heard of the site.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—The honorable member heard of it through me a year ago.

Mr. CARPENTER.—It was referred to in this chamber last year, as *Hansard* shows.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Yes; I spoke of it last year.

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—But the honorable member himself was Minister of Home Affairs then.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Yes, and I have stated times without number that, amongst other reasons, I did not bring it forward because I thought that the people of Sydney would consider it too far south. It is not, however, so far south as the Dalgety site, nor is it so inaccessible. It compares more than favorably with that site, both in regard to accessibility, to

climate, scenery, and country. The Government of New South Wales have of their own accord commenced to build a railway to the Upper Murray. It is fifteen years since the railway to Cooma was made, but there has not been enough good land discovered in the Dalgety district to warrant the extension of the line from Cooma to Dalgety. That is the difference between the two districts. One is a poor, stand-still district, while the other is rich and progressing. I feel that the Upper Murray site is not receiving justice at the hands of honorable members, largely because of the action of the right honorable member for Swan.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Is the Germanton line paying?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—It has not been open very long, so that it is difficult to say. But it has opened up an immense area of good wheat-growing country, which previously could not be cultivated, because of its remoteness from the railway. It did not pay to cart wheat from the district to the only line then existing. Since the Germanton line has been made, however, a great area of land has been converted into wheat paddocks, and a very large quantity of wheat was sent from Germanton last year. As the line is taken up the valley of the Little Billabong Creek, through the Yarra Yarra property, and then on through the very rich valley which I have described, every foot of the land through which it passes will be put under cultivation. I question, however, whether, if the railway were extended to Dalgety there would be any great increase in cultivation. Mr. Russell's tables show that the valley between the Kiandra Range and the range which falls to the coast is the driest valley on the high table-lands in the State, and one of the driest and least productive in Australia. I refer to these facts because I feel that honorable members do not know what they are doing in the action which they are taking. It is absurd to say that it is a long distance from Sydney to the Upper Murray site, because the distance is not long when compared with the distance to the other places which I have mentioned. With regard to the amendment, it is, of course, quite within order, and every similar amendment will be in order. If I cannot get the site which I wish for, I would vote for Lake George. When I went there two years ago I expressed myself as not opposed to the Lake George site, and I should have voted for it had it

been favorably reported upon. I believe now, however, that it can be turned into one of the finest sites for an inland city, because of the immense sheet of water which would be near it. I think it will be better to choose the Lake George site than to choose a site which seems likely to be chosen. What I chiefly regret is that two honorable members who should have been here when the ballot was taken were not here. If they had been present the result would have been different.

Mr. McLEAN.—Are they here now?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I believe that one of them is. All I ask for is a straight out vote, so that honorable members may choose fairly between the various sites. That is done, I shall be satisfied. But do not wish for a vote to be taken when only half the members of the Committee are present. Therefore, I think it would be well if we determined to take a vote at a certain hour. I know that there is one honorable member who will not be here in any case; but I shall have to put up with that. If, when the question has been fairly decided, the site which an advocate is not chosen, I shall be as chirpy as is the honorable member for Eder Mooraro. I hope that I have not appeared in bad humour because the site which an advocate has not been chosen. What I feel sore about is that my late colleague did not give fair play to that site. His opinion on a matter of this kind apparently has weight with honorable members, and when he visited the site, as he was asked to do, I feel confident that his judgment would have led him to declare it to be the best site available. Many of the honorable members who visited that site had previously made up their minds to vote for Dalgety; but I believe that, with one exception, they afterwards determined to vote for Toombulga. I think that the right honorable member for Swan would have come to a similar decision. There must be something very attractive in the appearance of the district when such a change of opinion takes place. Still I do not wish to speak on this subject at any great length. What I suggest is that the vote should be taken, say, half an hour after the resumption of proceedings after the dinner adjournment. I do not wish to appear as acting, but I wish to satisfy myself that all the sites have been fairly dealt with.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—Honorable members might talk at length then, just as they may now.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE. — I do not think so. I think that the Committee would be willing to come to a vote without much further discussion.

Mr. HARPER.—At 8 o'clock?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Yes.

Mr. REID.—If there is any one away I shall not object to pair. The honorable member for Riverina is here now.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I know that.

Mr. REID.—We will give you a pair for every one who is away.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Then I shall be ready to come to a vote at any moment.

Mr. REID.—That is, a pair for every one whom the honorable member will guarantee to be a supporter of Tooma.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I will give that guarantee; but I do not know how that is to be ascertained until a division is taken.

Mr. REID.—The honorable member for Bass, who is a supporter of Dalgety, has had to go home.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Then the honorable member could be paired with the honorable member for Perth.

Mr. MAHON. — No. The honorable member for Perth is paired with the honorable member for Franklin.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—The honorable member for Franklin could release that pair. If pairs are found for honorable members who have to be away I have no desire to say another word on the subject.

Mr. WATSON (Bland—Treasurer).—I have not addressed myself to the merits of the different sites on either occasion when the matter has been before the House. This has not been from any disinclination to declare myself on the subject, but because on the first occasion I was animated by a desire to expedite the decision, and therefore refrained from speaking, and because on the last occasion I was unfortunately prevented from making the remarks I intended to make. Notwithstanding the fact that I have not formally spoken on the subject, honorable members have been aware of the direction in which my preference lies. I desire to say at once that, looked at purely from the stand-point of eligibility, apart from other considerations, I had a decided preference for Lake George. I voted afterwards for Tumut, because I found it was useless to waste my vote on Lake George, when there was not a sufficient number of honorable members in favour of that site to put it in the run-

ning. Since the first occasion on which I voted for Tumut, I have consistently supported the Tumut district. I believe that at Batlow we could have got an area of Crown lands of a fertility unexcelled anywhere in New South Wales—and that is saying a great deal—with an elevation that would insure a good climate, well protected by ranges on the south and west from the prevailing winds in the winter time, and easily accessible, with a comparatively small expenditure, from the existing railway. Such a site would also have been a reasonable compromise between the conflicting interests of the two great centres of population in the Commonwealth. Those were advantages which seemed to me to justify my voting for that particular district. But the suggestion now put forward that we should select Welaregang seems to me to be asking the State of New South Wales to concede too much. I think the general understanding of the spirit of the Constitution was that the site selected should be within a reasonable hauling distance at any rate of the centre of New South Wales. That, I think, was the understanding that the New South Wales people had of the manner in which the Constitution would be interpreted. So long as other considerations were met, that is to say, that the soil, climate, water supply, and features of that sort were satisfactory, I was quite willing to make a concession to honorable members from the south to the extent of meeting them half way, in order that the question might be settled as soon as possible. My object, further, was not only to insure the early settlement of the actual location, but that we might enter into occupation of it at the earliest possible moment. I have no doubt that the Welaregang site is all that honorable members have painted it; but I do say that it is not within easy distance of either the political or trading centre of New South Wales, and for myself I could not think of going any further south than the point I have indicated near Tumut. As one who has a right to regard the understanding on which the people of New South Wales acted when the Constitution Bill was agreed to, I felt that I could not go any further south than that proposal involved. We have had to-day a selection in the House of a site by a majority of honorable members, if not by an overwhelming majority, by at all events a substantial majority. There was no suggestion that any trickery had been resorted to, that honorable members had

been in any way improperly influenced, or that there was anything unsatisfactory about the method adopted to arrive at the decision. It does seem to me that it is the duty of the Government primarily, and of honorable members generally, to try to have a settlement of this question arrived at as early as possible. That being so, I feel it to be my duty to stand by the selection the House has made. This matter has yet to go through many stages before everything can be satisfactorily adjusted and finally settled, and the sooner we can put before the people of New South Wales the concrete opinion of the Federal Parliament the earlier we shall arrive at the settlement we hope for in the interests of all concerned.

Question.—That the word “Welaregang” proposed to be inserted be so inserted—put. The Committee divided.

Ayes	...	...	...	24
Noes	...	...	...	34
Majority	...	...	...	10

AYES.

Bamford, F. W.
Brown, T.
Carpenter, W. H.
Chanter, J. M.
Ewing, T. T.
Groom, L. E.
Isaacs, I. A.
Kennedy, T.
Knox, W.
Lyne, Sir W. J.
Mahon, H.
Maloney, W. R. N.
McCay, J. W.

McColl, J. H.
Phillips, P.
Ronald, J. B.
Skene, T.
Spence, W. G.
Thomson, D. A.
Watkins, D.
Webster, W.
Wilson, J. G.

Tellers:

Robinson, A.
Tudor, F. G.

NOES.

Batchelor, E. L.
Conroy, A. H. B.
Cook, J.
Crouch, R. A.
Culpin, M.
Deakin, A.
Edwards, G. B.
Fisher, A.
Forrest, Sir J.
Frazer, C. E.
Gibb, J.
Harper, R.
Hughes, W. M.
Johnson, W. E.
Kelly, W. H.
Lee, H. W.
Liddell, F.
Lonsdale, E.

Mauger, S.
McDonald, C.
McLean, A.
McWilliams, W. J.
O'Malley, K.
Page, J.
Poynton, A.
Reid, G. H.
Smith, B.
Smith, S.
Thomson, D.
Watson, J. C.
Wilks, W. H.
Willis, H.

Tellers:

Chapman, A.
Cook, J. H.

PAIRS.

Fowler, J. M.
Hutchison, J.

Storrer, D.
Bonython, Sir J. L.

Question so resolved in the negative.
Amendment negatived.

Amendment (by Mr. BATCHELOR) agreed to—

That after the word “of,” in the words inserted, the word “Dalgety” be inserted.

Amendment (by Mr. BATCHELOR) agreed to—

That all the words after “Dalgety” down and including the word “Bombala” be left out.

Clause, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 3—

The territory to be granted to or acquired by the Commonwealth, within which the State of Government shall be, shall be within the area mentioned in section 2, and shall contain an area not less than nine hundred square miles.

Amendment (by Mr. BATCHELOR) agreed to—

That the words “shall be within the area mentioned in section 2, and” be left out.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK (Parramatta).—I move—

That the word “nine” be omitted, with view to insert in lieu thereof the word “one.”

Mr. WATSON.—The amendment is very unnecessary, seeing that the Constitution makes that provision already.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I want to repeat the words of the Constitution—to adhere to the Constitution as nearly as I can. I do not desire to discuss the matter; it has already been debated almost *ad nauseam*.

Mr. WATSON.—The area of the territory has not been discussed in this Parliament.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Under the circumstances I content myself with simply submitting the amendment.

Mr. REID (East Sydney).—This matter, as the Prime Minister says, has not been debated in this Parliament, though it was discussed at great length on former occasion. I, therefore, do not propose to take up much time dealing with this phase of the question on the present occasion. I wish, however, in very few words, to express the strong view I entertain against the whole of the clause. I have always thought and contended that the main and only object of this Bill should be the selection of a site for the Federal Capital—that the area of territory around the Capital should be left as a matter of negotiation between the respective Governments. Though I may not agree with the collective view of Parliament, I recognise there is a majority in this, and the other House, in favour of a large area, and I am quite willing to let the majority have their way. But I wish to urge on the Committee that,

only as a matter of courtesy and fairness, we should do that which is always done when one person has to approach another in an endeavour to settle a matter of mutual concernment. No man goes to another, if the latter has any right to be consulted, and begins negotiations by saying, "Look here, I want so much, and I will have it." That is not the language of negotiation. If the great Powers negotiated with one another in that way the world would be at war all the year round; and some of the courtesies of life ought to be preserved even on the part of the Commonwealth of Australia in Parliament assembled. As a matter of human nature and experience, those who wish to have a large area might extend proper courtesy and consideration towards those from whom that large area is to be acquired.

Mr. FISHER.—Does the right honorable gentleman propose that nothing shall be said in the clause in regard to the area?

Mr. REID.—Nothing at all. I am opposed to the whole clause, but I quite agree that the wishes of Parliament should be made clear, in order that the Government may interpret those wishes.

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—This Parliament has not voted upon the question.

Mr. REID.—I should like, of course, to test the matter in this Parliament. But I take a preliminary ground against the whole clause—against stipulating 100 square miles, just as I object to stipulating 900 square miles. I am against an area being provided in an Act of Parliament, because I consider that the area should be a matter of mutual arrangement and agreement. It is not usual to legislate on matters which are to be the subject of negotiation—to begin negotiations with an Act of Parliament stipulating what one side shall have. We may begin by expressing a strong wish or desire, but in order to get as large an area as we can we ought to approach the other side with as much courtesy as we can.

Mr. HUTCHISON.—Did the right honorable gentleman mention that point when he agreed to the stipulation of not less than 100 square miles?

Mr. REID.—Mention what?

Mr. HUTCHISON.—Did the right honorable member state the view he now takes, when he was a party to this provision in the Constitution?

Mr. REID.—I have had the advantage, to a certain extent, of a legal training, and I know that the law is well settled as to what the expression means.

Mr. HUTCHISON.—Yes, but—

Mr. REID.—Will the honorable member allow me to explain? The honorable member does not seem willing to even allow me to answer his own question. There is a supposition in some quarters that because the expression says the area shall be "not less than 100 square miles," the meaning is that the whole of New South Wales may be taken in spite of anything which the people of that State may say. Unfortunately for such a construction of words which affect the property of other people, there is a long line of decisions in the Courts on such expressions as they are used in ordinary contracts throughout the mercantile communities of the world. It is quite common in business contracts to stipulate that, say, so many thousand sheep shall be delivered "more or less;" but no one is allowed, on that account, to claim all the sheep which a man may possess, or to claim that only one sheep may be taken because that is less than the stipulated number. All those expressions are adjudged by the Courts to mean some reasonable relation to the number or quantity named in the contract as a standard. We must remember that if, in a matter of this kind, affecting the property and rights of other people, we endeavour to force a large acquisition of territory by brute strength, the question will probably come before the High Court of Australia. That High Court was created to safeguard the rights of every State against every other State, and against the whole Commonwealth; and I should be surprised to hear a construction by that Court of the words "not less than 100 square miles" as meaning that we may take 300,000 square miles, which is about the area of New South Wales.

Mr. WATSON.—It is not proposed to go quite that length.

Mr. REID.—I merely use that as an illustration. If, on the strength of the words "not less," we may take 900 square miles, we may take 9,000 or 90,000 square miles.

Mr. WATSON.—Does the right honorable gentleman mean to say that we cannot take more than 100 square miles?

Mr. REID.—The area taken must bear some relation to the area mentioned in the Constitution. If my friend admits my contention, I have nothing more to say; it is only a matter of degree. But if the Prime Minister does not admit that reasonable

construction, then he thinks that we may take the whole of the State.

Mr. ISAACS.—But we do not propose to take any land by this Bill.

Mr. REID.—Then is this clause a mere expression of opinion?

Mr. ISAACS.—It is not proposed to take land, and we cannot take land by the Bill.

Mr. REID.—Surely, as business men, we are passing this clause seriously.

Mr. ISAACS.—We cannot coerce New South Wales.

Mr. REID.—That last interjection only strengthens my argument. Since we cannot coerce New South Wales we ought to approach that State in at least the same spirit of ordinary courtesy in which we should approach a tallow chandler with whom we desired to negotiate in some little matter of business. Surely we can adopt the manners which prevail amongst business men in matters of mutual concernment—in matters in which one cannot use the whip—involving it may be no more than £50, or £10, or £5. Surely the same rule of conduct should be observed by a Parliament in dealing with another parliamentary authority? I should like to point out very strongly that, whilst honorable members have an absolute right, and ought to let the Government know what their desires are as to the area of land required—I do not care whether the area required be 100 or 2,000 square miles—they ought not to pass an Act of Parliament declaring that we must have so many thousands or so many hundreds of square miles. That is not the way to go about the business; though it would be a good way if we wanted to quarrel and did not care much whether or not we got what we asked. But amongst business men, and amongst great Governments, negotiations are not begun in that way. It is obvious that both Houses are of opinion that a much larger area than 100 square miles should be acquired for the Federal Capital; that has been made clear, to my mind, as the wish of Parliament. But the Government, having the wish of Parliament fully in their minds, will be more likely to get what is wanted by entering, as a business man would enter into negotiations with the Government of New South Wales, than by making any absolute demand.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—But if this clause were dropped, would there not be an assumption that Parliament had changed its mind in regard to the large area?

Mr. REID.—Not at all; especially in the light of the ground on which the clause had

been dropped. I admit that the Government naturally want some indication of what the wishes of honorable members are in reference to the size of the territory; do not at all quarrel with that object, which is essentially business-like. The Government are only acting as our agents, and as a Parliament should let the Government have some idea of what we want. But the Government are more likely to get what is wanted if they approach the Government of New South Wales in a friendly way and open negotiations, than if they declare that their principals have instructed them that they must get so much. Such a declaration would be force, not reason—it would be rudeness, not courtesy. In the affairs of mankind were carried on in that way, very few negotiations would be characterized by friendliness or cordiality. I quite see the difficulty of the Government in this matter. They have simply copied a clause that was framed by the late Parliament. I remember that the late Prime Minister, the honorable and learned member for Ballarat, asked the House, in the same spirit, but in much better language than I can employ, not to insert within the four corners of the Bill an expression of opinion as a matter of legal enactment. That honorable and learned member desired the Government to be left free to do the best they could for Parliament, being of opinion that such a clause as this would embarrass, and not help them.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—Both Houses were against the late Prime Minister.

Mr. REID.—But there is now a new Parliament, and this point is important enough to raise. This clause can be debated, and the Government may infer from the various expressions of opinion the general tendency of the wishes of honorable members. I have been looking again at the Bill. The title is "An Bill for an Act to determine the Seat of Government of the Commonwealth." The distinct object of the measure, therefore, is to determine the Seat of Government so far as we can determine it. The Government will then be able to proceed to negotiation with the Government of the State of New South Wales, knowing precisely the situation which has been accepted by the Federal Parliament. The provisions of the Constitution point out that the Seat of Government shall be determined practically in this way, and shall be within territory "which shall have been granted to or acquired by the Commonwealth." That

say, the acquirement of the territory is precede the determination of the Seat of Government; but we are properly taking the other course, and first deciding as to the location of the Seat of Government; because it would be impossible for the Federal Government to begin at all until what had been done. That being the object of the Bill, I strongly urge upon the Committee that the question as to the area of the territory is one for negotiation. The only thing that is certain is that it is not to be less than 100 square miles. I admit that the expression "not less than 100 square miles" permits of the acquirement of some reasonable area within the standard set up by that expression. I consider, however, that an area of 900 square miles is not reasonably within the standard of not less than 100 square miles. If this point were submitted to the High Court, I would not presume to say what its opinion would be, but if it followed the decisions relating to the use of similar expressions, which have been given in the Courts for many years past—and there are a number of authorities on the point—it would probably determine that the expression was one which admitted of an excess area, but not necessarily of an excess which was unreasonably large in reference to the standard adopted in the Constitution. The provision in the Constitution is really in the nature of an agreement or a contract between the Commonwealth and the State of New South Wales. It does not follow the lines of ordinary legislation. Within the lines of ordinary legislation, and within our jurisdiction, our laws are omnipotent. We can say anything we like within our jurisdiction, and there is no power on earth to question what we do. But this is a matter which falls within those questions for the decision of which the High Court has been established—questions in which the interests or property of a State may be affected by the action of the Commonwealth Government. The High Court has been set up simply to safeguard the rights of the Commonwealth on the one hand, as against each and all of the States, and with equal care and justice to protect the rights of each and all of the States on the other hand, as against the Commonwealth.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—With the consent of the State we could take other territory.

Mr. REID.—Decidedly; by mutual agreement anything that is not criminal can be done. For instance, the New South

Wales and Commonwealth Parliaments might agree to make the area of the territory 100,000 square miles. But there must be mutual agreement. I do not want to force upon the Committee my own opinion as to how large this area should be. I am putting the matter upon much broader ground. We desire to see the negotiations between these two independent powers successfully conducted. We wish them to be of such a character that they will promote good feeling and not increase any bad feeling. I think that if there is one object that a responsible statesman, or member of this House, much more the House as a body, should keep steadily in view, it is that in the exercise of all our powers, and in all the transactions in which we are called upon to engage with any of the States, we should impress them with a sense of our perfect courtesy and fairness, and of our desire to do everything in a friendly way. Now these are objects with which we all agree, and I wish to point out that the use of the word "shall" in this measure is unfortunate. After all, we are merely expressing our opinion. As the honorable and learned member for Indi has pointed out, this measure is not intended to compel a settlement of the question. It merely embodies an expression of opinion. That is the basis of my objection to the use of the word "shall." As the clause stands, we, the principals, are employing the Government as our agents to deal with the people of New South Wales, through their agents, the Government of that State. We are telling our agents, "Now you are going into a Conference with the Government of the State of New South Wales to settle this matter in a friendly way. We tell you and we tell them in advance that the Federal territory shall embrace an area of not less than 900 square miles; in other words, it shall not contain 800 square miles or 850 square miles, or even 899 square miles, because the expression 'shall not be less than 900 square miles' absolutely precludes the selection of a territory of 899 miles, and it is not precluded as a matter of opinion, but by an absolute mandate contained in an Act of Parliament of the Commonwealth." That is not the language to use in transactions of this kind. When we wish to express an opinion, we should do so in the same courteous language that other people adopt. We should express our opinion, and not issue an ultimatum. The use of

the word "shall," would make the provision tantamount to an ultimatum. If the British Government sent to the Russian Government, or the German Government, or the American Government, a communication containing the word "shall" the national self-respect of Russia, Germany, or the United States would be immediately challenged. Even though a request might be perfectly equitable, and one that ought to be granted, it would, if it were thrown into the shape of an ultimatum, be regarded with hostility and indignation. The Power addressed would consider that its reputation was at stake, and would resent the adoption of such language. That is the language of war, not the language of negotiation. Let honorable members reflect upon the infinite courtesies exchanged, and the forbearance exercised between the Governments of the great nations before they come to the point of open antagonism. Let us remember the trying experiences through which Great Britain and America passed in connexion with the Alabama case, when those two great peoples were frequently on the verge of war, from which they were saved only by the exhibition of the greatest forbearance and courtesy on both sides. Honorable members will probably recollect the marvellous effect produced by the change of a few words in a despatch sent, at an exciting time, by the Government of Great Britain to the Government of the United States, when those two gentlemen were taken forcibly from the *Trent*. We know now that Her Majesty, the late Queen, probably under the advice of the Prince Consort, herself toned down the despatch which was being sent, and it is now believed that, if that communication had been forwarded in its original form, these two great nations would have been plunged in war.

Mr. CROUCH.—Morley, in his *Life of Gladstone*, shows that that was a political fiction.

Mr. SPENCE.—Surely the right honorable gentleman does not suppose that there is any risk of our being plunged in war with New South Wales over the Capital Site question?

Mr. REID.—No, I do not suggest anything of the kind. If all my honorable friend's illustrations were viewed in that spirit he would be nowhere. I am simply referring to a matter of history, by way of illustration. If the question were one of military history I should defer to the opinion of the honorable and learned member for Corio, but as it is a mere matter of

recollection of historical facts I think have sufficient authority to warrant statement.

Mr. CROUCH.—I am only quoting a lay against the right honorable gentleman. I quite imagine that he may be regarded as an inferior authority.

Mr. REID.—Oh, no. I think that, as an authority, he is almost equal to the honorable and learned member; that is the highest place I could give him. I see my recollection of history against that of my honorable and learned friend. However, if I am wrong, it really does not affect the main trend of my remarks, because I think it must be obvious to honorable members that we should avoid the language of dictation. I do not believe that honorable members have the slightest desire to do that to which I am now objecting. I feel sure that no honorable member has the slightest desire to use an offensive word or one that would savour of dictation, or some other form of expression would answer the same purpose. I apprehend that the object of those who believe that a large area is absolutely necessary is to express their opinion, and to instruct the Government as their representatives in the strongest possible way. No honorable member desires that at the beginning of the negotiations, before the New South Wales Government is approached, we should deliberately use the language of dictation and ultimatum, because we should then treat New South Wales as if she were so inferior that even courtesy was not due. These may seem small matters, but from my own experience the strongest feelings excited between the States have been aroused by the use of unguarded expressions. For instance, an expression used by the late Sir John Robertson, probably as a joke, a moment of pleasantry, was repeated year after year by those who looked upon it as a kind of insult cast upon one of the most flourishing States of Australia. I know that the Committee is strongly in favour of acquiring an area of 900 square miles. I am strongly opposed to it. I should not object to it, if the Government of New South Wales were willing to grant the area. I do not wish for a moment to stand in the way of the Commonwealth acquiring 900 square miles, if New South Wales is willing to give it, but we must remember that underlying the bargain there is a gift from New South Wales of all the Crown lands within the area constituting the Federal territory. I cannot recall an instance

in the history of diplomacy, or of even savage tribes, where a gift was a matter of discussion and arrangement, in which the word "shall" was addressed to the person from whom the gift was to come, and in which stipulations were made as to the amount of the gift. That would be the language of supreme authority, of brute force, and not the language of propriety, and of good taste, such as is used in ordinary business bargaining. It would not be good policy.

Mr. SPENCE.—But would not the gift of Crown lands by New South Wales apply only to lands within an area of 100 square miles?

Mr. REID.—I merely wish to suggest to my honorable friend that the Commonwealth is the party which receives.

Mr. SPENCE.—New South Wales is not expected to cede all the Crown lands within a territory embracing 900 square miles.

Mr. REID.—The interjection of the honorable member has thrown a degree of light upon this matter which has not previously been thrown upon it.

Mr. KELLY.—But the Government of New South Wales will have to surrender its power of taxation upon the residents within the 900 square miles.

Mr. REID.—I am not dealing with that aspect of the question at the present moment. I am rather interested in the interjection of the honorable member for Darling, which I have heard for the first time. According to his statement, if we obtain an area of 900 square miles, the intention is that we shall pay for all Crown lands outside an area of 100 square miles.

Mr. WATSON.—I favour the adoption of that course.

Mr. REID.—The proposal is new to me.

Mr. WATSON.—I declared myself in favour of it in Sydney.

Mr. REID.—I must have missed the statement of the Prime Minister.

Mr. SPENCE.—I understood the right honorable member to say that the Government of New South Wales were expected to give to the Commonwealth all the Crown lands obtained within the Federal territory.

Mr. REID.—That was my understanding of the matter. We are now told, however, that the Commonwealth is prepared to pay—

Mr. WATSON.—I cannot speak for the Commonwealth, but merely for myself.

Mr. REID.—It is an extraordinary proposal, because there is nothing in the Constitution which authorizes that view.

Mr. WATSON.—There is nothing in the Constitution to prevent us from following that course.

Mr. REID.—In this connexion, I may be pardoned for quoting the language of the Constitution itself. Section 125 says—

Such territory shall contain an area of not less than 100 square miles, and such portion thereof—That refers to the territory—not to the 100 square miles—

as shall consist of Crown lands shall be granted to the Commonwealth without any payment therefor.

Mr. SPENCE.—According to the right honorable member's argument, the territory is limited to 100 square miles.

Mr. REID.—As a matter of legal interpretation, I take it to be so. But if I am right, the use of the word "shall" in connexion with more than the legal area is all the more objectionable. If we have a constitutional right to take more than 100 square miles—to take 900 square miles, for example—the use of the word "shall" is not so objectionable as it would be if we had a legal right to take only 100 square miles, and wished to acquire 900 square miles. In the latter case, the employment of the word "shall" in regard to the excess of 800 square miles becomes even worse than I have said; it becomes ludicrous. We cannot take territory from a State. We have no power to do so. We may acquire the properties of private individuals for the purpose of certain services of the Commonwealth, under the Property for Public Purposes Acquisition Act; but there is no power to take the territory of a State for Federal territory, except within the terms of section 125 of the Constitution. There is no other power which will enable this Parliament to read into that charter of Government 900 square miles for 100 square miles. Of course, the proposal to pay for any Crown lands outside an area of 100 square miles puts the project in a much fairer light, but it does not remove the difficulty that may be created by the wrong use of words. It rather intensifies my objection to that. If we have not the power to acquire 900 square miles, we have no right to say that the Federal territory "shall" consist of 900 square miles, because we are dealing with the property of others. Honorable members should always recollect that we are dealing with the property of others, under an agreement with them which is embodied in the Constitution. If we will not respect the terms of our own Constitution, where will our respect for

the laws of the Commonwealth begin? We cannot consider New South Wales an out-cast State, in regard to which even the common courtesies of life are unnecessary. I am sure that there is no desire on the part of this Committee to treat New South Wales with any discourtesy. But since there is no desire to do that, why should we do it? We are intelligent business men, and the fact that we do not intend to say a wrong thing, is the strongest possible reason for not saying it. It is not a reason for saying it, and afterwards declaring that we do not mean it. The more we look into the matter the more objectionable does the use of the word "shall" appear. This provision really means that the Government shall endeavour to obtain an area of 900 square miles. If the proposal now put forward is indorsed by the Committee, the Government will be entitled to say, "We are prepared to pay for all Crown lands outside an area of 100 square miles." But such a declaration by the Committee will be merely in the nature of an instruction to the Government as their agents. It must not be an ultimatum to the Government of New South Wales. We do not intend to say to the Government and the people of that State, "We have settled all these matters in the Commonwealth. All you have to do is to listen to what we say, and to obey. You 'shall' give us a Federal territory of 900 square miles. It is true that the Constitution says that the area shall be not less than 100 square miles, and it is equally true that, from the point of view of law, it may be held that the area of the Federal Territory shall be something in reasonable proportion to 100 square miles, but we set all these considerations aside, and affirm that it shall not be less than 900 square miles." My first contention is that this clause ought not to be contained in the Bill. It is not cognate to the question of determining the Seat of Government of the Commonwealth, and is not covered by the title. I do not know whether that point has previously been raised, but I ask you, sir, to seriously consider it. I am not aware whether the Standing Orders of this House are exactly similar to those of the New South Wales Legislature; but in that State a rather strict rule has been laid down with reference to the inclusion in any Bill of matters which do not come within the scope of its title. I admit that the title of this measure can be altered in

Mr. Reid.

Committee, and the adoption of course would remove my objection. I am perfectly competent for honorable members to alter the title of the Bill, and have no desire to take advantage of a technical objection.

Mr. WATSON.—Only the order of the Bill governs the Bill here.

Mr. REID.—Quite so. An objection to the title of a Bill can be removed by the Committee, and on that ground I will not labour the question. But the other principle has also to be observed, namely, that the clauses of a Bill shall be relevant to its scope. I submit that the scope of this measure is limited to the determination of the site for the Seat of Government, and that the intrusion into it of an ultimatum that the Federal territory—which is a different matter altogether—shall embrace an area of not less than 900 square miles is not relevant to its scope.

Mr. WATSON.—We are considering the Bill which originated in the Senate.

Mr. REID.—I do not think that fact affects the rules relating to Bills. The same rules govern us just as fully in the case of Bills which originate in the Senate as they do in the case of other Bills.

The CHAIRMAN.—There was no objection to leave granted in this case.

Mr. REID.—I am not discussing the order of leave. My object is to point out that this particular clause is not relevant to the scope of the Bill. If, in this measure, which has been introduced for the purpose of determining the site of the Seat of Government, we dealt with the question of the kind of Houses of Parliament which should be erected there, or with the expenditure to which their erection should be limited, I should consider such stipulations foreign to its scope. If the rules are not observed, we can put anything in the world in a Bill. In a measure to determine the Seat of Government we might introduce a clause which was designed to alter the criminal law. Of course the rules of parliamentary procedure are intended to prevent such abuse of legislation. Every Bill is supposed to be confined to the subjects which are relevant to its objects. I consider that this stipulation that the Federal territory shall contain an area of 900 square miles put in the form of an express condition the effect of which is that we shall have the Capital Site unless that area can be secured, is irrelevant to the scope of the measure. If, with this provision in the

ill, the Government approached the Government of New South Wales and effected an admirable arrangement for the acquisition of 850 square miles of the best territory of that State, they would be obliged to return to Parliament and ask for its repeal. On the other hand, if we merely express an opinion that the Federal Territory should contain not less than 100 square miles, the Government will not be hampered in that way. I object to the clause in its entirety. I should like our views upon this matter to be put in a form in which they would express our opinion without making use of imperative language. If, instead of the words "and shall contain an area not less than 900 square miles," we provided "and it is desirable that the area of such territory should be not less than 900 square miles" the clause would be absolutely clear as an expression of opinion on the part of the Committee, and the Government would know exactly what area we thought should be acquired. In that event, however, if an area of 800 square miles were offered the Government would be free to accept it.

Mr. CROUCH.—If the right honorable member were Prime Minister he would be content with an area of 100 square miles.

Mr. REID.—What is the use of the honorable and learned member talking of what I would do if I were Prime Minister, when on every occasion that there is a chance of my obtaining that office he votes against me and against his own convictions. I am only one of the humble leaders of the Opposition.

Mr. HUTCHISON.—Long may the honorable member remain so.

Mr. REID.—A number of my best friends say the same, although they are influenced by an opposite motive. If the Committee merely desires to express its opinion in a courteous way it should agree to the amendment which I have suggested.

Mr. HIGGINS.—Would the substitution of the word "should" for "shall" do?

Mr. REID.—It would be an improvement, but would be rather within the category of language which I think unfortunate. The Committee would express its views just as clearly if the amendment which I suggest were made, and the Government would have a much better chance of being liberally dealt with than they would if we approached New South Wales with a club and said, "We shall have 900 square miles of territory." It is only a mere question of verbiage. If we were at

the end of our negotiations—if the Commonwealth Government found that they were met in an unfair way, that the response of the Government of New South Wales to their friendly overtures was couched in unreasonable and dictatorial language—then no one would object to their asserting their manhood and independence by employing words of equal strength. But I do not wish dictatorial and domineering language to be introduced at the beginning of what we hope will be friendly negotiations. If I went to the Attorney-General in a friendly way to settle a matter in which he had some voice, I should not begin by saying—"Look here, Mr. Attorney-General, you must give me so and so." If I did the Attorney-General would reply—"Now, Mr. Reid, do not you think we had better leave fighting to some other time? Had we not better see if we cannot meet in a friendly way, without using the word 'must' or 'shall'?" Every man of common-sense would say at once if I were to adopt such an attitude—"What sort of a man is he to conduct negotiations when he blunders at the start by insulting the other party?"

Mr. WILKS.—The use of the word "should" would be better; it is not so imperative as "shall."

Mr. REID.—I should not object to the use of the word "should." It would certainly be a vast improvement, for although it is a strong word, it is not dictatorial. A man might say—"It is my opinion, and the area should be 900 square miles"; but if he said—"It is my opinion, and it shall be 900 square miles," he would, in effect, at once introduce the shillelah. This is after all a mere phrase, but I should not take up the time of the Committee in discussing it if I did not think there was something in my objection. We do not wish to expose ourselves to criticism by the use of language which is unnecessary. It is open to us to express our views just as clearly without the use of an ultimatum. The interests involved in the working together of the Commonwealth and a State in a friendly way are surely much greater than are those at issue when two dealers are haggling over a bargain of £50. If hagglers over the smallest bargains begin their negotiations with courtesy, I think we might well emulate their example in dealing with our national affairs. In this particular case, we are not legislating for the Commonwealth. The use of the word

"shall" is perfectly proper when the Commonwealth wishes to impose a law relating to matters within its own jurisdiction; but in this Bill we are dealing with something different. We are approaching New South Wales in a matter of mutual concern, and with a desire to arrive at a mutually friendly settlement. This is not an enactment, but an expression of opinion as to what we think desirable. A man may hold as firmly as he pleases to his opinions without commencing his negotiations in an at all offensive way. I therefore throw out this suggestion to the Government. The clause will be discussed for some little time, and there will be ample opportunity for the Government to think over my proposal. I should be extremely glad if the Government would even go so far as to introduce the word "should" in place of the word "shall." If that amendment were made, we should give clear expression to our opinion without using language which, to say the least, would be unfriendly, before the merits of the question came to be discussed. As to the substantial point at issue, I am against so large an area as 900 square miles being taken from New South Wales, unless that State itself agrees to give it. If New South Wales were willing to part with 900 square miles of territory, my objection would not be so great; but I should still think that it would be a misfortune for the Commonwealth to become entangled in the control of a larger area of territory than is necessary for the exact purposes of the Federal Capital. That would be a mistake. If we acquired so large an area we should find ourselves in the same position as is Congress in relation to Washington. So far as the people living within the boundaries of the Federal territory are concerned, the Parliament of the United States has to play the part of a municipality; it has to pass municipal laws, as if it were a municipal council. There is no municipal council there.

Mr. KING O'MALLEY.—The territory is under five Commissioners.

Mr. REID.—But under the direct control of Congress.

Mr. KING O'MALLEY.—They have no municipal council; the whole business is run on military lines.

Mr. REID.—Exactly; but the Congress of the United States is the legislative body. The Commissioners administer the territory under the Government of the United

States. I doubt the wisdom of the Federal Government entangling itself in matters relating to municipal government.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—We should have to do that even if we secured an area of 100 square miles.

Mr. REID.—The smaller the area the less irksome would be the task.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—But the same machinery would be necessary.

Mr. HIGGINS.—We have more power to make laws for the Federal territory than has Congress to make laws for the Federal territory of the United States. Under the Constitution we may give representation to the Federal territory, and make laws relating not merely to municipal matters.

Mr. REID.—Perhaps so. That would represent a different state of things. I wish to point out that I am not speaking of any voluntary agreement—by mutual agreement the territory may be as large as we like—but of our view of the matter, subject to the opinion of New South Wales. We must not forget that when the bargain was made it was a bargain for a Federal territory, for one purpose only—a Federal territory, as the home of the Federal Capital. If it had been whispered to the people of New South Wales that under the bargain by which that State agreed to find room for a Federal city we were to obtain room for experiments in land systems—to split up the territory of New South Wales in order that certain views, sound or unsound, might be—

Mr. WATSON.—What sort of experiments could we make in an area of 900 square miles? It is ridiculous to suggest such a thing.

Mr. REID.—Is it not ridiculous to urge in support of the proposal that an area of 900 square miles shall be acquired that we desire to have room to make experiments in land legislation?

Mr. WATSON.—I have never suggested anything of the kind; I have merely supported the acquiring of an area of 900 square miles, because of a belief that we should retain the unearned increment to the Commonwealth. It is not with a view to experimenting that I support the taking over of so large an area.

Mr. REID.—Quite so; but the honorable gentleman will understand that such remarks have been made?

Mr. BATCHELOR.—By the other side.

Mr. REID.—I do not say that the Government have expressed such views; but I

think that the supporters of the clause as it stands gave it as one of their reasons for suggesting that we should acquire—

Mr. BATCHELOR.—20,000 square miles.

Mr. WILKS.—Why not make these experiments in British New Guinea?

Mr. REID.—I think we had better experiment with some of these schemes in British New Guinea. There would be an abundance of room for them, and a certain amount of glory would attach to the work. I wish that the Minister of External Affairs would go to British New Guinea and talk to the savages there about the unearned increment.

Mr. HUGHES.—I propose to go up there and address them on that subject.

Mr. REID.—Then the honorable and learned gentleman will have a big military force handy. The unearned increment! That is a rather vague expression, which might be applied to a very large area. We might apply it to the whole of New South Wales.

Mr. WATSON.—It is very small.

Mr. REID.—It was an argument used in support of the proposal to bury the Capital at Tooma. It is suggested that we shall obtain such an enormous advantage that the further we go from Sydney the better the bargain will be. I know, of course, that the Prime Minister does not suggest anything of the kind. The House may desire to see a large area secured; but we must not forget that the bargain did not contemplate anything but provision for accommodating the Federal Capital. Nothing beyond that was included in the compact. The moment we enter upon questions as to the unearned increment we may extend the area in a very indefinite way.

Mr. WATSON.—The increment of value will not extend more than ten or fifteen miles in either direction.

Mr. REID.—I do not know. That might be an argument for acquiring far more than 100 square miles of territory, especially if the land belonged to some one else. I think the Attorney-General will admit that if the expression in the Constitution, "not less than 100 square miles," be submitted to the Court, it will not be held to be so elastic that under it we may take as much more as we please. I do not think that legal construction is so loose as to allow of that interpretation where the property of another is to be taken. I do not, however, expect the Attorney-General to at once give me an opinion on that question. An area of 100 square miles would be a thoroughly

reasonable one for the purposes of the Federal Capital. It is, of course, a mere matter of opinion; I may be absolutely wrong, and those who think that an area of 900 square miles should be acquired may be correct; but, whatever our opinions may be, the shortest way to secure what we desire, is to begin by treating the person with whom we have to deal in as courteous a way as possible.

Mr. HUGHES.—If we are to acquire an area of only 100 square miles, there will be no occasion to strike out the word "shall," because the Constitution provides that the area "shall" not be less than 100 square miles.

Mr. REID.—I feel sure that the majority of the Committee is quite against the view that an area of only 100 square miles should be acquired; but it is unnecessary to use the word "shall."

Mr. HUGHES.—The use of the word would not be considered discourteous.

Mr. REID.—I have never said that it is discourteous to ask for an area of 900 square miles. All that I say is that when one is asking a man to give him something, it is discourteous to say, "You shall give me such and such a thing." It is proposed to say to New South Wales, "You shall give us 900 square miles of territory."

Mr. HUGHES.—It is proposed to acquire that area.

Mr. REID.—But a grant is involved.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—The area is to be granted or acquired.

Mr. REID.—The Constitution provides that—

Such territory shall contain—
the word "shall" is used there in one sense—

an area of not less than 100 square miles, and such portion thereof as shall consist of Crown lands—

there "shall" is used in another sense—
shall be granted to the Commonwealth—
that is absolute—
without any payment therefor.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—Is there an area of 100 square miles of Crown lands or anything like it in the proposed Federal territory?

Mr. REID.—There are Crown lands in the proposed Federal area, and whether they comprise an area of 100 square miles or of 900 square miles, they are to be given to the Commonwealth.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—But, as a matter of fact, the Crown lands there do not represent anything like 100 square miles.

Mr. REID.—I do not say for a moment that they do. I do not think that we should find an area of 100 square miles of Crown land in any possible site for a Federal Capital; but if there be only one or fifty square miles of Crown land within the territory the land is to be given to us without payment, although it may be the most valuable in that part of the State. It might consist of a timber or a water reserve, for various reserves are to be found, and they sometimes comprise the best land that is left. If we were asking a man to give us a sheet of note-paper and some envelopes, we should address him in courteous terms; we should not say, "You shall give us a sheet of note-paper and six envelopes." That is an illustration of the point that I desire to emphasize. It is a mere matter of expressing our opinion in a courteous way. I hope that the Government will give effect to the view which I have expressed. It is easy to say "shall." We can all say "shall." But people who begin with "shall" often end differently. Amongst the civilized nations the word "shall" is generally used when negotiations have been broken off. I sincerely hope that the Government will consider the suggestion which I have made, which enables those who believe in having an area of 900 square miles, to express their opinion just as forcibly, though not in mandatory language. Personally, as I have said, I am altogether against the 900 square miles area, but on that point I feel that I am in a minority. I believe that the majority of the Committee is against me.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—Up to this stage the Government have treated the Bill as an open question. But the Government do not treat the matter of area as an open question by any means. They are in favour of acquiring an area of 900 square miles, as proposed in the Bill.

Mr. WILKS.—Do they want a model territory or a model Capital?

Mr. BATCHELOR.—If the honorable member will curtail his impatience he will hear what we want. There has never been any desire on the part of this Government to start a new territory or a new State. An area of 900 square miles would make a very poor sort of territory or State for Australia. One could ride through that extent of country on a bicycle, or in a motor-car,

in a little over an hour. The honorable member for Wentworth would probably through it in less than that time.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—And without a

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Do I understand honorable gentleman to say that the Government will insist upon this area?

Mr. BATCHELOR.—It is not an open question, as the other provisions of the Bill were.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—But do they insist upon 900 square miles?

Mr. BATCHELOR.—The honorable member is surely misunderstanding me intentionally. I say that the Government do not treat this as an open question. The Government treated the question as where the Seat of Government should be entirely as an open one.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—The Government divided to conquer, but on this question they unite to conquer.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—Now, we unite to conquer. The Government consider not less than the 900 square miles should be taken. When I say "taken," I mean that that area should be selected—should be comprised within territory to be acquired by or granted to the Commonwealth Government for the establishment of a Seat of Government. The right honorable member for East Sydney stated that the measure was declaratory; that it was an enacting measure. Of course that is true. It does not really enact anything. It is a direct expression of the opinion of the Committee, and an instruction to the Government. It is a basis of negotiation on which the Government must act.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—It ought to have been expressed in a resolution not in an Act of Parliament.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—That consideration is immaterial now.

Mr. ISAACS.—It is quite right in the form of a Bill.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—It is an instruction to the Government to negotiate for 900 square miles.

Mr. REID.—Not to negotiate; it says we must have it. They cannot take less.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—Of course, the Government cannot come to a final agreement, in any case.

Mr. WILKS.—It is a declaration at the point of a revolver to New South Wales.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—It is nothing of the kind. This Parliament will ultimately have to decide upon the area to be acquired.

Mr. REID.—Oh, no; surely the Government will give New South Wales a word about an acre or so.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—Did not the right honorable member hear me say “ultimately”? We cannot delegate our powers to the New South Wales Parliament, and this Parliament cannot delegate its powers altogether to the Government.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—What is this Bill for?

Mr. BATCHELOR.—It is a starting point for negotiations with New South Wales, in which this House lays down in no uncertain terms the area which it thinks desirable.

Mr. REID.—The Bill does not say “desirable.”

Mr. BATCHELOR.—Is not any resolution of this House, or any measure that we pass, an expression of the opinion of the House?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—It is a Bill to “determine” the Seat of Government.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—Yes; it is a Bill to determine where the Seat of Government shall be; and within that Bill to determine the site, we also say that the territory to be granted to or acquired by the Commonwealth shall contain an area of not less than 900 square miles. As far as the language of the measure goes—that is to say so far as concerns the objection that it is altogether too mandatory to use the word “shall”—the Government really do not feel very strongly on the point.

Mr. ISAACS.—What other word could we use if we wish to enact?

Mr. BATCHELOR.—We cannot directly enact by this measure.

Mr. ISAACS.—But we do enact. We cannot take the land, but we enact the will of this Parliament that the territory shall consist of such an area.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—Yes; that is the light in which the matter has been regarded throughout.

Mr. ISAACS.—The Government cannot alter a word of the Bill when it is passed.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—I do not think it matters greatly whether the word “shall” or the word “should” is used.

Mr. JOHNSON.—The Constitution says that the Parliament shall determine “the Seat of Government,” but not the territory.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—All that we are able to do is to say that we wish to obtain 900 square miles for the purposes of the Seat of Government, and we do not de-

sire to adopt any method of placing our views before the Government of New South Wales that may be considered by them to be unnecessarily offensive.

Mr. ISAACS.—Do the Government say that the Bill might read that the Seat of Government “should be” at Dalgety?

Mr. BATCHELOR.—Certainly not.

Mr. ISAACS.—Why not?

Mr. BATCHELOR.—The Seat of Government “shall be” at Dalgety.

Mr. ISAACS.—Why is not that as offensive as the other phrase?

Mr. JOHNSON.—Because the Constitution gives us the power to determine the Seat of Government; but it does not give us the power to say that we shall have 900 square miles.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—As a matter of fact, as I have said, I do not think it matters very much whether we use the term “shall” or “should” in this Bill, so long as it is recognised that it is an instruction to the Government to negotiate on these lines for 900 square miles. The word cannot make any difference, because the terms which the Government will adopt in approaching New South Wales will be precisely the same in either case.

Mr. REID.—Then the Government will be more polite than their masters. Why should we not be as polite as the Government are going to be?

Mr. BATCHELOR.—This question was debated at some length on the occasion when the Seat of Government Bill was under consideration during the last Parliament. A vote was taken on this very point—whether the word “shall” or the word “should” should be used; and I find that a majority of eighteen decided in favour of the word “should,” which was substituted for “shall.”

Mr. CROUCH.—Then, why did the Government use the word “shall” in this Bill?

Mr. BATCHELOR.—The measure came down from the Senate in this form. I might point out that amongst those who voted in favour of the word “should,” were the Prime Minister and several honorable members who are now sitting on this side of the Chamber. Consequently, the word “shall” was eliminated as being too mandatory. In my opinion, the chief reason for adopting the word “should” as against “shall” is that it is more likely to lead to an early satisfactory result. Because there has been, and appears to be, on the part of New South Wales, an idea that

this Commonwealth Parliament is anxious—to adopt an expression which has been used in some quarters—to plunder New South Wales of a portion of her territory.

Mr. WILKS.—The representative of the Government in the Senate last session asked for 20,000 square miles.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—That honorable gentleman stated this session that he was still in favour of 20,000 square miles, but that does not prove that this Parliament, or this Government, are in favour of asking for 20,000 square miles.

Mr. KELLY.—Did not this Bill originate with Senator McGregor?

Mr. BATCHELOR.—The honorable member knows perfectly well who introduced the Bill in the Senate.

Mr. WILKS.—That statement was enough to frighten New South Wales.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—The honorable member knows that no such request was made by this Parliament, or this Government, nor was it made by any section of this House. Because one member of the Senate—

Mr. WILKS.—The representative of the Government.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—He was not the representative of the Government then. The Government was not in existence at that time. I want to say a few words as to the reason why a larger area is suggested. It has been stated that this provision will deprive New South Wales of a large part of her territory. In speaking on the second reading of the Bill I said that 900 square miles was only the size of a moderate sheep or cattle run. I say again that it is nothing more than that. Nine hundred square miles is thirty miles by thirty. It is by no means a large extent of territory. New South Wales, during periods of her history, has parted with very much more extensive areas. The State of Victoria was a portion of New South Wales at one time. It is nearly 90,000 square miles in extent. Queensland was also a portion of New South Wales. It is 600,000 square miles in extent. There is more outcry over the 900 square miles that it is now proposed to take jointly, on behalf of all the States, including New South Wales, than there was over the cession of 600,000 square miles when the State of Queensland was formed.

Mr. JOHNSON.—The outcry is about the demand for the area.

Mr. SPENCE.—The outcry is amongst a few politicians, and is raised for party purposes.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—It has been said that New South Wales will suffer a very great deprivation. It was pointed out during the second-reading debate that the unimproved value of the alienated land within a radius of seventeen miles of Dalgety is £352,000. The value of the land with improvements is £460,200.

Mr. EWING.—What is the value of the Crown land?

Mr. BATCHELOR.—I do not know, but we can be pretty certain that the value of the Crown land will be very much less than the value of the alienated land. Those are the valuations for taxation purposes. What really will be the effect of the Commonwealth taking over this territory? The Crown lands not now in occupation will be handed over as a free gift to the Commonwealth, but really all that New South Wales will part with is the jurisdiction of this territory.

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—And the revenue from taxation.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—The power of taxation; but against the revenue from taxation there is expenditure to be considered, and the honorable member must see that a corollary to the power of taxation is the expenditure of the public funds of New South Wales on roads, bridges, schools, houses, and other such Government works.

Mr. LONSDALE.—It is very great just there.

Mr. WATSON.—It is considerably more than the revenue.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—The revenue may be precious little, because within this area there are only 3,586 people altogether. We have had some talk about a population of 40,000.

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—That was for a larger area.

Mr. WATSON.—For the same area—900 square miles.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—We could take Bombala, and the population of the territory would then only reach 7,000.

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—I point out that under clause 2 there is a larger area defined—150 miles long.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—Mr. Carruthers was speaking of the proposal to take an area of 900 square miles. It was never proposed in the Senate, or anywhere else, that the area to be acquired should be larger than that. A certain area is defined

clause 2, as it came down to us, but the honorable member is aware that the area proposed to be taken is only some 900 square miles within the area defined by that clause. I repeat that the only effect that will follow the taking over of this territory by the Commonwealth is that the authority having jurisdiction over it will be changed from the New South Wales Parliament to the Commonwealth Parliament. We shall have to pay the cost of government, and we shall receive the revenue from taxation, such as it is. Undoubtedly for some considerable time the Government expenditure will far exceed the revenue derived from the territory. The object of the proposal, of course, is simply that, as the Commonwealth Parliament, representing the people of Australia, will have to pay whatever expenditure is incurred in governing this territory, any increased value which may be considered unearned increment should be retained by the Commonwealth.

Mr. LIDDELL.—Why should not the Government of New South Wales get it?

Mr. BATCHELOR.—Why should the people of Western Australia, Queensland, Tasmania, and South Australia contribute to enrich the few land-holders who live in this district?—Can the honorable member give any reason which will justify us in increasing the value of the holdings of the people living there now by Commonwealth expenditure? If we can retain the enhanced value due to Commonwealth expenditure for the people of the Commonwealth we should do so.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Whatever the area decided upon may be the land-owners adjoining will benefit from Commonwealth expenditure.

Mr. BATCHELOR. — They will, to some extent; but the contention is that we should take a reasonable area. The real question between honorable members opposite and other honorable members is as to where we should draw the line, and we propose to draw the line where we think we are justified in drawing it from the experience of great cities such as the Federal city may become. No one, at all events, can say that it will not become a large centre of population.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—Do the Government propose to include Twofold Bay in the Federal territory?

Mr. BATCHELOR.—The Government make no such proposal. What we say is that the sphere of influence of the Federal

city, if it should become a large city—and that is one of the possibilities of the future—is likely to extend over a certain area. We say further that we have a right to retain for the Commonwealth any enhanced value of the land due to the influence of the Federal city. It is useless to say that we should have an area of 5,000 square miles for that purpose, because the sphere of influence of the Federal city could not appreciably extend so far. But we know that in the case of Melbourne and Sydney this sphere of influence can and does extend to a much greater distance than thirty miles from the General Post Office in either of those cities. The proposal is not submitted in order to carry out experiments in the nationalization of the land, or anything of the sort. It was put forward by Sir Edmund Barton, when Prime Minister, as an absolutely business proposal, and supported strongly by Sir William McMillan, who was acting-leader of the Opposition at the time.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—That the territory should be 900 square miles in extent?

Mr. BATCHELOR.—No, the idea of the non-alienation of land and the retention of the unearned increment.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH. — Sir William McMillan said it would make an interesting experiment in land nationalization.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—That is not quite what the honorable gentleman said. I looked up and quoted what he said when speaking on the second reading of the Bill.

Mr. MCCOLL.—The Minister said just now that the Commonwealth would exercise jurisdiction over this territory; do the Government propose to dispossess the present private owners?

Mr. BATCHELOR.—The land will be acquired by the Federal Parliament.

Mr. MCCOLL.—And will change owners.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—Of course, there will be a change in the ownership of the land. Those who are now Crown lessees will, after the land has been taken over by the Commonwealth, be still Crown lessees, but lessees of the Commonwealth, and not of the New South Wales Government; whilst, so far as private owners are concerned, they will hold their land from the Commonwealth.

Mr. EWING.—But the Commonwealth Government will buy them out?

Mr. BATCHELOR.—Yes, and we shall give them the absolute value of their land.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—What need is there to put that in this Bill?

Mr. BATCHELOR.—We are not putting that in this Bill. We are not, in this Bill, laying down any system of land tenure. We do not here say that the land shall not be sold, or anything of the kind. All that we propose to say here is that a certain area shall be acquired as Federal territory, and that it shall be large enough to take in what we consider will be the sphere of influence of Federal expenditure on the Capital.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The Government insist, I understand, that the area shall be 900 square miles in extent?

Mr. BATCHELOR.—The Government do insist upon that. But we do not propose to go to the New South Wales Government and say, "We insist upon 900 square miles." We desire, if possible, to come to an agreement with the New South Wales Government, and we have no reason to believe that they will not agree to the proposal we make. What is proposed cannot be held to be a disadvantage to New South Wales, nor will it be any disadvantage to the people resident within the territory. There will be a change of jurisdiction and Government in respect to the territory, and that is practically all the effect that the taking over of this land by the Commonwealth will have.

Mr. MCWILLIAMS.—But, instead of remaining owners, the existing owners of land within the territory will become lessees of the Commonwealth Government?

Mr. BATCHELOR.—That is a question to be decided afterwards, when the policy governing land tenure is adopted.

Mr. WATSON.—But we are not going to allow private ownership to continue in the heart of the Capital city.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—Of course not, but we are not now threshing out the details of the system of ownership to be adopted. I hope that the Committee will adhere to the area proposed by the Government. The question whether we should use the word "shall" or "should" does not appear to me to be of special importance.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK (Parramatta).—I refrained from saying anything in moving the amendment, because I thought there would be but little debate. In the first place, I am very much interested in hearing the Minister say that this matter of the area of the Federal territory is not to be an open question, as other provisions of the Bill and other parts of the procedure

have been. But when the honorable member makes a distinction of that kind, I wish he would be a little more explicit, and would tell the Committee just what he do mean. Are we to understand that if an area other than that proposed by the Government is carried by the Committee the Government will refuse to go with the Bill?

Mr. WATSON.—No.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—That would be the general acceptance of such a declaration as has been made.

Mr. WATSON.—We have said that it has been an open question with Ministers, as some provisions of the Bill. They have voted against each other in the matter of the selection of the site, for example; but this matter of the area is a Government question.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—But, so far as Ministerial responsibility is concerned, it still to be an open question?

Mr. WATSON.—Not at all. It is a Ministerial question. We are in agreement upon it.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Are we to understand that the Committee may do as they please, and that the intention only is that the Ministry shall vote together on the matter.

Mr. WATSON.—Certainly.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Then I understand the position. I look upon this matter in the light of the genesis of the whole proceeding in another place. I put the statements made use of in arguing the question in another place alongside the very attenuated statements which have been made by Ministers in this Chamber. When the question had its rise in another Chamber under the control of the Government, and certainly without any effort on their part to check or curb the extravagant language there indulged in—

Mr. BATCHELOR.—The Bill of last year provided for an area of 1,000 square miles.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—It was acknowledged that the original intention was to make socialistic experiments.

Mr. WATSON.—On 900 square miles I gave the honorable member credit for more intelligence.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—If the Prime Minister would be more patient, and refrain from interjection, he would hear what I have to say.

Mr. WATSON.—There is no proposal of the Government for any larger area.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I can say that a member of the Labour Party in another place proposed an area the sides of which would be seventy-five miles long, and he changed that subsequently to an area containing 5,000 square miles. His idea was, and he made no secret of it, to give the various States an object lesson, not only in land nationalization, but also in the nationalization of industries.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—The honorable member is only knocking down a straw.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The honorable gentleman may fine it down as he pleases, but he is aware that it was intended that a social experiment should be undertaken, and that that was the root of the whole proposal.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—That is utter nonsense.

Mr. WATSON.—On 900 square miles?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The Prime Minister has said that the Government desire to retain the unearned increment, or to get as much of it as possible, for the citizens of the Commonwealth.

Mr. WATSON.—I should say so, and so would any other patriotic man.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Is not that a social experiment?

Mr. WATSON.—Not of the nature at which the honorable member is hinting.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The honorable gentleman is too impatient to listen to me. I say that he is anxious to make a social experiment, and I think I do the honorable gentleman no injustice in saying that.

Mr. WATSON.—I say that there is no social experiment in the retention of the freehold of the land.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—It is an experiment as applied to a whole country.

Mr. WATSON.—The Government, of which the honorable member was a member, carried that through in New South Wales, and I helped them.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—No; not in the same way.

Mr. WATSON.—In a more wholesale fashion.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I have no objection to what the honorable gentleman is proposing to do; but I see no reason for enlarging the area beyond what is prescribed in the Constitution.

Mr. WATSON.—It is not beyond what is prescribed by the Constitution.

The CHAIRMAN.—Interjections are becoming rather too frequent. I suggest

to the honorable member for Parramatta that he should not adopt the interrogative form of speech, and I ask Ministers not to interrupt the honorable member.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I am only anxious for information, and I should like to address some more interrogations to Ministers. I want to know what is the intention of the Government in connexion with this matter; they have not yet explained. If the two Houses reach agreement, will the Bill be sent on in the ordinary way for the approval of the Governor-General? If so, I should like to know what the position of the Government will then be, as negotiators with the New South Wales Government? Can the Commonwealth Government say to the New South Wales Government, "We want to negotiate with you as to the area of the Federal Capital," and at the same time, say, "Here are our limitations, hard and fast, under the seal of the Governor-General"? How can the Commonwealth Government begin to negotiate in a matter which has already been determined by the Parliament?

Mr. ISAACS.—Are the Government to have no limitations?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Yes; and I think those limitations should have been prescribed in a series of resolutions affirming the opinion of this House.

Mr. ISAACS.—Where is the difference?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The difference is that we "determine" an area, and immediately instruct the Government to set about altering that area. Otherwise, where is the object of the negotiations?

Mr. GROOM.—If we fixed the area by resolution, would the position not be the same?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The difficulty I see is that here is a Bill to determine the Seat of Government; and I take it that when the act of determination is complete, the transaction is complete, so far as we are concerned. Yet we are told that Ministers, at that point, must begin to reopen the matter which we have just determined. The whole proceeding seems to my mind, if I may say so without offence, to be just a little absurd. The proper course would have been to get an expression of opinion as clear and definite as we chose—but still only an expression of opinion—from each of the two Houses of the Commonwealth Parliament, and when those expressions of opinion had been brought into agreement, to begin the negotiations. The Commonwealth Government will look

very strange if, after we have determined the Seat of Government and its size, they have to begin to negotiate with an entirely different body for the purpose of settling these very matters. This clause seems to me to be entirely unnecessary; but if we do perpetrate this legislative absurdity—for I can call it nothing else—we had better stick to the terms of the Constitution. The amendment simply re-enacts the language of the Constitution, to which no exception can be taken. But when 900 square miles, or 5,000 square miles as has been suggested, or a square, each side of which is seventy-five miles long, is put forward as the irreducible area—

Mr. BATCHELOR.—It has not been said that the territory should be a square, each side of which should be seventy-five miles long.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—But that was suggested in another place. I remind honorable members that the proposal to have an area of 5,000 square miles was only defeated by fourteen votes against ten—an almost equal division. We should, therefore, meet the other Chamber with a simple expression of our opinion that the terms of the Constitution ought to be adhered to, at any rate in this period of negotiation. It is time to fix our ultimate determination after the negotiations have been completed, and when New South Wales has had, as she is entitled to have, and as the Constitution contemplates she shall have, some voice as to the location and size of the Federal territory.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH (Parkes).—Like the honorable member who has just spoken, I carefully refrained from contributing to the series of debates which have taken place on this measure, because it was evident that a large enough number of honorable members were taking part in it to bring it sooner or later to a satisfactory settlement. But at this stage I feel compelled to repeat some observations which I made last year upon this very question. The honorable member who has just sat down, has expressed an opinion with which I heartily agree. It seems to me that the whole difficulty which has arisen is the result of a misconceived form of procedure. I ask honorable members to allow me to read that section of the Constitution dealing with this matter; and I think it will then be evident to everybody who regards the question from a thoroughly impartial stand-point, that the whole procedure in regard to this Bill is misconceived. I ask honorable members to place

on section 125 of the Constitution an interpretation of an every-day, common-place character, and then to say whether we are not putting the cart before the horse. Section 125 is as follows:—

The Seat of Government of the Commonwealth shall be determined by the Parliament, and shall be within territory, which shall have been granted to or acquired by the Commonwealth, and shall be vested in, and belong to the Commonwealth. . . .

There is no mistake; the meaning is no land which shall be granted in the future but land which "shall have been granted or acquired by the Commonwealth. Any one who reads that section in an ordinary way can come to no other conclusion than that it was contemplated that this House should in some way or other, intimate to the State Parliament of New South Wales the particular territory within which it was desired to select a Capital site; that the New South Wales Government should then be invited by this House—not that this House should demand it—to place the territory, including the proposed site, at the disposal of the Parliament; and that this Parliament should then pass an Act determining the site within the territory which had been so granted to the New South Wales Parliament. It has been suggested, in the course of the debate that we should introduce into this Bill the word "should" instead of "shall."

Mr. McLEAN.—Would the honorable and learned member propose to first buy the land, and afterwards select the site?

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—No, I should not; I should recommend that whatever area is determined upon should be communicated by resolution to the New South Wales Parliament; that the New South Wales Parliament should then be invited to place that territory at the disposal of the Federal Parliament; that the Federal Parliament should select its Capital site within that territory, and if it wanted further territory, the latter should be acquired either by Act of Parliament or by private purchase.

Mr. ISAACS.—Does the honorable and learned member say that the land has been granted by New South Wales before we determine the site?

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—The land should be granted before we determine the site.

Mr. ISAACS.—Before we know where we are going to have the site?

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—I refer to the honorable and learned member for his opinion to the Constitution. I am not saying what I wish, nor am I saying what

honorable and learned member would like to have done. I am referring only to the Constitution to show what must be done in order to conform with its provisions.

Mr. McLEAN.—Does not that section of the Constitution simply mean that before the Capital is built, the land shall have been granted or acquired?

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—I ask the honorable member for Gippsland to apply to this question the same common sense which he would apply to any business transaction in which he was engaged. I understand the words "shall have been" in section 125 to mean something that has occurred beforehand; not something that is to occur in the future.

Mr. ISAACS.—Occurred before what?

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—If the Constitution had intended that the Capital was to be within territory which should be granted in the future, it would have said, "which shall be granted," and not "which shall have been granted."

Mr. McLEAN.—I should construe that section to mean that the territory must be selected, then acquired, and the Seat of Government then built.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—I am quite with the honorable member, who will see how the difficulty of the "shall" and "should" could have been got over. Instead of passing an Act of Parliament, laying it down in black and white where the territory shall be, of how much land it shall consist, and where the Capital city shall be, and thereby tying the hands of Ministers, who are supposed to negotiate, we should have passed a resolution merely intimating the wishes of the Federal Parliament, as to the particular site which it was desired should be placed at our disposal. Ministers would then have had a free hand to negotiate, and to induce the New South Wales Government to place that territory at our disposal; and as soon as the land had been granted, we should have been in a position to choose the Capital site.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—The honorable and learned member voted for "should" last year.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—After the Bill had been passed. But I shall repeat what I said in 1903. On that occasion, after reading section 125, I said—

Evidently the framers of the Constitution assumed either that some State would grant certain territory, or that the Commonwealth would acquire certain territory, before Parliament chose a site, and, therefore, the section provides that

the Seat of Government shall be determined by the Parliament, not within territory which shall be granted or acquired, but within territory which shall have been granted or acquired. No territory has been granted or acquired, and yet we are asked to pass a Bill to determine the Seat of Government of the Commonwealth.

The CHAIRMAN.—I draw the attention of the honorable and learned member to the fact that we are discussing the word "nine," in relation to the question of the area, and not the word "shall."

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—The question of the use of the word "shall" or "should" has been discussed at great length by the right honorable member for East Sydney, who has been answered by the Minister.

The CHAIRMAN.—I understood that the right honorable member for East Sydney was to conclude with an amendment which would have necessitated the withdrawal of the amendment now before the Committee.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—I hope I shall be allowed to answer one observation made by the Minister.

The CHAIRMAN.—But if I allow the honorable and learned member to do that, I shall have to allow other honorable members the same latitude.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—The debate has now gone on for two hours, and I have naturally come into it in order to deal with the questions which have been discussed.

The CHAIRMAN.—If the honorable member for Parramatta asks leave to withdraw his amendment, and the Committee agree to that course, it will be competent for the honorable and learned member for Parkes to discuss the word "shall."

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I ask leave to withdraw the amendment.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—I do not now propose to debate the question further whether the wishes of the House should have been expressed in the form of a Bill; it is too late to do so. Last year, on the same ground, I took this exception to the Seat of Government Bill when it was before the House. I expressed privately to the then Prime Minister the opinion which I am now expressing, namely, that having regard to the wording of section 125, the wishes of the House should have been expressed in the form of a resolution. That course would have got rid of all the difficulty about going to the Government of New South Wales, "pistol in hand"; it would have enabled Ministers to approach the Government of New South Wales, and

negotiate with them, with a free hand, for the purpose of having certain territory placed at the disposal of this Parliament. To show that I am not speaking without authority, I ask the Committee to listen to the following passage from Quick and Garrahan's *Annotated Constitution of the Australian Commonwealth*:—

The chief question which has arisen in connexion with these words is whether the determination of the Seat of Government rests, in the last resort, solely with the Federal Parliament, or whether the Federal Parliament is limited in its choice to sites offered by the Parliament of New South Wales. The opening words of the section strongly favour the former view; but it has been argued that the words "shall be within territory which shall have been granted to or acquired by the Commonwealth" point to a prior Act of Cession by the Parliament of New South Wales.

Therefore I am not alone in the view I hold as to the meaning of the words in the Constitution, and I need not remind honorable members that in the interpretation of an Act of Parliament it is the commonly-accepted reading of a section which is taken by a Court. There cannot be two interpretations of the words "shall have been granted," because, if the Constitution had contemplated that the Federal Parliament would choose a site within territory to be granted in the future, as we are proposing to do, the words "shall have been granted" would not have been used. I do not, I say, contend that we should now seriously consider the substitution of a resolution for an Act of Parliament; but what I have said is a strong argument in favour of our limiting ourselves to the selection of a site. If, as the honorable member for Parramatta has pointed out, we not only provide in an Act of Parliament for the determination of a certain site, but lay down the area and the limitations of the Federal territory, our Ministers will have no power of negotiation. Imagine the Prime Minister of the Commonwealth approaching the Premier of New South Wales and saying, "The Parliament of the Commonwealth has passed an Act 'determining' where the Seat of Government shall be, and I now come to you, in accordance with the terms of the Constitution, to ask you to place certain territory at our disposal." The Premier of New South Wales might be willing to talk about it; but the Prime Minister of the Commonwealth would have to say, "I cannot negotiate with you, because the Federal Parliament has determined where the Seat of Government shall be, and what the limitations and the area of the Federal territory shall be." If he came back to this House and proposed the

acceptance of a smaller area than we determined upon, we should be in the extraordinary position of having demanded by Act of Parliament, something which should have to subsequently forego. Would this Parliament then pass an amending bill going back upon the original measure? If the Minister in charge of the Bill how would propose to act under such circumstances. If the Premier of New South Wales said, "The Constitution provides that the Commonwealth shall have not less than 100 square miles, and we are willing to give you 200 or 300 square miles, but will not entertain a demand for 900 square miles, we should be in the rather unpleasant position of having determined upon a certain territory which we could not get." The Premier of New South Wales might well say, "You have followed a wrong procedure. Under the Constitution you should have come to us, and told us where you desired your Capital site to be. Then we should have asked you to place at your disposal such territory as you want, and as we are willing to give. Afterwards, it would be for you to determine where the Capital should be within the territory then granted by us." I do not, I repeat, make the impracticable proposal that we should revert to the passing of a resolution; but, having made the mistake of passing in a Bill what should have been in the form of a motion—a measure which has been pointed out more than once, both to the last Government and to this Government—we should take care that the measure is sufficiently elastic to give Ministers a free hand, subject to the confirmation of Parliament, to negotiate with the Government of New South Wales. This can be done only by limiting ourselves to an expression of opinion, such as we have in clause 2, as to where the Seat of Government should be. Having done this, and a debate having taken place as to what should be the extent of the Commonwealth territory, we should refrain from passing clause 3, and leave it to Ministers to negotiate with the Government of New South Wales on the subject.

Mr. WEBSTER.—Could we not indicate what area we desire?

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—Yes; but the honorable member sees the objection which has been offered to the use, in the Bill, of any other word than the word "shall." The right honorable member for East Sydney has pointed out, it would be very wise to introduce into clause 3 a direction

torial direction as to the area which the Government of New South Wales should place at our disposal. I see very grave objection to the proposed insertion of the words "not less than 900 square miles." I know that there are certain honorable members—though I am not aware who they are—who think that the harbor of Twofold Bay should be within the Federal territory. If that be agreed upon, whatever territory is arranged for should extend down to the sea, and include Twofold Bay; but if Dalgety were chosen as the site of the Seat of Government, more than 900 square miles of territory would be required to take in that Bay, because its distance from Dalgety is 110 miles.

MR. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—Seventy miles is the exact distance.

MR. BRUCE SMITH.—An honorable member who I believe to be well versed in the subject has stated that the distance is 110 miles. That being so, if we selected Dalgety, and wished to take in Twofold Bay, we should have to arrange for a territory 110 miles long and eight or nine miles broad, which would be an absurdity. If, on the other hand, it is intended to acquire all the country within thirty miles of the Seat of Government, in order to preserve to the Commonwealth whatever value may be added to it by the presence of the Capital, it will be impossible to take in Twofold Bay. I ask honorable members whether they have any data for a reasonable expectation that there will be any great increment of value. Every one who regards the probable future of the Capital without enthusiastic and wild expectation, must arrive at the conclusion that it cannot become a great commercial centre. Commercial centres are not made; they evolve out of the economic circumstances of the country. One cannot, by establishing the Parliament in a certain place, evolve a commercial centre out of the few hotels and boarding-houses which will be erected for the convenience of those who have to go there.

MR. WEBSTER.—Not without other attractions.

MR. BRUCE SMITH.—If the circumstances of the city are such as to make it an attractive sanatorium for the whole of Australia, a small town may grow up, such as Bowral or Moss Vale, where a large number of people may go in the summer months; but honorable members have only to look at the sanatoria of Australia of thirty years' growth to see that the expected

increment will be infinitesimal. To suppose that there is going to be any substantial increment at a distance of fifteen miles on either side of the Parliament House, in a district where commerce has never shown an inclination to concentrate, is not worthy of sensible men, nor would the probability justify the incurring of responsibility in holding an unnecessarily large tract of land. I shall, therefore, if the occasion arises, vote against the proposal to determine that the area of the Seat of Government shall be not less than 900 square miles. We have no right to ask New South Wales to cede such an area. The Minister instanced the separation of Victoria and of Queensland as still greater concessions, but that was an entirely different matter. At the time, New South Wales was an enormous territory which had not developed to anything like the present importance of the State; and to secure better local Government, a large part of the southern portion was made into the new Colony of Victoria, while the State of Queensland was divided off on the north. What right have we, however, when the people of New South Wales have accepted a Constitution providing for a territory of "not less than 100 square miles," to ask them to place at our disposal nine times that area?

MR. WEBSTER.—The Constitution does not say definitely that the area shall be 100 square miles.

MR. BRUCE SMITH.—I admit that the Constitution says "not less than 100 square miles"; but if we were to ask our constituents for £1,000 a year, on the ground that Parliament has the power to increase our remuneration to that amount, or if the Governor-General were to say—"It is provided in the Constitution that I am to have not less than £10,000 per annum, and therefore I ask for £50,000," the people would stand aghast. The people of New South Wales would regard the request for a larger area of territory for the Seat of Government in a similar manner. If this clause were omitted altogether we should be in the same position that we should have occupied if a resolution had been adopted. The Bill might then be regarded as a rather didactical expression of opinion on the part of this Parliament that we desired the Capital to be at such and such a place. It would then be open, and it is desirable that it should be open, for the Government to approach New South Wales and ask—not demand, but ask—them to place at the disposal of the

Commonwealth Parliament such territory, of an area of not less than 100 square miles, as they felt disposed to give us. I submit, therefore, that although the Government have taken an entirely wrong course in bringing in a Bill instead of submitting a resolution, we should now do our best to so frame the Bill that it will indicate clearly what the Commonwealth Parliament desires with regard to the position of the site, at the same time leaving as much flexibility as possible for the negotiations between the Government and New South Wales. We should not pass a Bill laying down in definite terms what shall be the area of the territory, because if we do so we shall inevitably tie the hands of the Government, and assume a somewhat offensive attitude towards the Government of New South Wales, which may stand much in the way of our success in dealing with them.

Mr. ISAACS (Indi).—I have the misfortune to differ very materially from the honorable and learned member for Parkes. I think we should be very careful to remember our duties as well as our rights under the Constitution, and that it has been committed to the Federal Parliament to determine the site of the Federal Capital, and the extent of the area of the Federal territory.

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—Without limit.

Mr. ISAACS.—Without any further limit than the reasonable discretion of this Parliament.

Mr. JOHNSON.—Where does the Constitution give us that authority?

Mr. ISAACS.—I am astonished that any honorable member should overlook, not merely the right, but the duty, of this Parliament to exercise its discretion as to the matters intrusted to it.

Mr. JOHNSON.—Yes, as to the Seat of Government, not the Federal territory.

Mr. ISAACS.—Does the honorable member mean to say that the Constitution committed to the Government of New South Wales the sole right to determine the area of the Federal territory? Does any honorable member mean to say that we have nothing to do but to determine the spot upon which the Federal Capital shall be built, and that, even as to that, we are to go cap-in-hand to the New South Wales Government; that we are to admit that it is only by their permission that the place we think most desirable can be selected as the site of the Seat of Government, and that if they do

not choose to give us that site we shall perforce have to go wherever else they wish? New South Wales made it an essential part of the bargain that the Federal Capital should be established within that State, and with that condition, and the further limitation that the Capital should not be within 100 miles of Sydney, the Constitution provides that it shall be left to the discretion of the Federal Parliament to determine where the Capital shall be, and that the Capital when established shall be within territory of a certain size at least. When the Federal Parliament has determined in its wisdom where the Capital shall be, and what area shall be embraced within the territory surrounding it, then, and then only, will the New South Wales Government be free to exercise its discretion and accede to our request or refuse it.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—Then, according to the honorable and learned member's argument, we are at the mercy of New South Wales?

Mr. ISAACS.—Not solely at the mercy of New South Wales. The argument used by some honorable members would lead us to suppose that this Parliament has nothing to say with regard to the determination of the Seat of Government. I contend, however, that this Parliament has not only the first word, but also the last word, although New South Wales also has necessarily some voice in the matter.

Mr. JOHNSON.—How does the honorable member view the provision in the Constitution that the Capital shall be situated within territory "which shall have been granted to or acquired by the Commonwealth."

Mr. ISAACS.—The Constitution provides that the Seat of Government shall be determined by the Parliament of the Commonwealth. It may be determined at any time. It is further provided that the Seat of Government shall be—that is, when it exists—within territory which shall have been granted to or acquired by the Commonwealth. That is to say, we can determine now, or at any future time where the Capital shall be. But when it is established—at the moment of its establishment—it shall be within territory which shall have been already granted to or acquired by the Commonwealth. The granting to the Commonwealth, or the acquisition by the Commonwealth, is antecedent to the establishment of the Capital, but not to the determination of the Seat of Government.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—This Bill determines the territory in which the Capital shall be established, and the area of such territory.

Mr. ISAACS.—The honorable and learned member is departing slightly from his original argument.

Mr. JOHNSON.—But suppose the Government of New South Wales refused to grant the territory desired by the Commonwealth?

Mr. ISAACS.—Then the Capital could not be established unless this Parliament determined to take private land for the purpose. We might, if we chose, select a station embracing a sufficient area of land, and acquire it for the purpose of establishing the Federal Capital. Therefore, we are not wholly dependent upon the New South Wales Government. All that depends upon them is the grant of Crown land free of payment, and the Commonwealth has a power of acquisition, with regard to land other than Crown lands which may be obtained by grant. Honorable members grasp the wrong end of the stick when they say that all we have to do is merely to say that the Capital shall be at Dalgety, and to go no further; to give instruction to the Government; to let them enter upon negotiations with the New South Wales Government, and, if that Government chooses to say, "We will give you only 100 square miles," to rest content. Is that the will of Parliament? I think not.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—If we cannot get any more, what are we to do?

Mr. ISAACS.—Then we should determine not to establish the Capital there.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—That is a distinctly Victorian view of the question.

Mr. JOHNSON.—According to the honorable and learned member the Commonwealth could demand from New South Wales the whole of her territory.

Mr. ISAACS.—We are not doing anything of that kind. As a member of this Parliament I am not willing to surrender the rights and discretion of this Parliament to the will of any State. If in our wisdom we thought that the future requirements of the Federal Capital rendered advisable a reservation of 500, 600, or 900 square miles, should we establish the Capital in a particular area, even though we could secure only 100 square miles? That is not my view. Although I have been from the first determined that there should be no unnecessary delay in the establishment of

the Federal Capital, I am not willing to surrender the duty imposed upon me as a member of this Parliament to see that the best is done for Australia. We have been told that it is our duty to say nothing about the extent of the territory.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—At present.

Mr. ISAACS.—Are we ever to do so?

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—Yes, certainly.

Mr. ISAACS.—Then let us consider where that would lead us. We have been told that we should first pass a resolution indicating our desire for certain territory, and that the Government should then negotiate, and, if possible, secure such territory. How could the Government be empowered to do that by resolution? How could they go to the New South Wales Government and say, "We want certain territory"?

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—The resolution would confer the necessary power.

Mr. ISAACS.—Could the Government, in such a case, guarantee that the Federal Parliament would afterwards determine that the Capital should be established within that territory? Certainly not. Suppose the New South Wales Government said, "We will grant you 100 square miles," and the Federal Parliament afterwards determined that the Capital should not be situated within the territory granted by New South Wales? What would then happen? Are we to hamper any future Parliament? We might pass a resolution to-day, and the Government might enter into negotiations, and before the acquisition of the land was concluded, another Parliament might come into existence, and say, "We think that the site selected is an improper one, and we shall not establish the Capital there."

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—We should not be in any worse position than if we passed this Bill.

Mr. ISAACS.—I differ entirely from my honorable and learned friend. If we once pass a Bill enacting that the Capital shall be in a certain spot, and that the Federal territory shall contain a certain area, the moment the territory is acquired the Capital will necessarily be established. In that case, there would be a determination within the meaning of the Constitution; whereas a resolution could not be regarded as embodying a determination. Suppose, for instance, we could not obtain quite 100 square miles, or quite 900 square miles—according to the terms of the resolution—would the Government be empowered to acquire private land to make

good the deficiency? I cannot see that a resolution would convey any such authority. Is it to be said that all the land is to be granted or acquired by the Federal Parliament, and the price paid for it, and that then the Federal Parliament is to set about considering whether that territory should embrace the site of the Federal Capital? With all respect to my honorable friends, it appears to me to be absurd to advance any such contention.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—A resumption Act would have to be passed to empower the Government to take the land, and compensate the owners.

Mr. ISAACS.—What we have to do at present is perfectly plain. We have to determine where the Capital shall be, and also the area of public land that shall surround it, and when that is done, and only then, the Government will have a mandate to set about negotiating with the Government of New South Wales, with a view to ascertain whether the desired territory can be obtained. If we can secure it all will be plain; if we cannot obtain all we require in the shape of Crown lands by grant we can acquire the balance.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—How are we to acquire it?

Mr. ISAACS.—Under an Act of Parliament.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—Exactly; under a resumption Act.

Mr. ISAACS.—A resumption Act would be required under any scheme. We should have to pass a law providing for the resumptions and the payment of a fair price for the land. We should, however, proceed about our work in an orderly manner, and not in the haphazard way suggested by some honorable members. If we do not pass this clause we shall simply enact that the Capital shall be in a certain spot, and, at the same time, say, in effect, "We care not whether or not the territory embraces only 100 square miles." That is not the will of this Parliament. If we once did that, New South Wales could turn round and say "We shall not give you more than 100 square miles. You have already determined the Seat of the Government, and you cannot help yourselves." If I thought for a moment that the use of the word "shall," in connexion with the decision as to the area to be comprised within the Federal territory, would offer, in the smallest degree, an affront to New South Wales, I

should be one of the first to agree to substitute some other expression. In my view, however, it would do nothing of the kind. It is not a mandate, but merely a declaration in ordinary parliamentary form to the area which shall be embraced within the Federal territory. The clause is a simple declaration that, in the opinion of this Parliament—and this is the only opinion in which Parliament can express opinion definitely—the Federal territory must contain an area of so many square miles. Then, if New South Wales sets its way to give us such territory, we establish the Capital.

Mr. KELLY.—In other words, we should not honour the bond unless we get something for it.

Mr. ISAACS.—Does the honorable member contend that the Federal compact requires us to give New South Wales the Capital; and that New South Wales is to have the sole voice in determining the extent of the Federal territory.

Mr. KELLY.—It must contain an area "not less than 100 square miles."

Mr. ISAACS.—Of course. But an honorable friend wishes to read into the Constitution the words "not more" than 100 square miles.

Mr. KELLY.—Not unreasonably more.

Mr. ISAACS.—When a power is vested in Parliament there is no limitation regarding the exercise of that power, save its own discretion.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Then why limit the power of this Parliament in regard to the smallness of the territory?

Mr. ISAACS.—That condition was imposed by the will of the people, who declared that the area of the Seat of Government should embrace at least 100 square miles, and as much more as Parliament chose to acquire.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Why should the Parliament be fettered at all?

Mr. ISAACS.—The question which an honorable member should put is, "Why did not the Constitution fix the area?" The fact remains that it did not. It left the matter to be determined by this Parliament. I am not urging that 900 square miles is a proper area to acquire. What I am arguing is that it is for this Parliament to decide what is a proper area. The decision is not left to the will or discretion of any State.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—It is not left to this Parliament, either.

Mr. ISAACS.—It is for this Parliament to say, as a condition precedent to the establishment of the Seat of Government what area the Federal territory shall comprise. I read into section 125 of the Constitution, practically a direction that Parliament shall determine the area of the Federal territory. Seeing that the Constitution provides that that territory shall embrace not less than 100 square miles, it stands to reason that somebody must determine its extent. Surely it is not a matter for the Government to settle, and as it cannot be settled by the High Court, it must have been left to Parliament to determine.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The area of 100 square miles mentioned in the Constitution is in itself a limitation.

Mr. ISAACS.—It is a minimum limitation.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Parliament cannot enact that the territory shall contain an area of ninety-nine square miles.

Mr. ISAACS.—Exactly. Therefore I say that where the Constitution intends that a limitation shall be imposed upon Parliament, it expressly declares it, and where it does not intend that a maximum limitation shall apply, it does not declare it. It is idle to talk about what is reasonable. Who is to determine that?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The limitation is practically in the nature of a general direction.

Mr. ISAACS.—The limitation is to be found in our own discretion, and I hope that that will always be reasonably exercised. When we come to determine the area of the Federal territory, which is a totally different matter from that with which we are now dealing, it will no doubt be decided by the best evidence we can bring to bear upon it. I hope that nobody will even consider that by agreeing to the proposal of the Government we shall offer an affront to New South Wales. That is a course of action which I for one would not tolerate for an instant. I do say, however, that this provision is merely a declaration in ordinary enacting form of the will of Parliament. We have declared that the Seat of Government shall be within seventeen miles of Dalgety. Why should we say to New South Wales, "We shall have that site or we shall take no other?" But we do say it. We declare "We will not have the Capital at all unless you permit it to be located there." Suppose that New

South Wales replies, "Oh, no; we are perfectly willing to provide you with land at Lyndhurst or Lake George, but we are not prepared to give you land at Dalgety."

Mr. KELLY.—Does not the Constitution give us the absolute power to choose a site?

Mr. ISAACS.—Of course it does, and it also gives us absolute power to fix the area of the Federal territory. It does not limit that area; it merely fixes the minimum.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—And contains a general direction regarding that area.

Mr. ISAACS.—No; it is not a general direction. Upon one point I agree with the honorable and learned member for Parkes, who affirms that having fixed the site of the Seat of Government at Dalgety it is essential that we should have free access to it.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—I did not say that. I argued upon the hypothesis that some honorable members might think it necessary that there should be free access to the Seat of Government.

Mr. ISAACS.—Perhaps I misunderstood my honorable friend.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—Most certainly.

Mr. ISAACS.—If the honorable and learned member did not argue in that way, he ought to have done so. At a later stage I intend to move that the following words be added to the clause, "and shall have access to the sea." I think it is in the highest degree important—

Sir JOHN FORREST.—It is 100 miles to the sea from Dalgety.

Mr. ISAACS.—I am informed that the distance is only seventy miles. At any rate, the Federal Capital should be freely accessible from the sea. I believe that the Federation ought to have full and unimpeded means of access to the Seat of Government from the sea. It ought to have the means of constructing its own railways. It ought not to be dependent on the goodwill of any State in regard to intervening land. For instance, we ought not to be entirely at the mercy of New South Wales, however well disposed that State might be, in regard to the means of access to the Federal Capital. We ought not to be compelled to travel to Cooma in order to reach Dalgety, but access to the Seat of Government through Federal territory and by Federal means of transit should be open to all the States in common.

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—The better plan would be to resume the whole of New South Wales.

Mr. ISAACS.—Is the area of that State so limited that it cannot afford to part with what is equivalent to thirty miles square?

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—That is not the provision which is contained in the Bill.

Mr. ISAACS.—The measure provides for the acquisition of a territory comprising 900 square miles.

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—No. It provides for the acquisition of an area of not less than 900 square miles. The honorable and learned member wishes the Federal territory to extend to the sea.

Mr. ISAACS.—Undoubtedly I do.

Mr. KELLY.—Does the honorable and learned member wish to preserve the unearned increment for the Commonwealth?

Mr. ISAACS.—That is quite another question. I am dealing now with the means of access to the Seat of Government. I take it that to provide for the expansion of the Federal Capital—irrespective of whether it has a commercial future or only a political one—a very considerable area of territory ought to be acquired. Looking to the future, we ought to see that provision is made for access to the Seat of Government from Twofold Bay through Federal territory.

Mr. McWILLIAMS.—Then we ought to select Bombala.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—Why so?

Mr. McWILLIAMS.—Because it is much closer to the sea than is Dalgety.

Mr. ISAACS.—I am not discussing that matter at the present time. I think I have said all that I proposed to say, and I do hope that honorable members will recollect—as the other Chamber has recollected—that they are here to declare their will fearlessly, without offence to any State or any person. At the same time, I am absolutely certain that we are not doing anything offensive to the great State of New South Wales—I hope nobody will ever dream that we are—by affirming in plain, simple language, our determination in regard to the area which the Federal territory shall embrace. Under these circumstances, I trust that the Government will retain the clause in its present form.

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON (North Sydney).—The speech of the honorable and learned member for Indi—which I will not venture to question from the standpoint of the legal interpretation which he places on this provision—rather aston-

ished me, so far as it related to claim which he considers the Commonwealth has upon New South Wales in regard to the Federal territory. He states that rather than surrender to the will of any State he would refuse to choose a site for the Seat of Government. I can understand that declaration coming from an honorable member who desires to indefinitely postpone the selection of the Federal Capital, but I cannot understand it coming from one who is ready to promptly give effect to the provisions of the Constitution. Is our will—whatever it may be—with consideration of the rights, the equity, and even the sentiments of New South Wales, to be enforced upon that State, if that State declines to allow of its enforcement, are we to declare that we will not give effect to the provisions of the Constitution?

Mr. ISAACS.—That is not what I said. What I said, in effect, was that the will of no State should be allowed to stand in the way of national sentiment and national requirements.

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—According to the view entertained by the honorable and learned member, no consideration should be given to the request of that State for ordinary fair treatment, in regard to what was understood to be the meaning of the Constitution. He has told us that according to his legal opinion, every inch of the State of New South Wales could be resumed by the Commonwealth for Federal territory.

Mr. ISAACS.—Who said so?

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—The honorable and learned member said so.

Mr. ISAACS.—I beg the honorable member's pardon.

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—The honorable and learned member declared that no maximum area was imposed by the Constitution, but only a minimum, and that therefore, the Commonwealth can take as much as it sees fit. As a matter of fact, I do not think that is correct in my opinion upon legal matters against the view of the honorable and learned member. Still, there are many good lawyers who entertain a very different view. I think that a Court would decide that the area of the Federal territory must reasonably approximate to the minimum of 100 square miles prescribed by the Constitution, unless, as a matter of negotiation, New South Wales chooses to grant a much larger area. I

the honorable member for South Sydney, I am not averse to that State ceding a larger extent of territory if she chooses to do so, though I personally object to large areas.

MR. FISHER.—Suppose that New South Wales refuses to negotiate with the Commonwealth upon any terms other than by granting it a territory comprising 100 square miles?

MR. DUGALD THOMSON.—I do not say that that State has any right to adhere too closely to the minimum area of 100 square miles. The Constitution declares that there should be an extension of that area if necessary, but the extension should be merely of a give-and-take character, for which we see necessity, or consider the natural features of the country require it. The intention of the Convention in this connexion is very clear, although it was not the Convention which prescribed the minimum area of 100 square miles. The idea of the author of that limitation was that the Federal territory should embrace an area of approximately 100 square miles. The right honorable member for Swan was its author, and from the official report of the Convention debates, I find that when the area of that territory was under consideration, he interjected, "Make it 100 square miles." A little later, in speaking, he said—

I should like to see it laid down in the Bill that the Federal area shall contain not less than 100 square miles.

MR. GLYNN.—It was also intended that the large cities should be excluded from becoming the Seat of Government by that provision.

MR. DUGALD THOMSON.—I cannot say. It appears to me that on that point arguments were advanced upon both sides. Some desired to have the Seat of Government located in the capital of a State, and others did not. Evidently the right honorable member for Swan thought that 100 square miles was a desirable area to acquire, in order that the city might be laid out in a manner worthy of its importance. Subsequently the very words which he suggested in the speech to which I have referred were incorporated in the Premiers' agreement, and embodied in the Constitution, which was accepted by the people of Australia. I do not argue that the Government of New South Wales ought not to give every consideration to the requirements which the Commonwealth may put before it. We must have a given area. In some localities one area would be desir-

able, and in another a different area. When we demand from a State what we do not yet know will be of the slightest value to us, and without good reason say we must have our own way, we indicate a desire to humiliate that State. It is a proposal, by taking a large area, to cut ourselves off from the State, even if the characteristics of the country we acquire render that area undesirable. The Minister of Home Affairs referred to the question as if the Bill merely provided that an area of 900 square miles shall be acquired, and the honorable and learned member for India also spoke of the same area. I interjected at the time that the Bill provides not that an area of 900 square miles shall be acquired, but that an area of "not less than" 900 miles shall be secured. That is a very important distinction. Under the clause as it stands it would be possible for the Government to ask, as suggested by an honorable member of another place, for an area of 20,000 square miles. I am altogether opposed to the acquiring of a large area, although I am not averse to negotiations on the part of the Parliament for what may be considered a suitable piece of country. I am personally opposed to the acquiring of a large area simply because I consider that it would be undesirable. No unearned increment would attach to some of the territory taken under such a proposal as this, and it seems to me that in respect to some portion of the area the Commonwealth would regret the purchase that it would be compelled to make. If it be not intended that the area to be acquired shall exceed 900 square miles, why not insert in the Bill a provision to that effect? Why not provide that an area "not exceeding 900 square miles" shall be acquired? I believe, however, that objection could be taken to even such a limitation as that, because, by taking over a slightly increased area, we might be able to secure much better boundaries.

MR. ISAACS.—We might fix a minimum and a maximum; there might, perhaps, be some reason for that.

MR. DUGALD THOMSON.—The minimum is already fixed.

MR. ISAACS.—The honorable member is referring to the minimum fixed by the Constitution; I am speaking of a minimum and a maximum to be fixed by the Parliament.

MR. DUGALD THOMSON.—The honorable and learned member does not propose that the area to be acquired should exceed 900 square miles?

Mr. ISAACS.—No, I say that we might provide that the area shall be not less than 800 square miles, and not more than 900 square miles.

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—Such an alteration would hardly be worth making. The Minister of Home Affairs spoke of the way in which New South Wales had been whittled away since the establishment of that State, and seemed to think that it had become so accustomed to that process that we had only to continue it.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—I did not think anything of the kind.

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—The honorable gentleman said that this area and that area had been taken away from New South Wales.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—I said that there was a greater outcry over the proposal to acquire this territory than there was over making Queensland a separate Colony.

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—There were good reasons for the establishment of Queensland as a separate State, but I cannot see any reason for the proposal that, without knowing how the land is to be utilized, without a knowledge of the outlines of the territory, without any information as to what area in the vicinity of the Seat of Government is worth taking over, we should take over not less than 900 square miles, whether the land be good or not. We are to provide for a minimum, and to say to the people of New South Wales, "If you disagree with our proposal we have no right to surrender ourselves to your will, and you shall get no Capital in your State." That attitude might be followed by eventualities which I should be very sorry to see. In the interests, not of New South Wales, but of Australia, I am absolutely opposed to the idea that we should acquire a territory which we may approach without setting foot on New South Wales soil. If there be anything foreign to a Federal union it is the feeling that we cannot establish our Government in any State—I care not what State it is—without the expectation that the people of that State will become antagonistic to us. If honorable members hold such an opinion, I can only say that we have not advanced far towards the realization of the true spirit of Federal union.

Mr. FISHER.—Do not all our laws indicate that we have the power to compel the States to do certain things?

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—It is not even dreamt of in the Convention or the Federal Conference, and it has not been dreamt of in certain other Federations. What was the motto of those who advocated Federation? Was it not "One people, one destiny?" Yet here we are seen to make ourselves a separate people, to insult a State; to say to the people of that State, "We cannot put such trust in you as to allow it to be necessary for people to pass through your territory in order to reach the Federal Capital; we must be able to get from the Federal Capital to the sea without passing over a foot of soil. If we do not obtain that means of ingress, and of egress, we shall not establish our Capital in your State." Is that attitude that is calculated to breed good will between the States? Is that an attitude that is likely to make us one people with one destiny? I presume that if the area is obtained the Government will be for a large vote for fortifications, because of a fear that the people of New South Wales, or of the rest of Australia, will attack the Federal Executive. Instead of seeking to realize the Federal motto, "One people, one destiny," we are endeavouring to create two separate destinies for two people. We are saying, in effect, to the people of one State, comprising a third of the people of Australia, that we should trust ourselves to go among them, because if we did we might not be permitted to leave their territory. To my mind that is worse than ridiculous.

Mr. CONROY.—Why do we trust ourselves to come here?

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—If we were in danger here we might escape. We were lucky, by the Yarra, but the suggestion that we cannot trust a State to my mind, one of the lowest assumptions from which to regard the Federation. There are other good reasons for this proposal they may be considered; but can we expect any State to give us a portion of its coast line, and to cut off its own territory north and south, simply for the reason which is implied, if not expressed, that we cannot trust the people of the State to give us means of access and of egress from the Federal territory? I trust that the word "should" will be substituted for the word "shall" in the clause. The last Parliament adopted a courteous policy, and we should do the same. The honorable and learned member for Victoria says that in the Constitution the

'shall' is used in reference to the Seat of Government. In that respect greater courtesy was shown than is proposed to be displayed in connexion with the taking over of the Federal territory. The Government of New South Wales was communicated with in reference to the matter, but even before that stage had been reached it showed its willingness to assist the Federal Parliament in selecting the Seat of Government. It appointed a Commissioner, whom every one will admit was thoroughly impartial—a man without leanings to any State—to inspect a number of sites that were suggested. Over forty sites were put forward, and having inspected those which he considered at all suitable for the purpose, he furnished a report to the State Government. The State Government not only offered the Federal Parliament the choice of any of the best sites, but said—"As far as possible we shall reserve the Crown lands within these areas so that you may get as much as possible for nothing."

Mr. ISAACS.—I for one do not anticipate the slightest friction in this matter between the Commonwealth and the State.

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—If a demand be made for this large area of territory on the ground that we have a right to demand it—and I, in common with many legal authorities, doubt if we have that right—a difficulty will be created at the very outset.

Mr. ISAACS.—I have never said that we have a right to demand.

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—But the provision in the Bill is really a demand.

Mr. ISAACS.—It is merely an expression of our opinion.

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—I should certainly prefer to see the words referred to omitted, but, to meet the views of those who hold a different opinion, one of two other courses might be followed. We might, first of all, substitute the word "should" for the word "shall." That would be at least a courteous course to adopt. If the honorable and learned member for Indi thinks that the use of the word "should" would be less effective than would be the use of the word "shall," his opinion differs from that of others.

Mr. ISAACS.—Would it give the Ministry power to accept a less area?

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON. — The Ministry will not accept any area without submitting the matter to Parliament. I think that the Minister has already told us that that is their intention.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—I do not think that we should.

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—I certainly do not.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—The agreement should be submitted to Parliament.

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—It will come before the Parliament. Therefore, as a matter of courtesy, the use of the word "should," as agreed to by the last Parliament, is preferable to the use of the word "shall." I should like to see the clause so amended that it would provide that an area of "not more" than 900 square miles should be taken over, instead of an area of "not less than" 900 square miles. That would indicate, at all events, that there was some limit to the authority given to the Government, and to our desire for the acquisition of New South Wales' territory. According to the Minister of Home Affairs and others, it is not anticipated that more than 900 square miles will be required. It is rather extraordinary that the honorable and learned member for Indi voted to-day for the Upper Murray district, and that several other honorable members, who share his views on this point, did the same. Half of the unearned increment attaching to the selection of that site would have accrued to land on the Victorian side of the Murray. What, therefore, becomes of the argument as to the unearned increment? I do not know what weight the honorable and learned member for Indi attaches to it.

Mr. ISAACS.—I did not say a word about it.

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON. — But many honorable members, who have advanced that argument, voted for the Upper Murray district, although the selection of that site would have meant that half of the unearned increment would apply to land in Victoria.

Mr. FISHER.—Parliament, in its wisdom, decided otherwise.

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—But it was a very close vote. Is it because the State of New South Wales is concerned that the unearned increment is demanded? I do not believe that, but look at the appearances. Some members were prepared to put the Capital in a situation where half the unearned increment would have gone into the pockets of an adjoining State; but when the Capital is fixed in another position, the State in which it is located is to have no advantage from the unearned increment.

Mr. FISHER.—We think that the people of Australia, who will have to find the money for the Capital, should have the benefit of the increment.

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—I have been contending that we have to consider the interests of the people of Australia, but some honorable members appear to think that we are choosing the Capital for the benefit of a separate people, and that it must be barricaded round and kept away from the rest of the people of Australia. I do not object in any way to the unearned increment, if there is any, being received by the Commonwealth Government, or the State Government; it does not matter which.

Mr. FISHER.—It should be received by the Federal Government, because the people of Australia will pay the money.

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—In any case the amount will not be great.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—It will pay the cost of the buildings, any way.

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—It is possible that, in the course of time, the value of the land within the Federal area may rise considerably, but not alone in consequence of the establishment of the Federal Capital there. The only suggested site where the unearned increment was likely to be considerable was Lyndhurst, because that is the only district which has great resources. But at Dalgety I am afraid that we shall have to wait for the unearned increment until land begins to get scarce in Australia. I was in Washington in 1884. It was then a skeleton city. I believe that it has improved very much since then. My visit was long after the city was established. I was amazed, first of all, at the beauty and expensiveness of the buildings, and also amazed to see that the cart-wheel streets that radiated from the centre, were nothing but skeleton streets with a few houses dotted here and there about them. I believe there has since been some considerable increase in the population.

Mr. GLYNN.—There are 300,000 people there now.

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—But does not that include the inhabitants of Georgetown, on the Potomac River? I doubt very much whether there are 300,000 people in the Federal territory.

Mr. GLYNN.—At the time of the century the population was given as 298,000.

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—It is a very small territory. The whole, including the river town, does not exceed 100 square miles.

Mr. CONROY.—Probably 200,000 of inhabitants are negroes.

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—In older town there are two blacks to a white, certainly, but in Washington it is that is not the case. The city may have increased considerably since I was there, apparently at that time there was very little unearned increment in Washington. If that was the case in Washington, which is situated close to the Potomac River, and right in the centre of busy coastal States, how much can we expect from an area situated in the midst of the Snowy Mountains at Dalgety? I am not finding fault with the site, but am simply pointing out that Dalgety is near no stream that reaches the sea.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The Snowy River runs to the sea.

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—I mean the stream by which traffic can reach the sea. No traffic can at any time reach the sea by means of the Snowy River. I accept the selection which Parliament has made, but I fear it will be a very long time before there is any unearned increment from the site selected.

Mr. WILKS (Dalley).—Whatever doubt I may have had in the early part of the debate have been entirely removed by the honorable and learned member for Invergowrie. He talked about Federal sentiment and Federal ties, but he desires to strike the hardest bargain possible with New South Wales. His steel-pointed and calloused idea with regard to the Capital site was enough to destroy the Federal spirit in almost any member of this Chamber. He talked as though a bargain was about to be made between two foreign countries—say, between Russia and Japan—on the conclusion of the present war.

Mr. ISAACS.—What is the hard bargain?

Mr. WILKS. — The honorable and learned member read the phrase “not less than 100 square miles” to mean “as much more as we can possibly get.” If he fights so bitterly for what is contained in the Constitution, I must interpret in the same way his desire that the Commonwealth should acquire not less than 900 square miles, provided in this Bill. If the people of New South Wales have been caught once, they are not likely to be caught again in the same way. “Once bitten, twice shy.” This is where the hard bargain comes in. If the honorable and learned member interprets “not less than 100 square miles

mean that we can take 900 square miles, we may expect that he will interpret "not less than 900 square miles" to mean that we can take 90,000 square miles, or even the whole of New South Wales.

Mr. ISAACS.—I have not said that I agree to that interpretation.

Mr. WILKS.—I think that it is an impudent action, to put in this Bill a demand for so large a territory. The right honorable member for East Sydney said that there is too much ultimatum in it. Let me add that there is too little pomatum. The Prime Minister can easily approach the Premier of New South Wales, and say that the desire of the Federal Parliament is that 900 square miles shall be acquired. If he can show good reasons, I have no doubt that that area will be granted, and the matter will be over. But in this Bill we are not asking for negotiations. The Minister of Home Affairs points a revolver at the head of the Premier of New South Wales, and says—"I am not going to negotiate with you; my position is that we must have 900 square miles, and you had better be a good fellow, and grant it." But now the honorable and learned member for Indi says that he will not be satisfied even with that. He must have access to the territory by sea, because, he says, there is a danger that some time or other Federal members may be molested by the people of New South Wales. That, I suppose, is the Federal spirit! The honorable and learned member has the impudence to tell us that the people of New South Wales are a race of savages. He is afraid that he would not be able to travel through the territory of that State. We must give him a port. He must have a strip of territory from the Capital city to the sea, seventy miles by twelve. This attitude is not new on the part of the honorable and learned member. He played the same game in the last Parliament with the same motive.

Mr. ISAACS.—Is the honorable member responsible for what he is saying?

Mr. WILKS.—Yes, I am.

Mr. ISAACS.—I should not have thought it.

Mr. WILKS.—The occasion was when Tumut was selected. The honorable and learned member for Indi moved an amendment that the territory be stretched down to the Murray River, in order to get access to the sea.

Mr. ISAACS.—I was not even present when the vote was taken. I believe that it

was the honorable member for Grampians who made the proposal, but I was not here.

Mr. WILKS.—I thought that it was the honorable and learned member who started the idea. I apologize to him for making the mistake. New South Wales did not expect to have a model territory carved out of her province. She did not expect to have experiments made in Socialism and collective industry. She took a rational view of this question, and was prepared to grant a certain area of Crown land to the Commonwealth. She did not contemplate that the Commonwealth was to take as much as it liked. If the Prime Minister can approach the Premier of New South Wales and show good reasons for a larger area being granted, probably it will be granted. But we should not demand it. The Prime Minister will find that if the people of New South Wales receive proper treatment, and are taken into our confidence, they will not be inclined to strike a niggardly bargain. They have always adopted the policy of open-handedness towards the people of Australia generally. But they certainly are suspicious when Federal members like the honorable and learned member for Indi say that they will not surrender this and that. He must have a Bill, which says that a certain thing shall be done, that there must be an area of not less than 900 square miles—and that may mean any larger area—and that there must be access to the sea. The only lesson to be learnt from this by New South Wales is either that the honorable member wishes to filch too much territory from that State, or that he wishes to further delay the selection of the site.

Mr. REID (East Sydney).—I desire to test the question I raised some time ago, and I now move—

That the word "shall," in line 4, be left out, with a view to insert in lieu thereof the word "should."

I recognise that, although I am opposed to an area of 900 square miles, the majority of the members of the Committee disagree with me on that point.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—I am not so sure of that.

Mr. McDONALD.—The amendment to substitute "should" for "shall" was carried by a large majority last year.

Mr. REID.—I content myself at present with the amendment I have moved. I believe that it will express the view of the majority of honorable members with perfect clearness, and will avoid, what seems to

me, to be a positively offensive way of beginning what ought to be a friendly negotiation.

Mr. SPENCE (Darling).—A great deal too much has been made of the attitude which it is assumed that the Government of New South Wales will take up. We are all agreed with the sentiment expressed by the right honorable member for East Sydney, that the negotiations on this subject between the Commonwealth Government and the Government of New South Wales should be friendly. But it has been inferred, and even asserted, that the Government of New South Wales is so touchy and sensitive on this point that they will quarrel with the Federal Parliament because we use the word "shall," and definitely state what it is we desire. Are we to understand that the New South Wales authorities are looking for a quarrel? As one of the representatives of New South Wales, I cannot help feeling that a number of other representatives of that State are raising a noise about this without any justification. We know that certain remarks have been made on the subject in the New South Wales press, and by some New South Wales politicians; but no one will tell us that the New South Wales Government will take serious notice of those statements. I think it is unfair to them to suggest that they desire to seek a quarrel with the Federal Government.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—Does not the honorable member think they will, when they find that nine times the area mentioned in the Constitution is required?

Mr. SPENCE.—The area required does not matter. I am now discussing the terms in which we propose to state what we want. We are all agreed that the negotiations should be friendly, and it is but fair to assume that the New South Wales Government will recognise that, and, personally, I think it is probable that there will be very little discussion about the area suggested. It is unfair to assume that the New South Wales Government will seek to quarrel with the Commonwealth Government, or that the Commonwealth Government will carry on the negotiations from their side in a way which will be annoying or offensive. The New South Wales Government will not analyze and criticise the wording of this provision, as our legal friends have done. Such criticism and analysis may be very necessary in connexion with legal matters, but in business communications between members of Governments, who are men of the

world, and have no desire to misunderstand each other, that kind of analysis in terms is not necessary. I have heard no honorable member state that he has any authority from the New South Wales Government for making the assertion that they have no objection to the terms proposed in this clause. In my judgment the New South Wales people will have no objection to a formal statement of what we are asking for.

Mr. McCAY.—The honorable member for Darling voted for the word "should" at last session on my motion.

Mr. SPENCE.—I do not care whether the word used is "shall" or "should" but I protest against honorable members raising a dust and a stir when all is calm, peaceful, and serene. In my opinion, it is an unfair reflection upon the New South Wales Government to assume that they will analyze this clause in the way suggested, and that if we use the word "shall" they will not negotiate with us, but that we use the word "should," they will be prepared to do so. Honorable members in this matter have been making a noise about nothing. We are entitled to assume that the New South Wales Government will act with tact and judgment, and every one admits that the present Prime Minister of the Commonwealth possesses tact and judgment.

Mr. REID.—We should give the honorable gentleman a fair start.

Mr. SPENCE.—In my opinion, the Premier of New South Wales, Mr. Wardell, Mr. Carruthers, or whoever he may be, will not quarrel with the Government over this matter. I wish to say a few words about the area. The apparent fixity in the minds of some people in New South Wales about our taking 900 square miles or even a larger area, has puzzled me. I am satisfied with the Government proposition that the area should be 900 square miles. I do not think that less than that would do. I might give one or two reasons why, in my opinion, we should acquire a much greater area than 900 square miles.

The CHAIRMAN.—The question now before the Committee is that the word "shall" be left out; with a view to inserting in lieu thereof the word "should." When that question is disposed of, the honorable member will be at liberty to refer to the area.

Mr. BROWN (Canobolas).—I think there is a great deal more in the content than that we should approach the New South

State authorities in this matter in a diplomatic way than some honorable members appear to imagine. I was quite in agreement with the policy of the late Government—who, unfortunately, did not have sufficient back-bone to stand by their policy—that the Seat of Government Bill should fix a certain site, and that the question of the territory should be dealt with by subsequent legislation, which should be the outcome of negotiations between the Commonwealth Government and the Government of New South Wales, and which should be based on information with respect to the territory proposed to be acquired, which at present we do not possess. We may deal with this matter in a reasonable, diplomatic way, or in an offensive way, and it must not be forgotten that the people of New South Wales are inclined to be a little sensitive on this subject. I remember that on the last occasion, when this matter was dealt with by this Parliament, and when, against the policy of the then Prime Minister, the honorable and learned member for Ballarat, the area proposed to be acquired was stated in the Bill, the Government, the leader of the Opposition, and a large number of honorable members at once committed themselves to an attitude of hostility to the proposal. That was due largely to the way in which it was put. I ask honorable members, on this occasion, to be guided by the experience we have gained in that connexion. The late See Government, in New South Wales, was, if anything, over-friendly to the Federal Government. That is to be accounted for by the fact that it was, to some extent, a Government which had been brought into power by the honorable member for Hume, who was at first the Minister in charge of this measure. So careful were the members of the See Government not to in any way infringe upon the authority of the Federal Government, but on the contrary to consider their wishes in this matter, that although Sir John See was asked to move in the direction of suggesting a site himself, he resolutely refused to do so, and left the selection entirely to the Federal Government. But as soon as word was sent to New South Wales that this Parliament was asking for a much larger territory than that mentioned in the Constitution, Sir John See, on the very limited information at his disposal, felt compelled to take a hostile stand at once, and the debate which ensued in the State Parliament was decidedly hostile to the Federal proposal, and largely because it

was misunderstood. We do not wish to have any misunderstanding with the State Government on this matter. I wish to say that, in supporting the amendment submitted by the leader of the Opposition, I am not opposed to the larger area asked for. My view is that we should adopt the diplomatic method of dealing with this business. In order to prevent friction, and to have it settled as amicably as possible, we should meet the State authorities reasonably. The experience we gained in the last Parliament should teach us that to make anything in the nature of a demand upon New South Wales is not the most diplomatic way in which to secure the concession for which we are seeking. I hope that the Government will agree to the amendment, as it will in some way tone down the request we are making.

Mr. McCAY (Corinella).—I had hoped to hear from the Government that they intended to accept this amendment.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—The Government do intend to accept it.

Mr. McCAY.—I mention this, because I see that last year a number of the members of the Government voted in favour of a similar proposal.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—I did not do so.

Mr. McCAY.—The Minister in charge of the Bill at present did not vote for the proposal, nor, do I think, did the then Minister of Trade and Customs; but the present Prime Minister, Postmaster-General, and Minister of External Affairs all voted in that direction, and I know they are too consistent to reverse a vote on a matter of this nature.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—Under the circumstances I think, perhaps, it would be better for me to “climb down” than to ask my colleagues to reverse their vote. I admit that it is possible we shall be able to carry out these negotiations and bring them to a conclusion more quickly by using the word proposed in preference to any other word; and, therefore, I am prepared to accept the amendment.

Amendment agreed to.

Mr. ISAACS (Indi).—I think there is some force in the observation that the clause as it stands leaves the area unlimited, and I suggest that there should be a maximum as well as a minimum.

Mr. REID.—That would be worse than ever; that would hamper the negotiations more than ever, because there would be an ultimatum with two extremes.

Mr. ISAACS.—If the right honorable gentleman is content to leave the clause as it is, I also am content.

Mr. REID.—I am content, rather than increase the trouble.

Mr. ISAACS.—It appears to me that my suggestion would not increase the trouble. At present it is left open to the Government to ask for as much more territory as they like, though there is a minimum below which the New South Wales Government cannot go. However, if the right honorable member for East Sydney thinks the clause will satisfy New South Wales, I have no more to add.

Amendment (by Mr. JOSEPH COOK) proposed—

That the word "nine" be left out, with a view to insert in lieu thereof the word "one."

Mr. SPENCE (Darling).—In regard to the matter of area, there are some considerations which I do not think have been laid before the Committee. There are several requirements of a Capital city which cannot, in my opinion, be complied with if the area be restricted to 100 square miles. For instance, commonage would be required, and there must be quarries for the necessary buildings. Further, it is desirable that the watershed and supply should be within Commonwealth territory; and there are other considerations, such as the provision of parks, a race-course on which to run the Great Federal Capital Cup Race, and other reserves for recreation. Of course, there cannot be a city in Australia without a race track; and I merely suggest these as requirements which it would be difficult to satisfy with an area of 100 square miles. Apart from the consideration of the unearned increment, an area of 900 square miles is not at all too large for the ordinary requirements of such a populous city as we hope to see at no distant date. I hope, therefore, that the Committee will not accept the amendment. In this matter we might, I think, safely trust the Government during the negotiations, to ask for 900 square miles more or less, because we cannot be exact to a yard. It is not fair to assume that the Government, composed of sensible men, will use any technical power they may possess to ask for a great deal more than is absolutely necessary.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK (Parramatta).—I recognise that the Committee are against me, and to save time I ask leave to withdraw my amendment. I content myself by saying that I do not think there is the slightest chance of New South Wales agreeing to

any such area as that proposed; and, in opinion, such an area ought not to be granted.

Mr. REID (East Sydney).—I am glad that the honorable member for Parramatta has withdrawn the amendment. I am just as strongly as is that honorable member against the proposal to take a large area, but I recognise that the majority of honorable members present wish that, at any rate, the attempt shall be made. I bow, with great reluctance, to the decision, feeling that when matters come to negotiation, a mutually conciliatory spirit will be shown.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Mr. ISAACS (Indi).—I beg to move—

That the following words be added, "and have access to the sea."

I have before explained why I think such a provision is desirable, and I shall say only two or three words at the present juncture. Without disrespect to any State, I think it is extremely important and desirable that there should be Federal jurisdiction from the Capital to the sea-coast possible.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Would the honorable and learned member have submitted the same amendment if Tooma had been chosen?

Mr. ISAACS.—Tooma possesses natural advantages in relation to the Murray River and in the matter of centrality, which, in my opinion, would have more than compensated for non-access to the sea. But, having chosen Dalgety, it is highly desirable, being possible and not difficult, to have access to the sea.

Mr. WEBSTER.—I ask the Minister in charge to consent to progress being reported.

Mr. REID (East Sydney).—I ask the honorable members to endeavour to conclude this business to-night. We adjourned on Friday, and this matter was discussed some time ago, and then thoroughly threshed out. A great deal of the criticism levelled at us on account of the slow progress made with our business, is, I am afraid, somewhat justified, and I do not think that this matter ought to be taken over to another sitting. It is not, though this was a new proposal, because we have discussed it on all occasions with the question of the Seat of Government has been before us.

Mr. WEBSTER.—The right honorable member means that it was discussed in the last Parliament?

Mr. REID.—I feel that we have been going slowly enough in all conscience, and that we ought to finish to-night.

Mr. WEBSTER (Gwydir).—This is an amendment which requires consideration, and I should have liked to hear those gentlemen who discussed the matter in the last Parliament. It appears to me that a doubt is at once raised as to the distance from the proposed site to the sea, and that, even if that distance be seventy miles, we require to consider what access means.

Mr. REID.—The amendment means the division of New South Wales along sixty miles of country.

Mr. WEBSTER. — Many honorable members who voted for Dalgety did so because they believed that that site would have access to the sea.

Mr. REID.—There will be access; no fence will be put up.

Mr. WEBSTER.—But the honorable members referred to believed that the Commonwealth Government would have control of the means of access, and of the land in the immediate neighbourhood of the port.

Mr. REID.—And yet those honorable members voted for Tooma, where there would be no access to the sea.

Mr. WEBSTER.—I am speaking of honorable members who voted not for Tooma, but for Dalgety. I am not speaking of honorable members who voted for Lyndhurst, where there was no possibility of getting any water. There is a great difference between voting for a site with an abundance of water, and where it was thought there would be access to a sea-port, and voting for a site where, to say the least, I saw no water during my visit. The question arises how much territory do we want, and what is to be the width of the land connecting the territory with the port of Twofold Bay? What land are we to reserve immediately around the Bay for the purpose of conserving the interests of the Commonwealth in its control of that part of the territory? Honorable members for Western Australia have said that they voted for Dalgety, not particularly because of the site and its surroundings, but because they thought that some day there will be a port at which they will be able to land, and from which they can be carried by a short line of railway to the Capital without any very great inconvenience.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—It is not necessary for the Commonwealth to own the land to

enable honorable members to reach the Capital in that way; New South Wales will not stop honorable members.

Mr. WEBSTER.—But the question arises whether the Commonwealth should not hold that territory. I do not say that it is absolutely necessary that the land should be taken from the control of the State, because I know there would still be access to the harbor. But in view of the fact that the Capital is to be within seventy miles of Twofold Bay, it seems only reasonable that the Commonwealth should control a harbor which is open to attack by an enemy, and which it might be necessary to fortify—a work which could not be carried out by a State.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—It has naval control.

Mr. WEBSTER.—Yes; but we have no guarantee that the Government of New South Wales will be willing to spend the money necessary to make the port suitable for the purpose.

Mr. REID.—Well, they would let the Commonwealth do it.

Mr. WEBSTER.—Yes, but the question is: Would the Commonwealth be warranted in the expenditure if it had not possession of the harbor? As we seem to have selected Dalgety largely in the hope that we shall thereby secure a port at Twofold Bay, it is essential that we should have a strip of territory between Dalgety and Twofold Bay which would enable us to connect the Federal Capital with the port, and a strip of land round the foreshores of the Bay, which would enable us to fortify it, and to make it suitable for the purposes of the Commonwealth. I am not able to go very thoroughly into the subject to-night, because I have not had time to examine the map, or to consider the matter in all its bearings; but if we do not get an approach to Twofold Bay, many honorable members will have voted for the Dalgety site under a misapprehension. I shall vote with those who are trying to get as much as they can under Commonwealth control. I object to the Dalgety site, but since it has been selected, I think we should give it a port for the advantage of the people of Western Australia and Tasmania, who will have to travel there by sea.

Mr. HUTCHISON (Hindmarsh).—Although I was in favour of the selection of Tooma, I had, before seeing that site, expressed myself in favour of Dalgety, and I agree with the honorable member for

Gwydir that quite a number of honorable gentlemen voted for Dalgety in order to obtain a port. The right honorable member for East Sydney has said that the Commonwealth will have access to Twofold Bay in any case, because the Government of New South Wales will not put up fences to debar them; but that argument may be used in another way. It may be said that the Commonwealth Government will not put up fences. Furthermore, if the Commonwealth obtains possession of Twofold Bay, the State of New South Wales will be saved a large expenditure in making the harbor a good port. I think that if we choose a territory near the sea, it should extend down to the coast, so as to give the Commonwealth an independent outlet.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—It is not necessary to make the proposed amendment in order to bring that about.

Mr. HUTCHISON.—I think it is better to determine that Twofold Bay shall be part of the Federal territory, and I hope that New South Wales will show sufficient Federal spirit to agree to the arrangement.

Mr. LONSDALE.—If New South Wales shows the same Federal spirit as the other States are showing, it will not give anything to the Commonwealth.

Mr. HUTCHISON.—I think that honorable members who do not represent New South Wales have shown a large amount of Federal spirit in this matter. Personally it is against my interests to have the Capital removed from Melbourne, because it is very convenient for me to be able to get home at the end of the week; but I wish to carry out the provisions of the Constitution, and I believe that it would give complete satisfaction if the Commonwealth were to be granted a territory which would have an independent outlet. Judging from the remarks made by some of the representatives of New South Wales, there will be very little difficulty in getting the people of that State to give us a port, because of the benefits which the State will receive from the Commonwealth expenditure in making the port what it should be. I shall support the amendment.

Mr. BROWN (Canobolas).—I think that it will be better to leave the matter to be settled by diplomacy than to agree to the amendment. If the Government of New South Wales is prepared to include Twofold Bay within the Federal territory, I shall not raise my voice against the arrangement, but if the State is not pre-

pared to do so, no vote of mine will be given for the proposal, and there is nothing in the Constitution which will require it to do so. New South Wales interests are supposed to give way whenever the Federal spirit is mentioned, but the Federal spirit is a practically unknown quantity with the representatives of the other States who are dealing with New South Wales. Weighing with the members of the last Parliament was the desirability of obtaining access to the Federal Capital without going through New South Wales territory, and that, apparently, is the factor determining the decision on the present occasion. It has been led to suppose that the people of New South Wales are so hostile to the Federation that it would be dangerous to have Commonwealth territory situated entirely within that State. That does not seem to me to be a good exhibition of the Federal spirit.

Mr. MCCOLL (Echuca).—The substitution of the word "should" for "shall" makes the matter one for negotiation with the Government of New South Wales, and therefore, I think it desirable that we should insert in the clause whatever conditions we wish to impose in regard to the Federal territory. To my mind, the selection made to-night is so unfortunate, almost every respect, that some compensating advantages are required to make it palatable to the people of the Commonwealth. I believe that future generations will bitterly rue the selection of Dalgety.

The CHAIRMAN.—The honorable member is not in order in reflecting upon a vote of the House.

Mr. MCCOLL.—The one compensating advantage which can be given—and it is to secure this advantage that a large number of honorable members voted for Dalgety—is the possession of a Federal port, and, therefore, I trust that the Commonwealth will agree to the amendment.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—It is hardly possible to absolutely settle this matter to-night, since a considerable number of honorable members, who did not know that it was coming on, are absent.

Mr. REID.—They should be here. I have never complained when a vote has been taken in my absence.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—This is the first time I have heard the leader of the Opposition urging the Government to go on with the business in hand.

Mr. REID.—The Government are slow that some one must drive them.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—We have gone right through the Bill to-day, and certainly cannot be accused of delay in connexion with this matter. I propose to take a vote now; but the Government will agree to a recommitment, should it be desired, because a considerable number of members is absent.

Mr. REID.—That is fair, if a majority is in favour of a recommitment.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—I think that the Commonwealth Government should have the right to connect the Federal territory by railway with the nearest port, should they desire to do so.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—That right can be negotiated for without the introduction of the proposed provision.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—Quite so. I think, however, that it is well to place these words in the Bill.

Mr. BROWN.—The right to construct a railway would be of no use unless the Commonwealth had the port too.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—The port would be there, in any case. What we desire is access to a port, and we should negotiate for the right to make railway communication to the nearest port. If there were a strip of New South Wales territory between the Federal territory and the sea, the State Government might refuse to allow the Commonwealth to construct such a railway as I speak of.

Mr. LONSDALE.—Why suggest that?

Mr. REID.—One would think that we were dealing with Manchuria instead of with New South Wales.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—The attitude which I think New South Wales might take up is that which is being at present assumed by South Australia in respect to the proposed Transcontinental Railway.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—That is gross repudiation in the case of South Australia.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—That may or may not be; but it shows that the fear that some honorable members entertain that the Commonwealth may be denied access to the sea is not without foundation.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—The difficulty will not be overcome by the adoption of the amendment.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—I admit that. I do not say that it is absolutely necessary to make a distinct provision in the Bill, because negotiations must proceed upon the lines indicated.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The Minister will have a stream of cold water poured down his back when he begins to negotiate.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—That would not paralyze me, or prevent me from carrying out the negotiations on the lines that this Parliament desires. I do not think that the amendment will make a great deal of difference, but I see no objection to inserting it in the Bill.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—It will only make a further demand upon the New South Wales Government.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—I cannot conceive that the New South Wales Government would refuse to accede to such a reasonable request. The amendment is simply declaratory, and I shall support it.

Mr. REID.—There is no objection; we shall all vote for it.

Amendment agreed to.

Clause, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 4 agreed to.

Bill reported with amendments.

House adjourned at 11.7 p.m.

Senate.

Wednesday, 10 August, 1904.

The PRESIDENT took the chair at 2.30 p.m., and read prayers.

PICTURE BY MR. T. ROBERTS.

Senator MATHESON.—I wish to ask the Vice-President of the Executive Council, without notice, the following question:—

1. Is it true, as stated in the *Argus* this morning, that a picture painted by Mr. Thomas Roberts has been presented to His Majesty the King as a gift from the Commonwealth?

2. Is it a fact that this picture was itself presented to the Commonwealth?

3. By whose authority was this presentation made to His Majesty the King?

Senator MCGREGOR.—Senator Matheson kindly intimated to me this morning that he intended to ask these questions, and so gave me an opportunity to obtain the necessary information. The reply to the first question is, Yes; but I may add that the Government have had no official information, although it was understood that the picture was to be presented to the King. The Government have seen the intimation in the newspapers. To the second question

I have also to answer, Yes; but the picture was so presented to the Commonwealth on the understanding that it was to be given by the Commonwealth to His Majesty on behalf of the nation. With respect to the third question, I may state that the picture was presented on the authority of the late Government.

ASSENT TO BILLS.

Assent to the following Bills reported:—

Supply Bill (No. 2).

Further Supplementary Appropriation Bill (1902-3).

PAPERS.

MINISTERS laid upon the table the following papers:—

Despatch from the Secretary of State for the Colonies, relating to the employment of Chinese labour in the Transvaal.

Amendment of Statutory Rules, 1904, Nos. 4 and 41, governing the Military Forces.

The CLERK laid upon the table the following paper:—

Return to an Order of the Senate of 28th July, 1904, relating to the field guns in each State.

FRAUDULENT TRADE MARKS BILL.

Bill read a third time.

TRADE MARKS BILL.

In Committee (Consideration resumed from 28th July, *vide* page 3664):

Clause 4, as amended, agreed to.

Clauses 5 and 6 agreed to.

Clause 7—

1. The registration of a trade mark under a State Trade Marks Act shall cease either—

(a) At the expiration of fourteen years from the commencement of this Act, or . . .

Senator KEATING (Tasmania).—In this Bill we provide a term of fourteen years during which a trade mark shall be registered, giving power to the holder to re-register. In the case of most of the States this provision will work equitably, but in the case of New South Wales there is no limit whatever upon the term for which a trade mark now is and in the past has been registered. There are a number of trade marks which are registered in New South Wales, and which will consequently, under this provision, run out absolutely at the end of fourteen years. So that, if the clause is passed as it stands, at the expiration of fourteen years from the passing of this measure the registration of those trade marks will cease.

Senator BEST.—They can be renewed.

Senator KEATING.—But in many instances, perhaps, they could not be renewed.

Senator BEST.—Why not?

Senator KEATING.—Under which would they be renewed?

Senator BEST.—Under this measure.

Senator KEATING.—When the holder proceeded to register under this measure they might find that in some other State the Commonwealth there were persons bringing claims to the same trade marks. They would not be in the position of persons asking for re-registration, but for a registration under a Commonwealth Act, and there might be one, two, or three States from which successful opposition to registration might be encountered. Is it not the intention of this Bill, as far as possible, to secure existing rights? In second paragraph of clause 5 we read

Provided that this section shall not prejudice any right, privilege, obligation, or liability acquired, accrued, or incurred under the law of any State before the commencement of this Act.

In clause 6 we provide that a State Trade Marks Act, under which a trade mark registered, shall continue to apply—

So long as the registration under that Act remains in force.

Every trade mark that is registered in New South Wales under the law of that State is perpetual, but in clause 7 we provide that at the expiration of fourteen years, from the commencement of this measure, the registration of a trade mark under a State Trade Marks Act shall cease. Those provisions are diametrically opposed to one another, so far as this measure applies to the State of New South Wales. There is, perhaps, no conflict with regard to other States. Persons who have registered trade marks have a perpetual right in them according to the State law of New South Wales. But this Bill steps in and says that at the expiration of fourteen years all trade marks registered under the State law shall cease. Our object being to preserve, as far as possible, existing and accrued rights under the trade marks legislation of the States, I should say that we pass the clause as it stands there will in many instances be a bar to registration at the end of fourteen years. There will be many persons who, when they apply to the Commonwealth office for the registration of a trade mark, will find that their application is resisted by persons in, perhaps, Western Australia, Queensland, or elsewhere. Is

the intention of the Government to absolutely deprive those who are registered under the Trade Marks Act of New South Wales, at the end of fourteen years, of their right to use their trade marks?

Senator MCGREGOR (South Australia—Vice-President of the Executive Council).—It will be noticed from clause 5, that the intention of the Bill is that any rights that are possessed by those who have registered trade marks will still continue.

Senator KEATING.—They ought not to be prejudicially affected by the Commonwealth law.

Senator MCGREGOR.—I do not think there is any great probability of difficulties arising, because, as soon as this measure becomes an Act, the great majority of those persons who have trade marks registered, and who are doing business in Australia, will register under the Commonwealth law. Senator Keating will see that the rights possessed by persons who have registered trade marks in New South Wales apply only to New South Wales. I do not think that those rights would be of sufficient value to them to prevent them from registering under the Commonwealth law. I see no objection to the clause, because everything will be done to protect existing rights. I feel sure that people who are interested will be perfectly satisfied. If persons in New South Wales, possessing trade marks rights, attempt to register under the Commonwealth law, and are opposed by some one in Queensland or Western Australia, my opinion is, that, when the machinery of this legislation is set in motion, we can trust the officers to see that justice is done.

Senator BEST (Victoria).—My opinion is that clause 7 is one of the most valuable provisions of the Bill. While it is quite true that in New South Wales, so far as the limits of that State are concerned, the proprietors of trade marks have perpetual rights, yet at the same time the very object, and design, of this Bill, as of all Federal legislation, is uniformity. It would be quite impossible to obtain uniformity did not this clause exist in its present shape. If any serious hardship were done, we should give attention to it, but practically I do not think that any hardship will accrue. First of all, the registered proprietors of trade marks in New South Wales will now have the advantage of registration throughout the Commonwealth.

Senator KEATING.—That is, if they take advantage of clause 8.

Senator BEST.—Precisely.

Senator KEATING.—They may not be able to take advantage of it.

Senator BEST.—I think that they would have no difficulty in taking advantage of the Bill. Their rights are largely conserved by clause 27, because a trade mark, which it was sought to have renewed, could only be opposed by somebody who had been honestly using the same trade mark in some other portion of Australia. Clause 27 says that—

In case of honest concurrent user, or of special circumstances, the Court may, in its discretion, permit the registration of the same trade mark, or of nearly identical trade marks, for the same goods by more than one proprietor, subject to such conditions and limitations as to mode or place of user, or otherwise, as it thinks fit to impose.

So that complete discretion is given to the Court under special circumstances to do what the merits of the case demand. In addition to which, I would observe that when clause 27 is reached I intend to ask that the same discretion shall be extended to the Registrar, and to the law officer. If clause 27 is amended in that direction I do not think there will be much room for the apprehensions of my honorable and learned friend.

Senator KEATING.—Look at the last paragraph of clause 23.

Senator BEST.—I think that provision ought to be amended also. Sub-clause 2 of clause 23 provides that—

The fact that a mark is publicly used by more than three persons as a mark on or in connexion with similar goods, shall be treated as conclusive evidence that it is common to the trade.

When we reach that clause I intend to ask that it should be amended so as to read—

The fact that a mark is publicly used by more than three persons in any one State—

As the clause stands it would certainly work very serious injustice, because the fact remains that the same trade mark is registered by various persons in several States, and the rights of all those persons have to be conserved. But in regard to the point immediately under notice, the objection is, I think, first of all met, by clause 27, particularly if it is amended in the way I have suggested; and secondly, if my honorable and learned friend thought it wise to insert in that portion of the Bill relating to renewals of trade marks a few words to the effect that special regard should be paid to registration under State Acts, such a provision might be useful. Personally, I do not consider it necessary, and I do not conceive that any injustice will arise under the clause in its present form.

Senator KEATING (Tasmania).—The answer given to me by the Vice-President of the Executive Council has hardly covered the whole of the ground with which I dealt. Clause 5 refers only to the application of the common law to our trade marks law in Australia. I am not sure that there are not analogous cases in Queensland, but under the New South Wales law there are trade marks in force in that State which were registered forty years ago, and the holders of which have never been, and would never be required to re-register. The position in other States has been that the term for which registration has been effective has been fourteen years, and if a man, at the expiration of that time, desires to re-register his trade mark, he is entitled to do so under certain conditions. The holder of a registered trade mark in New South Wales has rights in respect of that trade mark, which are perpetual; but in this Bill it is provided that a trade mark registered under a State Act shall cease, at the expiration of fourteen years from the commencement of the operation of this law, or from its last registration or re-registration under the State law. It is in that way that I say we are not, in this Bill, conserving rights which have already accrued and are in existence. That that is not the object of this Bill is indicated by paragraph *a* of clause 6, under which it is provided that the State Act under which a trade mark is registered, shall continue to apply to that trade mark, so long as the registration under that Act remains in force. All these registrations in New South Wales will remain in force, even though it should be forty years since the trade marks were registered. They would remain in force under the New South Wales law perpetually, because the rights acquired by registration under that law are perpetual. The only solution of the difficulty which has been suggested by the Vice-President of the Executive Council is that it will be competent for persons who desire to continue to hold the benefit derived from the registration of a trade mark to re-register under this Bill. What I desire to point out is that as the Bill stands at present, and unless some amendments are made later on, an applicant desirous of renewing his right may find that some essential part of his trade mark has, not in New South Wales, but in other parts

of Australia, come to be publicly used more than three persons, and under clause 23 that is to be treated as conclusive evidence that it is common to the trade. Although he has secured perpetual right in New South Wales under the law there, application for the registration of his trade mark in the Commonwealth under this Bill may be blocked on that account. Unless there is an understanding that some alteration of clauses 23 and 27 will be considered, this clause should not be allowed to pass without comment. If it were so subsequently to amend those clauses might be said that the matter should have been raised on this clause. Having called attention to the question, I am satisfied that the Vice-President of the Executive Council will consider with his officers the advisability of modelling the Bill somewhat differently in order to meet the circumstances to which I have referred.

Senator MCGREGOR.—I personally think, and the officers of the Commonwealth also think, that the Bill as it stands meets all the requirements of the people of Australia. There may be some difficulty with respect to New South Wales, but when I was referring to clause 5 I said that I thought the application of the common law provided for in that clause to secure existing rights, would protect those existing rights in all circumstances. I do not think that any difficulty will arise, such as the honorable and learned senator has suggested, but when we come to consider clause 23 I shall have no objection to an amendment requiring that a trade mark must have been used by three persons in one State before it can be considered common to the trade. I admit that there might be four users of a trade mark, one in each of four States, and in such a case it would be a hardship upon the holder of a trade mark in New South Wales, if, on such grounds were decided, under clause 23, that a trade mark was common to the trade. If such an amendment as I have suggested were made, the risk which might be run by holders of registered trade marks in New South Wales will be avoided. I have no doubt that the Commonwealth officers, in drafting the measure, had the existing law in New South Wales, as well as in every other State, in view.

Senator KEATING.—I think not. Under clause 52, a person cannot re-register within fourteen years from the date of first registration.

Senator MCGREGOR.—I am taking a note of every objection raised, and will bring them all before the officers responsible for the drafting of the Bill. Senator Keating can rely upon it that justice will be done, so far as it is possible, in this legislation.

Clause agreed to.

Clauses 8 and 9 agreed to.

Clause 10 (Registrar).

Senator DOBSON (Tasmania).—When we were considering the definition clause, I moved an amendment upon the definition of "The Registrar," but had to withdraw it, and I omitted to bring the question up again. I shall, therefore, have to ask the Vice-President of the Executive Council later on to recommit the clause. I have risen now to ask whether there is not in this clause a departure in the language which is used in giving the Deputy-Registrar, provided for in the clause, certain powers "subject to the control of the Registrar." Hitherto, in Acts which we have passed, we have given the Governor-General in Council, or the chief officer concerned, power to depute or assign to a deputy such of his powers as he might think fit. It occurs to me that that is a better way of dealing with the matter than to provide, as under this clause, for the appointment of a Deputy-Registrar, upon whom the powers of the Registrar are conferred "subject to the control of the Registrar." The Deputy-Registrar may give some decision which the Registrar may hold to be slightly outside of his functions. He may think that the Deputy-Registrar has made a mistake, and he may then begin to exercise his control. When we have to deal with judicial functions, the word "control" is, in my opinion, a rather dangerous word to use. I ask the Vice-President of the Executive Council whether the language here used is not a new departure, and whether he thinks it would not be better to provide that the Governor-General in Council or the Registrar might assign to a deputy such of his powers as he thinks desirable.

Senator MCGREGOR.—I do not see that any difficulty is likely to arise under the clause. The honorable and learned senator will notice, in connexion with the form of this Bill, that the same principle is being carried out as was adopted in the Patents Bill. I am not aware that any difficulty has arisen under that measure.

Senator DOBSON.—What is the meaning of "control," as used here? Will the

Registrar be able to set aside or modify a decision of the Deputy-Registrar?

Senator MCGREGOR.—I cannot see the difficulty the honorable and learned senator raises.

Clause agreed to.

Clauses 11 to 14 agreed to.

Clause 15—

The essential particulars of a registrable trade mark shall be one or more of the following particulars:—

- (a) A name of an individual or firm printed, impressed, or woven in some particular and distinctive manner; or
- (b) A written signature or copy of a written signature of the individual or firm applying for registration thereof as a trade mark; or
- (c) A distinctive device, mark, brand, heading, label, or ticket; or
- (d) An invented word or invented words; or
- (e) A word or words having no reference to the character or quality of the goods and not being a geographical name used or likely to be understood in a geographical sense.

Senator BEST (Victoria). — I think it will be found desirable to make a number of alterations in this clause, which is a very important provision of the Bill. The expression "individual or firm" in paragraph *a* is obviously too limited. Mr. Moulton, upon whom the Vice-President of the Executive Council has relied to some extent, amplifies the expression in this way: In clause 5 of his Bill of 1902 he provides—

That for the purposes of this Act a trade mark must consist of or contain at least one of the following essential particulars:—

- (a) The name of an individual, firm, or limited or other company or corporation, or his or their trade name or style, printed, impressed, or woven in some particular and distinctive manner.

Senator GIVENS. — Have we not dealt with that in the definition clause?

Senator BEST.—No; but I point out that we may take a short cut in dealing with the matter by substituting the word "person" for the words "individual or firm" in paragraph *a*, because a person, according to the Acts Interpretation Act, includes a corporation, and by the amendment made at my instance in this Bill "person and applicant" include a body corporate and firm. The ground, therefore, would be largely covered by such an amendment as I suggest. In this connexion I point out, however, that the substitution of the word "person" for "individual or firm" would still be a limitation, because we should not thus include any trade name

or style. To some extent, a trade name or style may be included in the word "firm," but Mr. Moulton, who is a great authority on the subject, evidently does not think so, because he uses not only the word "firm," but also the words "limited or other company or corporation, or his or their trading name or style." I shall have to draw attention to other amendments necessary later in the clause, but in the meantime I suggest to the leader of the Senate that he should leave out the words "individual or firm" and substitute for them the word "person."

Senator CLEMONS.—Is it necessary to substitute anything at all? Paragraph *a* would be absolutely free from any ambiguity if it stopped at the word "name."

Senator BEST.—I think it is necessary, because a name might be the name of an animal.

Senator GIVENS.—We have the names of animals already—"Bulldog" stout, for instance.

Senator BEST.—Yes; but I point out that we are here dealing with the proprietors of trade marks. This clause deals with the essential particulars of a trade mark, and the trade mark must be registered by a person.

Senator CLEMONS.—I see no objection still to what I have suggested.

Senator MILLEN.—The honorable and learned senator might register a trade mark as that of the "Lightning Soap Company."

Senator BEST.—The designation of the trade mark itself does not touch the point with which I am now dealing. Mr. John Smith might register as a trade mark "The Lightning Soap Company," or "The Bulldog brand" for any particular class of goods. It will be observed that other paragraphs of this clause contemplate other things with which I shall deal when we come to them, but the intention of paragraph *a* is that in the registration of a trade mark certain essential particulars shall appear, and what is contemplated is the name of the person or corporation. I move—

That the words "individual or firm," line 4, be left out, with a view to insert in lieu thereof the word "person."

Senator MCGREGOR.—I wish the Committee to consider which of the suggestions made by Senator Best would be most beneficial—whether we should multiply the terms in the way he has indicated as appearing in Mr. Moulton's Bill, or use the word "person." The Government have no objection to either amendment; their desire

is merely to make the Bill as perfect as possible, and they are receiving the benefit of the assistance of Senators Best, Keating and other honorable senators in their endeavours to that end. Personally I think would be sufficient in this case to substitute the word "person" for the words "individual or firm." The object of the officer who drafted this Bill was to make it short and comprehensive as possible. I should like to hear the views of other honorable senators. I am willing to accept the amendment, because I think would be an improvement. It will be noticed that paragraph *a* applies only to something which has been printed, impressed, woven, or stamped on goods.

Senator CLEMONS (Tasmania).—What I agree with what Senator Best said, I cannot see that there would be any danger in simply leaving out the words "of an individual or firm." What is essential in paragraph *a* is that a name shall be printed, impressed, or woven. There is nothing essential about the words "of an individual or firm." I think it will be perfectly safe to omit the words but I shall object to their being replaced by other words.

Senator GIVENS (Queensland).—The clause deals with the essential particulars of a registrable trade mark, and has nothing to do with firms, limited liability companies, corporations, or individuals. If these words were left out, it would entitle an individual firm, a limited company, or a corporation to register any name that it chose. Senator Best suggested that the words were omitted, the name of an animal might be registered. But we should not that be allowed? We have several cases of the names of animals being registered as trade marks.

Senator BEST.—That is provided for in paragraph *c*.

Senator GIVENS.—I think that by leaving out these words we shall simplify the definition, and cover the ground as effectively as the honorable and learned senator desires. I shall vote against the retention of other words, because, in my opinion, they are not necessary.

Senator MILLEN (New South Wales).—I wish to draw attention to certain words which appear to be in their wrong place. Ought not the words "printed, impressed, or woven" in paragraph *a* to be placed at the end of the clause in order to qualify other forms of trade marks? As it stands

Now, it is only the name of an individual or firm which is qualified by those words. But surely it would be more correct to put the words at the end of the provision in order to make them qualify all classes of trade marks.

Senator GIVENS (Queensland).—I would point out to Senator Millen that the words to which he refers are necessary in paragraph *a*, but not in the other paragraphs. There might be a similarity of names at any time, and the essential thing in paragraph *a* is that the name shall be printed in a particular and distinctive manner. Suppose, for instance, that the words "John Smith" were to be registered as a trade mark. The trade mark would not consist in the name "John Smith" only, because if it did that would deprive other persons of that name of the right to use it. The registrable fact would be that the name is printed in a particular and distinctive manner. In the case of paragraph *b* a written signature does not need to be printed, certainly not in a particular and distinctive manner, because the very signature provides the particular and distinctive manner. Again under paragraph *c* there is no necessity to have a distinctive device or ticket printed in a particular and distinctive manner. If we provided that a distinctive device should be printed in a distinctive manner, and a firm selling the goods wished to advertise them in all parts of the world, that would prevent anybody from printing the device. What necessity is there to print an invented word in a distinctive manner? The fact that an invented word is registered would prevent any one else from using it, and the invented word becomes a distinctive trade mark. I submit that it is only in paragraph *a* that it is necessary to use the words—

printed, impressed, or woven in some particular and distinctive manner.

Senator KEATING (Tasmania).—After hearing Senator Givens emphasize how necessary it is that the trade mark must be distinctive in some way or other, I am surprised to find that he is prepared to support the omission of the words "of an individual or firm," because that is the one thing which gives the quality of distinction to a particular trade mark coming under paragraph *a*. The object of the whole clause is to make the essential particulars something absolutely distinctive, so that there shall be nothing about a trade mark that will come under this head, which will rob the rest of

the trading community of the right to use it. If we omit those words, will the name be that of a place, or of a man, or of a body? Supposing that a man were to take the name of an article and brand "table" in a distinctive way, how far would another man be entitled to use that in connexion with his mark? How far would it be regarded as being a mark in which the person registering it had some right of user? What we wish to secure under this clause is that the essential portion of the trade mark shall be as far as possible separated from the additional matter. I doubt whether a person could register a simple shield in respect of goods. There would have to be about the shield something else which might be additional matter.

Senator MILLEN.—In New South Wales a shield with a lion across it is registered.

Senator KEATING.—The simple branding of the lion on the shield creates a distinctive label. It is the association of added matter with a simple device which gives the trade mark its distinctiveness. Then you can separate easily and accurately the added matter from the essential portion which comes under this clause; but if the words "of an individual or firm" are omitted from paragraph *a*, the term "name" is so extensive that it does not qualify it at all.

Senator O'KEEFE.—Might it not open the door to fraud if "name" were left out?

Senator KEATING.—My objection is that if we simply say "a name" we do not qualify it by saying what the subject is.

Senator CLEMONS.—Why should we?

Senator KEATING.—A man cannot register an ordinary word.

Senator MILLEN.—Under paragraph *c* I could register the "Table" brand of boots.

Senator KEATING.—I am not dealing with that paragraph. The whole position here is that the name has to be printed, impressed, or woven, as particularly as possible, and limited to a certain class of subjects. That has been the tendency in the legislation, not only of the States, but of England. We know that decisions have been given in regard to each and every one of these paragraphs to which we expect to look for guidance.

Senator CLEMONS (Tasmania).—I do not think that Senator Keating quite grasps the full import of this clause. To my mind it presents a series of alternatives, and nothing else. Senator Givens and I are encouraged to omit the words "of an

individual or firm" by paragraph *e*. It has been contended that a mere name is not sufficient, and that there should be added to the name something to connect it with an individual or firm or corporation. If honorable senators will refer to paragraph *e* they will see that a far wider scope is offered there in the registration of a trade mark. There is one limitation only. What it practically says is, "In making your trade mark, and applying for its registration, you can use any word, but you must use a word if you use a name." Subject only to this limitation it does not refer to the character or quality of the goods, or have a geographical bearing. We can all recollect a hundred and one different words which are registered as trade marks, and which do not refer to the character or quality of the goods, and which have no geographical bearing. It is quite obvious that in paragraph *a* what is essential is that a name shall be printed, impressed, or woven. If a person were to propose to register a trade mark an inquiry would be held to ascertain whether the trade mark came under any one of the limitations in this clause. If it happened to be a name printed, impressed, or woven in a particular and distinctive manner, it would be accepted at once, because it complied with paragraph *a*. It has not to comply with all the limitations, but only with one. I see no reason for the omission of that paragraph. Why should we not facilitate the registration of trade marks? I would point out to Senator McGregor that the essential part of paragraph *a* is not a name, and an indication of an individual or firm, but the operation of printing, impressing, or weaving. I can conceive it quite possible that it might be absolutely necessary for a trade mark to be woven into or impressed or printed on certain articles. We have the authority for this provision in the English Act.

The CHAIRMAN.—Does the honorable and learned senator wish to leave out the word "of" before the words "an individual"?

Senator CLEMONS.—I thought it had been done. I shall move to strike out all the words in paragraph *a* after the words "A name."

Senator BEST (Victoria).—I shall be only too pleased to withdraw my amendment, for the purpose of enabling Senator Clemons to move his amendment, but I think the Committee would make a mistake if it yielded to his suggestion. It has been

laid down that paragraphs *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, and *e* are to be read independently, and not conjunctively. That was the subject of a dispute for many years, but ultimately it was decided that they were to be read independently. Therefore, in dealing with this matter, we have to look at the object of the clause. It has been held in English legislation that in connexion with trade marks, a word or words have no reference to the quality or type of the goods can be used. It is therefore, necessary that, in dealing with this amendment, we should make paragraph *a* apply to the name of an individual or of a corporation or firm. If we take paragraph *a* in the manner suggested by my honorable and learned friend, it would be quite competent to register as a trade mark the name of an article itself—such as rice, boots, or any other commodity which it was proposed to sell.

Senator CLEMONS.—No, because that would be in conflict with paragraph *e*.

Senator BEST.—My honorable learned friend has admitted that the provisions are to be read independently, conjunctively. If so, it would be competent to register as a trade mark "rice" or "boots."

Senator CLEMONS.—It would never be held so.

Senator BEST.—My honorable learned friend cannot get away from this proposition. In fact, it has been laid down in the *Solio* case that these provisions can be read independently.

Senator GIVENS.—That case decides that they can be read independently, not that they must be read independently.

Senator BEST.—They must be read independently. It was said that *Solio* was in reference to photographic paper, and referred to the quality of that paper, consequently it was held that that could not be used. Ultimately it was held that it could be used, and the general principle was laid down as a matter of fixed law, that the provisions were to be read independently and not conjunctively. Even in British legislation, we have it laid down as a principle of trade marks law, that it is undesirable that any word or words should be used which have any bearing or reference to the quality or character of the goods. If that is a sound principle laid down in paragraph *e*, it is unnecessary under paragraph *a*, to enable the chan-

nd quality of the goods to be shown by trade mark. As I have already pointed out, if the words "person or corporation trading concern" are not inserted in the way I have suggested, it would be quite possible to register "easy walking boots" as a trade mark.

Senator CLEMONS.—No; it would not.

Senator BEST.—I am absolutely certain on that point.

Senator CLEMONS.—That would be applying a decision under one Act to a totally different Act.

Senator BEST.—No, it would not, indeed. All it would be necessary to say would be, "I want to have impressed on a particular portion of my goods the words, 'Easy Walking Boots.'"

Senator GIVENS.—That is not a name.

Senator BEST.—"Boots" is a name. "Rice" and "fish" are names. They describe the character and quality of goods by name. That is what the result would be, and, consequently, I see very serious objections to the alteration. I think the proper course would be to strike out the words "individual or firm," and substitute the words "a person." That would be more in consonance with British legislation, and with sound principles of trade marks law.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Amendment (by Senator CLEMONS) proposed—

That the word "of," line 4, be left out.

Senator MCGREGOR.—I think we are losing sight of the real object of paragraph a. That object is distinct from the object of every other paragraph of this clause. I would suggest to Senator Best that we should leave out the word "individual," and substitute the word "person," leaving in the word "firm." He will recognise that the word "person" has a very wide meaning under the Acts Interpretation Act, and that it will fulfil the whole object of the paragraph. I will show the object of it. Suppose there are a number of persons carrying on business. They may be named William Jones, John Jones, and Andrew Jones. Or there may be two or three persons named John Jones carrying on business in a particular part of Australia. They may all wish to register their names as their trade marks. Paragraph a provides that the name of a person or firm can be registered if it is printed, impressed, or woven in some particular and distinctive manner upon the goods sold. If the name "John Jones" were to be registered without being im-

pressed in a distinctive manner upon the goods, the name would not be a trade mark. In that case, there would be nothing to particularize John Jones, of Swanston-street, from John Jones, of Footscray. But the clause provides that any number of persons or firms can register their names or the name of a firm, no matter if it is the name of any other person or firm, so long as it is printed, impressed, or woven in a distinctive manner upon the goods. That is the whole principle of the provision. The object is to make the matter so clear that the public will not confound Thomas Brown, of one place, with Thomas Brown, of another. It is a necessary provision in a Bill of this description. If we substitute the word "person" for the word "individual" it will, I believe, include a firm. But we must retain the paragraph. The other paragraphs would have no effect without it.

Senator CLEMONS (Tasmania).—I have just been reminded that an amendment has been made in the definition clause, of which I was not aware. My difficulty was as to whether the words "individual or firm" would be sufficiently comprehensive from a legal point of view. But since Senator Best has informed me that we have already passed an amendment in the definition clause which gives to the term "person" the fullest possible definition that can be thought desirable, my chief objection to these words has disappeared. I therefore ask leave to withdraw my amendment.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Senator BEST (Victoria).—I move—

That the words "an individual or firm," line 4, be left out, with a view to insert in lieu thereof the words "a person."

Honorable senators are aware that we have already altered the definition of the word "person," so that it not only comprises a corporation, but also a firm. I think that the words "person, corporation, or firm" pretty well cover the whole case, though Mr. Moulton, in his Bill, uses the words "an individual, or firm, or limited or other company or corporation."

Senator MULCAHY (Tasmania). — I think that if we wish to make the definition more comprehensive, the terms used by Mr. Moulton in his Bill are better than those which we propose to use. I am not quite sure whether the word "person" will be quite so comprehensive as the terms which Mr. Moulton has used. I do not like to

interfere with the drafting of a Bill in Committee, but we should know exactly what we are doing, and I doubt whether the word "person" is sufficiently comprehensive to cover all that it is desired to cover.

Amendment agreed to.

Senator BEST (Victoria).—I now intend to ask the Committee to strike out the whole of paragraph *c*, with the object of substituting Mr. Moulton's provision, which is an infinitely better one. His provision is as follows:—

The original signature or copy of the original signature of an individual, being either his own name or that under which he *bond fide* carries on his business or businesses, or of a firm being the *bond fide* trading name or style under which they carry on their business or businesses applying for registration thereof as a trade mark.

I have also seen the last Bill drawn up by Mr. Moulton, and in it he makes a very important alteration, which certainly should appear. The provision there reads—

The signature or in the case of a corporation or company the name written in some distinctive manner of the individual or corporation applying for the registration, or the predecessor in the business.

I am quite indifferent as to which of these is accepted; but I suggest that the Vice-President of the Executive Council should accept one or the other, because, as the clause at present stands, it would not be competent for a man to register a trade mark bearing the name of the predecessor in the business. We know that in connexion with many old-established businesses the name of the old firm has been adopted for years. The clause provides, as an essential particular—

A written signature or copy of a written signature of the individual or firm applying for registration thereof.

And it says nothing whatever about a power to register the name of a predecessor.

Senator GIVENS.—I suggest as a short way out of the difficulty the leaving out of the words "individual or firm," and the insertion of the word "person" as we have done in paragraph *a*. That would cover everything.

Senator BEST.—The honorable senator will see that it would not, because that might not include a predecessor in a business.

Senator GIVENS.—Yes it would, if the business was being carried on in his name, sign, or title. Such an amendment would make the clause consistent throughout.

Senator BEST.—I think it would be wiser to have the name of the individual

applying or the predecessor. In the preceding paragraph we have provided the name of the person being printed interwoven or impressed in some particular and distinctive manner; but in this paragraph what is contemplated is the written signature of the applicant. I believe that the paragraph as it stands does not go far enough, and it should include the name of the predecessor in the business. I move—

That paragraph *b* be left out, with a view to insert in lieu thereof the following paragraph

(*b*) A written signature, or a copy of a written signature, of the individual, being either his name or that under which he *bond fide* carries on his business or businesses, or of the firm, being the *bond fide* trading name or style under which they carry on their business or businesses, applying for a registration thereof as a trade mark.

I admit that if I had a little time I could possibly cut down this paragraph to some extent.

Senator Sir WILLIAM ZEAL.—Why have the amendment printed for the benefit of honorable senators?

Senator BEST.—This is merely a verbal alteration, proposed on recognised authority.

Senator MCGREGOR.—I do not think that such an alteration is really necessary. The more definite we make our legislation the less trouble there will be in administering it. The object of this paragraph is simply to enable an individual, firm, to register his or their name—that is, the written name, or a copy of the written name. That is the distinctive feature of this paragraph. The essential particular in this instance, is the written signature of the individual or firm. With respect to the difficulty pointed out by Senator Best—and I am sure members of the Committee are indebted to the honorable and learned senator for the trouble he is taking in connexion with this legislation—if a firm is trading under the title of Johnstone Jones, and Co., those particular persons may have been dead a long time, and the firm may be in the hands of Young & Brown, who are carrying on the business in the name of Johnstone, Jones, and Co. They would, of course, have a perfect right under this paragraph to register the written signature of the firm of Johnstone, Jones, and Co., or a copy of it. I think it would be far better to leave the paragraph as it stands. The draftsman has, in this instance, much simplified the matter. I believe the paragraph carries out all that is required, and I hope honorable senators will pass it as it stands.

Senator BEST (Victoria).—I have no desire to unduly embarrass the leader of the Government in the Senate.

Senator McGREGOR.—I quite understand that the honorable and learned senator is doing his best to improve the Bill.

Senator BEST.—In my amendment I have adopted the words of Mr. Moulton, because he is such a recognised authority. Senator GIVENS has suggested the leaving out of the words "individual or firm," with a view to substituting the word "person." That would be an improvement upon the paragraph as it stands, but the objection to that lies in the fact that what is required here is the written signature or copy of the written signature of the person, and as "person" includes a corporation, and a corporation has no written signature, but a seal, the result might be to restrict the meaning of the word "person" to some extent. If Senator McGREGOR has any objection to the wording of my amendment, I suggest another alteration of the paragraph, which would be very simple, and readily followed. It is that the word "person" be substituted for the words "individual or firm," and that, after the word "thereof," the words "or his predecessor in business" be inserted.

Senator McGREGOR.—I am prepared to agree to that.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Amendments (by Senator BEST) agreed to—

That the words "individual or firm," line 8, be left out, with a view to insert in lieu thereof the word "person."

That after the word "thereof," line 9, the words "or his predecessor in business" be inserted.

Senator BEST (Victoria).—I desire now to draw the attention of the Committee to a matter to which I referred very fully when speaking on the second reading of the Bill, and to submit a further amendment. The object is to preserve old trade marks that are not registered. In this connexion, I am following the principles laid down in British legislation on the subject. I move—

That the following new paragraph be added—

"(f) Provided, however, that any word or words, letter, figure, or combination of letters or figures used as a trade mark before the first day of January, 1901, may be registered as a trade mark under this Act."

A somewhat similar provision was inserted in British legislation on this subject, for the preservation of old trade marks which had been in existence, I was about to say, almost for centuries, but at all events for

a great many years. The date fixed in the English statute was some day in the year 1875, and what was provided was that trade marks in existence prior to that were not to be prejudiced by the Act. I submit this amendment on the same lines, in order to preserve a number of our old trade marks, and there are hundreds of well-recognised brands and trade marks in use in Australia, that are not registered. Only on the last day of meeting of the Senate an honorable senator mentioned to me a case which had come under his notice professionally, where a trade mark had been in existence for twenty or thirty years, and under the law of South Australia the actual proprietors of it were unable to register it, because some of the essential particulars required under the State law prevented that being done. I contend that if a man has, by his enterprise, given great value to a particular trade mark, and by the expenditure of money has increased the reputation of his goods upon the market, and those goods are known to the public as meritorious, he should continue to have the benefit of his trade mark, and should not be prejudiced by our legislation. I am not in this matter introducing any novel principle, but endeavouring to follow practically the terms of British legislation on the subject. I may be asked why I fix the date as the 1st day of January, 1901. It is necessary to fix some date, and as the Commonwealth came into existence on the 1st January, 1901, that was the date from which our legislation must start—it certainly could not go behind that date. I therefore suggest that that is a very proper date to insert in this instance. I believe that the adoption of this amendment would but do justice to a number of enterprising men who are the proprietors of well-established trade marks.

Senator GIVENS.—The honorable and learned senator is referring to trade marks registered before the 1st January, 1901?

Senator BEST.—No; to trade marks that have not been registered. I remind the honorable senator that if they had been registered they would be protected under this Bill.

Senator GIVENS.—The proprietors could not have valued the trade marks very much if they have not registered them.

Senator BEST.—I point out to the honorable senator that, by reason of the requirements of the State laws with respect to the essential particulars of a trade mark, it may not have been possible to register the trade marks to which I refer. It is my desire

that the rights of the owners in these trade marks should be preserved by this Bill. I am not wedded to the 1st day of January, 1901; I should be content if honorable senators decided to go ten years back; but I think that the 1st day of January, 1901, would be a date consonant with the Commonwealth legislation.

Senator KEATING (Tasmania).—It has been judicially decided that a mere combination of letters that do not in themselves form a word would not come within paragraph *c* of this clause. There are some marks, the essential particulars of which, not from the legal or statutory point of view, but from the commercial point of view, consist merely of letters used in combination. We hear, for instance of "G.B.D.," "C.B.B.," and other combinations of that kind applied to particular classes of goods. We know as a matter of fact that it is only by reason of the fact that they are used in association with some simple device, which may be a circle, a wreath, or an oval-shaped device, that they have been registered as trade marks.

Senator Sir WILLIAM ZEAL.—They are generally the initials of a firm.

Senator BEST.—There is the combination "I.X.L."

Senator KEATING.—They are generally the initials of a firm, and they are used in association with some such device as I have mentioned. A difficulty is that it is competent for other persons to use these combinations of letters when separated from the particular device. There have been one or two instances in Australia where people have claimed to use particular combinations of letters, which, from the commercial, if not from the legal or statutory point of view, form the essential particulars of trade marks; and persons who have gained credit for a particular brand of goods having a certain trade mark, have thereby been defrauded. I am disposed to believe that the amendment moved by Senator Best will meet that difficulty, and probably the honorable and learned senator intended that it should. I had intended myself to move the addition of a new paragraph to the following effect:—

Any combination of letters not forming a word or of figures, or such letters and figures combined together.

But I think that Senator Best's amendment will effectively deal with the matter.

Senator BEST.—It will deal with a recognised old trade mark.

Senator KEATING.—If Senator BEST has that in contemplation, I have very much pleasure in supporting the amendment as moved.

Amendment agreed to.

Clause, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 16 agreed to.

Clause 17—

Except in the case of a trade mark properly registered in any State under a State Trade Marks Act, a registrable trade mark must not contain

- (a) the words "trade mark," "registered," "registered design," "copyright," "entered at Stationers' Hall," "counterfeit this is forgery," or words to the like effect; or
- (b) a representation of the King, the Queen, or any member of the Royal Family.

Senator BEST (Victoria).—I cannot see the necessity for striking out of a trade mark such words as are mentioned in this clause. If a thing is *bonâ fide* registered as a trade mark, and anything on its label indicates that fact, that gives further assurance to the public. What the clause means is that in future it shall not be compulsory for a merchant to use the words "trade mark," "registered design," "copyright," and "entered at Stationers' Hall," in a trade mark. I am quite aware that the trade mark regulations of Great Britain contain this particular provision, but so far as I have not been able to discover why should exist. I would suggest to Senator McGregor that the words "trade mark," "registered," "registered design," "copyright" should be omitted. I can well understand a representation of the King or the Queen, or other members of the Royal Family being excluded.

Senator MCGREGOR.—I am informed that this clause embodies the practice in England. In the absence of the provision it might be found that those who had registered trade marks might have written or printed the words "registered trade mark" or the word "registered." If it were to simply use the word "registered" it would not be a false description under the Fraudulent Marks Act, and no prosecution could take place. The object of the provision is to prevent the use of these words in unregistered trade marks.

Senator BEST.—Why not leave out the clause?

Senator MCGREGOR.—It is far better to accept the clause, especially when it

remembered that we are only going on the lines followed in the old country.

Senator CLEMONS (Tasmania).—We are not exactly following those lines, because this clause is really taken from the regulations made under the British Act. Clause 70 of this Bill reserves to the Governor-General in Council the power to make regulations, and for many reasons it would be desirable to leave out this clause, and, if necessary, to deal with the subject by regulation. If it is dealt with in a special clause, it will be a limitation of the power contained in clause 70. It will be much better to leave the whole question to be dealt with by regulations. In these circumstances it will not do any harm if we omit the clause.

Question—That the clause stand part of the Bill—put. The Committee divided.

Ayes	...	...	10
Noes	...	...	9
Majority	...	...	1

AYES.

Dawson, A.	Pearce, G. F.
de Largie, H.	Styles, J.
Drake, J. G.	Zeal, Sir W. A.
Guthrie, R. S.	<i>Teller:</i>
Higgs, W. G.	O'Keefe, D. J.
McGregor, G.	

NOES.

Best, R. W.	Mulcahy, E.
Clemons, J. S.	Smith, M. S. C.
Fraser, S.	Walker, J. T.
Keating, J. H.	<i>Teller:</i>
Macfarlane, J.	Millen, E. D.

Question so resolved in the affirmative.

Clause agreed to.

Clauses 18 to 21 agreed to.

Clause 22—

A trade mark must be registered in respect of particular goods or classes of goods as prescribed.

Senator BEST (Victoria).—I hope that Senator McGregor will see his way to embody in the Bill, at a future stage, the regulations which have been in use for many years in Great Britain and the several States. These have been approved by use so long that he will make the measure more complete by including them in a schedule. There will be no difficulty in complying with my suggestion, because I learn that regulations have been prepared, I suppose, in anticipation of the Bill coming into operation at an early period. I have spoken to some business men on this subject, and they all say that it would facilitate operations to have the regulations

embodied in the Act. I shall ask my honorable friend to allow me to move in that direction at a later stage, if he should not see his way to take that course.

Senator MCGREGOR.—I am aware that regulations have been drafted to classify the goods to which trade marks shall be applied, but I am not so clear that the readiest way to transact business would be to bring down an immense schedule, containing nearly all the goods which are dealt with in the Commonwealth. When the regulations are laid upon the table in accordance with the Act, every honorable senator will have an opportunity to examine them, and to move for the amendment of any objectionable regulation. We are living in a progressive age, and we can never tell when a new article of food or clothing may be invented. It is much easier to deal with a case of that kind by regulation than by a special Bill. But out of deference to Senator Best, I shall refer the matter to the officers concerned, and get an expression of opinion from those who have been responsible for the drafting of the Bill.

Clause agreed to.

Clause 23—

1. If a trade mark—

- (a) contains parts not separately registered by the proprietor as trade marks, or
- (b) contains matter common to the trade or otherwise of a non-distinctive character,

the Registrar or the Law Officer or the Court, in deciding whether the trade mark shall be entered or shall remain upon the register, may require, as a condition of its being upon the register, that the proprietor shall disclaim any right to the exclusive use of any of those parts, or of that matter, to the exclusive use of which they hold him not to be entitled, or that he shall make such other disclaimer as they think needful for the purpose of defining his rights under the registration.

Provided always that no such disclaimer shall affect any rights of the proprietor of the trade mark except such as depend upon its registration.

2. The fact that a mark is publicly used by more than three persons as a mark on or in connexion with similar goods shall be treated as conclusive evidence that it is common to the trade.

Senator BEST (Victoria).—The first alteration I desire to suggest in this clause is the insertion of the words "in his or its discretion" after the word "may" in sub-clause 1. That word is sometimes read as "shall," and it would be a fatal thing in many instances were it read as "shall." It will be noticed that if a trade mark contains a matter common to the trade it may be rejected from the registry, or that if it is the case of an application for a trade mark in these circumstances it may

be rejected. That would be manifestly unfair, because hitherto a particular brand or trade mark, such as the Lion brand or trade mark, has been registered by six different proprietors in six different States. And under sub-clause 2 of this clause most serious hardships might be worked. The second suggestion I have to make is that after the word "persons" the words "in any one State" ought to be inserted. I understand that the Vice-President of the Executive Council will agree to this amendment, and, therefore, I move—

That after the word "may," line 8, the words "in his or its discretion" be inserted.

In this amendment I am following the principle laid down in clause 27, which has to be read in conjunction with the present provision.

Amendment agreed to.

Amendment (by Senator BEST) agreed to—

That after the word "persons," line 22, the words "in any one State" be inserted.

Clause, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 24—

Except by order of the Court, the Registrar shall not register in respect of the same goods a trade mark identical with one belonging to a different proprietor which is already on the register in respect of such goods, or so nearly resembling such a trade mark as to be likely to deceive.

Senator KEATING (Tasmania).—I should like to draw attention to the verbiage in this and one or two other clauses on the same page. The amendment which I intend to move does not in any way affect the principle of the clause. According to clause 22 a trade mark may be "registered in respect of particular goods or classes of goods as prescribed," and I suggest that in clause 24 similar terms should be used, so as to prevent any doubt in construction. The goods can only be like goods or like classes of goods; and, therefore, I move—

That the words "the same," line 2, be left out.

Senator MCGREGOR. — I think the amendment submitted is an improvement, and, therefore, I have no hesitation in accepting it.

Amendment agreed to.

Amendments (by Senator KEATING) agreed to—

That the word "such," line 5, be left out, with a view to insert in lieu thereof the words "the like."

That after the word "goods," line 5, the words "or class of goods" be inserted.

Clause, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 25 agreed to.

Clause 26 consequentially amended agreed to.

Clause 27—

In case of honest concurrent user or of special circumstances the Court may, in its discretion, permit the registration of the same trade mark or of nearly identical trade marks for the same goods. . . .

Senator BEST (Victoria).—It will be observed that according to clause 23 the Registrar or the Law Officer or the Court, in deciding whether a trade mark shall be entered or remain on the register, may require a disclaimer, and I think it would be wise to make a similar provision in clause before us. I move—

That after the word "the," line 2, the words "Registrar, Law Officer, or the" be inserted. The amendment will give the Law Officer power to do what the clause now permits only to the Court. There are many similar cases which it would be almost harsh to require people to have to take to Court, when they could be dealt with efficiently by the Registrar or Law Officer. Keeping in mind that there are separate registrations in different States, and the difficulties which may arise therefrom, I submit this amendment with a view to simplicity and economy.

Senator MCGREGOR. — I agree with Senator Best that it is a desirable amendment. There are many cases which the Registrar or Law Officer might be able to settle without putting the parties to trouble, to say nothing of the expense going before the Court. If any injustice is done by the Registrar or Law Officer, an appeal may be made to the Court.

Amendment agreed to.

Clause further consequentially amended and agreed to.

Clause 28 agreed to.

Clause 29—

Where under the provisions of this Act a registered trade mark is required to be proved for any purpose, the Registrar or the Court . . . may . . . accept user of an associated registered trade mark . . .

Senator KEATING (Tasmania). — Is there any reason why the Law Officer should not have power to deal with such matters as are contemplated by this clause, or has there been an omission in the draft? I should think that if the Registrar has the power the Law Officer should also have the power. I move—

That after the word "Registrar," line 3, the words "Law Officer" be inserted.

Amendment agreed to.

Clause further consequentially amended, and agreed to.

Clause 30 agreed to.

Clause 31—

1. Any person claiming to be the proprietor of a trade mark, may make application to the Registrar for the registration of his trade mark.

2. The application must be made in the form prescribed and must—

(c) State an address within the Commonwealth as an address for service:

Senator BEST (Victoria).—I do not think that the words "as an address for service" are sufficiently wide to cover service of a legal process. No doubt they would be sufficient for the purpose of service of any notice in connexion with an application. I see that Mr. Moulton, in his draft Bill, uses the words—

The address so furnished, or any address subsequently furnished, shall be a sufficient address for the service of any notice or any legal or other proceeding in connexion with a trade mark, the subject of such application.

I suggest the striking out of the words "an address for service," and the insertion of words based upon those used in Mr. Moulton's Bill.

Senator DAWSON.—Surely a trader's address would be known to the Postal authorities.

Senator BEST.—The amendment is intended to facilitate the working of the office. The officials cannot search over Australia for the owner of a particular trade mark. He must leave his address with the office, and must understand that service at that address is sufficient. That is a valid and good principle. I move—

That the words "as an address for service" be left out with a view to insert in lieu thereof the words "The address so furnished, or any address in Australia subsequently furnished shall be a sufficient address for the service of any notice or any legal or other proceeding in connexion with the trade mark, the subject of such application."

Amendment agreed to.

Clause also consequentially amended, and agreed to.

Clause 32—

1. Every application must be lodged by being left at or sent by post to the Trade Marks Office.

Senator BEST (Victoria).—I suggest that in connexion with this clause we should follow what was done in the Patents Act. The clause provides that every application must be lodged at the Trade Marks Office. I wish to provide that the application upon

being lodged shall be forthwith referred by the Registrar to an examiner who shall search the register, and ascertain and report whether a previous trade mark has already been granted, and as to the desirability or otherwise of limiting the grant to one or more States. That is in consonance with section 39 of the Patents Act, which provides that—

Every application and specification shall forthwith be referred by the Commissioner to an examiner, who shall ascertain and report as to—

(a) Whether the title has been stated as prescribed;

(b) whether the invention has been described as prescribed; and

(c) whether the application and specification are as prescribed.

I wish to have due regard paid to trade marks which have already been issued in other States. By that means we shall ultimately obtain a system of trade marks that will be applicable in all the States as far as possible.

Senator DAWSON.—There is a very wide difference between the Patents Office and a Trade Marks Office.

Senator BEST.—They are to be the same office.

Senator DAWSON.—In the case of a patent, a man comes along with a novelty; but a trade mark is simply a coloured design.

Senator BEST.—No. It may be a device or a distinctive symbol of some character. My suggestion is that care shall be exercised in the issue of Commonwealth trade marks to see that they do not infringe trade marks already issued.

Senator DAWSON.—I agree with that.

Senator BEST.—That is my whole object. I move—

That after the word "office," line 2, the following new sub-clause be inserted—"1A. Such application shall be forthwith referred by the Registrar to an examiner, who shall search the register herein provided for, and also the various State registers, and ascertain and report whether the proposed mark has been already wholly or partially appropriated, and the desirability or otherwise of limiting the grant to one or more States."

Amendment agreed to.

Clause, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 33—

1. An appeal shall lie to the Law Officer from any conditional acceptance or any refusal by the Registrar of the application.

2. The Law Officer shall hear the applicant and the Registrar, and shall decide whether and subject to what conditions or modifications (if any) the application shall be accepted.

Senator BEST (Victoria).—I think that in this case there should also be an ultimate appeal to the Court.

Senator KEATING.—There is.

Senator BEST.—The honorable and learned senator will pardon me, there is not. It is somewhat anomalous, but it is only in cases where there is opposition that the applicant can appeal to the Court under clause 42, which provides—

1. Any party aggrieved by the decision of the officer may, in the time and in the manner prescribed, appeal to the Court.

2. The Court shall hear the applicant and the opponent, and determine whether the application ought to be refused or ought to be granted with or without any modifications or conditions.

In order that the Bill might be made symmetrical, an ultimate appeal to the Court should be allowed in this case also.

Senator DAWSON.—Would not that be tautology. Under clause 42 any party aggrieved by the decision of the Law Officer may appeal to the Court.

Senator BEST.—I remind the honorable senator that clause 42 refers only to opposed applications. I desire to have the same principle applied where the Registrar or Law Officer refuses applications which are not opposed.

Senator DOBSON (Tasmania).—I desire to take the sense of the Committee with regard to these appeals. In my opinion, we have rather too many of them. In connexion with this clause, there is only one appeal from the Registrar to the Law Officer, but Senator Best desires that there should be a second appeal from the Law Officer to the Court. In respect of applications, which are opposed, the Bill already provides for two appeals. I think we might well cut out one of these appeals. I ask whether it is constitutional or right to have an appeal from the Registrar to the Law Officer. The Law Officer will be the Attorney-General, or the Solicitor-General, and I can scarcely conceive of a case in which any legal question may be involved, where the Registrar will not seek the advice of the Law Officer. In the circumstances, the Attorney-General, having the administration of the law, will not desire to have anything to do with its judicial features.

Senator BEST.—It is specifically stated in the Bill that the law is to be administered by the Minister of Trade and Customs, or other Minister administering that Department.

Senator DOBSON.—If the Registrar is in doubt in connexion with any application,

he will no doubt seek the assistance and advice of the Law Officer before giving his decision, and in such circumstances of what use is it to give the applicant an appeal to the Law Officer when he will already have had that officer's opinion in the decision given by the Registrar? In such a case it might be necessary to give the applicant an appeal to the Court, but there should be no necessity for an appeal to the Law Officer. In many of these matters we do not permit an appeal at all. I understand that under the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill it is proposed that the award of one Judge, which may settle questions of momentous importance, and involving thousands of pounds, is to be final. Why there should be two appeals given in this case I am at a loss to understand.

Senator KEATING.—In the case of opposed applications there may be only one appeal to the Court, under clause 43.

Senator DOBSON.—I am aware of that, but the applicant if he chooses may have two shots. He may appeal from the Registrar to the Law Officer, and from the Law Officer to the Court. I think it is not wise to allow two appeals. In order to test the matter, I move—

That the words "Law Officer," line 1, be left out with a view to insert in lieu thereof the word "Court."

Senator BEST (Victoria).—I quite realize that there is some force in the argument of Senator Dobson, but we are incorporating nothing new in these provisions. As a matter of fact, in the experience of the States, it has proved to be very convenient to be able to go to the Law Officer, whose decisions have, as a rule, been very satisfactory. If the applicant is to be obliged to go to the Court, that will simply mean increasing the expense which he will have to incur. So far as the Attorney-General is concerned, when he knows that it may be his duty to adjudicate on trade marks matters, he will be most careful not to advise, and consequently the Registrar could not go to him for advice.

Senator DOBSON.—I say that he should be able to go to him for advice.

Senator BEST.—Under the Victorian law he would go to the Crown Solicitor, but the "Law Officer," according to the definition in this Bill, is the Attorney-General or Crown Solicitor of the Commonwealth. The principle introduced in this Bill is consonant with the legislation in the States; but, of course, it does not necessarily follow on that account that it is right.

When we can add that the provision has worked well in several of the States, there can be little reason for any serious apprehension, such as that entertained by Senator Dobson. I think that, on the whole, the public will be benefited by the provision as it stands, because, if applicants are obliged to go to the Court they will be put to additional expense.

Senator DOBSON.—The honorable and learned senator is suggesting that they should have the right to appeal to the Court, after appealing to the Law Officer.

Senator DAWSON.—Senator Best is giving the power to appeal to the Court, if they think they do not get fair play from the Law Officer.

Senator BEST.—As to the other objection raised by Senator Dobson, if the Registrar could not get the advice of the Attorney-General, he would have to do as is done in the States in innumerable instances—he would have to get the advice of a Crown Prosecutor, or one of the other legal officers associated with Crown Departments, and, in the last resort, he could consult outside professional opinion.

Senator KEATING (Tasmania).—With regard to the apprehension of Senator Dobson that, in some cases, the Registrar may be cut off from the legal advice of the Law Officer of the Commonwealth, I point out that, in such a case, possibly what the honorable and learned senator desires would be given effect to, and there would be a direct appeal from the Registrar to the Court. If the Registrar consulted the Attorney-General as Law Officer of the Commonwealth in a doubtful case, and he refused an application, and if the applicant desired to appeal against that refusal, it is not likely that the Attorney-General would agree to sit in a judicial capacity to review a decision for which he was himself responsible. Under clause 43, if both parties consent, an appeal may be made direct from the Registrar to the Court. If we provide that, in the case of unopposed applications, an appeal may be made by both parties direct to the Court, I am satisfied that in every such case as is contemplated by Senator Dobson, all parties having, as they would, a sense of decency would agree to a direct appeal to the Court. The Attorney-General would not care to review his own decision, and certainly the Registrar would not ask the appellant to go with him before the Law Officer, who had already advised him to refuse the application. If we were to re-insert the clause, we might rely upon it that in every case where

the Law Officer had been consulted the appeal would be from the Registrar direct to the Court.

Senator DOBSON (Tasmania).—Senator Best tells us that the present practice is incorporated in the Bill, and has worked very well, and that applicants have found that it is an inexpensive way of appealing to the Law Officer. But Senator Keating says that if the Law Officer were consulted, and had a hand in guiding the decision of the Registrar, he would, as a matter of course, refuse to take the appeal. I take it that if the Act entitled the applicant to appeal to the Law Officer the latter could not refuse to take the appeal, and he would not advise the Registrar in such a way as to make himself judicially and officially responsible for the advice given. On the contrary, they would have a friendly talk over the matter, the Law Officer would advise the Registrar, though not so fully and thoroughly as he would do when appealed to, and a decision would be given. An appeal would then lie to the Law Officer, and, as a matter of course, it would have to be accepted. I am inclined to think that Senator Keating is wrong, but still I contend that we are unnecessarily giving the right of appeal to the applicants.

Senator KEATING (Tasmania). — I shall oppose the amendment, because we are dealing with the whole class of cases, and we cannot legislate for a whole class by reference to individual cases. If we compel every individual whose application is refused by the Registrar to go to the Court we shall act wrongly. This is not a case where the rights of others are necessarily involved. It is the case of an application which has been duly notified, and to which there has been no opposition, but for some reason or other the Registrar has declined to register the trade mark. It is proposed to compel that man to go straight to the Court, when he might be allowed to appeal in a quick, simple, and inexpensive way.

Senator GUTHRIE.—By seeing a member of Parliament?

Senator KEATING.—No; by going to the Attorney-General. The matter would have to be heard by that Law Officer in a judicial capacity. This provision is inserted in the Bill because in many of these instances the Law Officer is quite competent to decide whether the Registrar had or had not made a mistake, and to decide the point more expeditiously and less expensively to

the party concerned than could the Court. If we were to take away that right, and compel him to appeal to the Court, he would not feel inclined to go to all that expense and bother. If, in a knotty case, the Registrar did consult the Attorney-General or the Crown Solicitor, and, acting on his advice, refused the application, the good sense and decency of the Registrar and Law Officer, and the demand of the applicant himself, would combine to cause any appeal from that decision to be made, not to the Law Officer, but to the Court, if provision be made that by consent the parties can go direct to the Court. But a large number of the unopposed applications will, I take it, be refused by the Registrar, acting on his own sense of what is right and wrong, without reference to the latter officer. It would be entirely wrong in these cases to require a man, in order to assert his rights, to go to the expense of resorting to the Court. We ought to give him a simple, cheap, and expeditious mode of getting the matter settled by a competent officer, who may be called upon to act judicially in a matter which is outside his own Department.

Senator BEST (Victoria).—I would appeal to Senator Dobson to withdraw his amendment. I know that he is animated by a desire to consult the best interests of the public, but I fear that he is not doing so in this instance. We cannot afford to ignore our actual experience. At the present time, when an application is refused by the Registrar, the applicant has only to walk to the office of the Attorney-General, and lay the case before him, at very little expense, to get a settlement. If in such cases an applicant were compelled to appeal to the Court, it would prevent a number of very deserving persons from getting their just rights.

Senator DOBSON (Tasmania).—I am hardly convinced by my honorable friends. I think that there are too many appeals provided for. Senator Best, who has asked me to withdraw my amendment, desires to add another appeal against a refusal to accept an application; but the Registrar would not reject an application unless it was perfectly plain that the applicant had no status. I shall be quite content to take the sense of the Committee on the amendment.

Senator MCGREGOR.—I would also ask Senator Dobson to withdraw the amendment, because throughout the Bill the Law

Officer is put in a similar position to the Registrar. It will be much better for the applicants if they can get the opinion of the Law Officer before they are obliged to go to the Court. Senator Dobson knows that if there is no opposition to an application for the registration of a trade mark, and it is found to comply with all the provisions of the law, it will not be refused. The reason for an application not being granted by the Registrar might be an intimation of some opposition. If an injustice were done to an applicant or an opponent of an application, by either the Registrar or the Law Officer, he could go to the Court. In my opinion, it would be time enough for him to go to the Court when the injustice was done. It is very wise to afford the public an opportunity of exhausting every means of settling the difficulties before they appeal to the Court. I have no fear of any political or other influence being brought to bear on the Registrar or Law Officer. Those officers would know that the applicant could still appeal to the Court, and that knowledge would keep them on the straight track.

Amendment negatived.

Amendment (by Senator BEST) agreed to—

That the following new sub-clauses be added:

3. Any party aggrieved by the decision of the Law Officer may, in the time and in the manner prescribed, appeal to the Court.

4. The Court shall hear the applicant and the Registrar or Law Officer, or both, and determine whether the application ought to be refused, ought to be granted, with or without any modifications or conditions.

Clause, as amended, agreed to.

Amendment (by Senator BEST) proposed—

That the following new clause be inserted—

“33A. If the applicant and the Registrar consent, an appeal shall lie direct from the Registrar to the Court without any appeal to the Law Officer.”

Senator DOBSON (Tasmania).—I should like to hear what the Minister in charge of the Bill has to say to this proposal, which appears to me to be bad legislation. One can quite understand that where an application is opposed, both parties may consent to a certain appeal; but when it is desired to appeal against the decision of the Registrar, why should the consent of the latter have to be obtained by the applicant? Personally, I must say, I do not like the proposal. If an applicant chooses to avail himself of the more skilled, capable, and

experienced tribunal, he ought not to be required to get the consent of the Registrar.

Senator MCGREGOR.—The Bill would be better without the proposed new clause. Even if such a provision were inserted, it ought to be as a sub-clause of clause 33, which should deal with the whole matter. The case contemplated is where there is an application for registration, and there is no opposition except by the Registrar. If the applicant is not satisfied, he has the option to go to the Law Officer, and if he be dissatisfied with the decision of both Registrar and Law Officer, he may go to the Court. I do not see any necessity to give either the Registrar or the applicant the option of going to Court, without any reference to the Law Officer.

Senator BEST.—If both consent, what does it matter?

Senator MCGREGOR.—There is proper machinery provided by the Bill, and if the parties ultimately find it necessary to go to the Court, that machinery is available. I agree with Senator Dobson, that there seems no reason why an applicant, even in the absence of the Law Officer, should have to ask the consent of the Registrar to go to the Court, to which, in any case, he ultimately has the power to appeal.

Senator BEST.—The first words of the proposed new clause might be struck out.

Senator MCGREGOR.—But I do not think that the new clause is necessary; the machinery in clause 33 is quite sufficient.

Senator BEST (Victoria).—In the proposed new clause, I merely adopt the machinery which is provided in clause 43, which says—

If both parties consent—

that is to say, the Registrar and the applicant—

an appeal shall lie direct from the Registrar to the Court without any appeal to the Law Officer.

Senator DOBSON.—That applies to cases where there are two parties.

Senator BEST.—But there are two parties in the case contemplated by the proposed new clause, and the same two parties that are referred to in clause 43, the Registrar being really the opponent. If Senator McGregor has any objection to the proposed new clause, as it stands, I am perfectly willing to make it read as follows:—

If the applicant so desires, an appeal shall lie direct from the Registrar to the Court, without any appeal to the Law Officer.

Proposed new clause amended accordingly, and agreed to.

Clauses 34 and 35 agreed to.

Clause 36—

Any person may, within three months . . . lodge at the Trade Marks Office a notice of opposition . . .

Senator BEST (Victoria).—In Victoria the time allowed for lodging notice of opposition is one month, and I suggest that in this case, two months might be adopted as a compromise.

Senator MCGREGOR.—This is a Bill which embraces the whole Commonwealth; and while a period of one month might be reasonable in a single State like Victoria, it would prove totally inadequate when it was desired to give an opportunity to persons residing in Western Australia or Queensland to give notice of opposition. If Senator Best had moved that the notice be extended to six months, I should not have objected.

Clause agreed to.

Clause 37 consequentially amended, and agreed to.

Clause 38 agreed to.

Clause 39—

1. Within one month after the lodging of notice of opposition, or such further time not exceeding two months, as the Registrar on application made within one month allows, the applicant may lodge at the Trade Marks Office a counter-statement, in duplicate, setting out the grounds on which he relies to support his notice.

Senator BEST (Victoria).—I am told that one month is quite insufficient for the lodging of notice of opposition. I therefore suggest that the term should be made three months, and likewise that the two months for which the time may be extended should be made three months. I think that the Vice-President of the Executive Council has himself suggested the very best reasons why the time should be extended. My attention has been drawn to this matter by one or two gentlemen who have had very great experience in connexion with trade marks, and they assure me that the time allowed by the Bill is not sufficient.

Senator MCGREGOR.—I accept the amendments.

Senator BEST.—I move—

That the words "one month," line 1, be left out, with a view to insert in lieu thereof the words "three months"; that the word "two," line 3, be left out, with a view to insert in lieu thereof the word "three"; and that the words "one

month," line 4, be left out, with a view to insert in lieu thereof the words "the first-mentioned three months."

Amendments agreed to.

Clause, as amended, agreed to.

Clauses 40 to 43 agreed to.

Clause 44 consequentially amended and agreed to.

Clause 45—

When an application for registration has been accepted and has not been opposed, and the time for notice of opposition has expired, or has been opposed, and the opposition has been decided in favour of the applicant, the Registrar shall register the trade mark as on the date of the lodging of the application. . . .

Senator KEATING (Tasmania).—I draw attention to the drafting of this clause. The words "the opposition has been decided in favour of the applicant" are curious as a form of drafting. We often hear of objections being made to an application, and the objection is heard, and the objection is decided in favour of the applicant. In clause 40 it is provided that the Registrar shall fix a day for the hearing, and shall decide—

whether the application is to be refused or whether it is to be granted.

In clause 42 it is provided that the Court shall hear the applicant and the opponent and determine whether the application ought to be refused or ought to be granted.

Everywhere else, when reference is made to the hearing of an application the language used is "whether the application shall be refused or granted," and not whether the "opposition shall be decided in favour of" the applicant or opponent. I suggest that we should adhere to the language used in clause 42, and I move—

That the words "the opposition has been decided in favour of the applicant" be left out, with a view to insert in lieu thereof the words "has been granted."

Amendment agreed to.

Clause, as amended, agreed to.

Clauses 46 to 51 agreed to.

Clause 52—

The Registrar may, on application made by the registered proprietor of a trade mark in the prescribed manner, at any date not later than fourteen years from the date of the original registration or the last renewal of registration, as the case may be (in this division termed "the date of the last registration"), renew the registration of the trade mark for a period of fourteen years from the date of the expiry of the period of the last registration.

Senator KEATING (Tasmania).—This clause applies to trade marks that are registered in the Commonwealth, and it is

stated that the Registrar may, on the application of the registered proprietor of a trade mark, "at any date not later than fourteen years from the date of the original registration" renew the registration. Does that mean a State registration?

Senator DAWSON.—Both State and Commonwealth registrations are included.

Senator KEATING.—What I have already said earlier to-day will go to show that there is a necessity for an amendment. If the proprietor of a trade mark is to be limited to fourteen years from the date of the original registration for a renewal of the registration, obviously there will be many people in New South Wales—and I think some in Queensland—who will be unable to re-register trade marks. It is thirty-five or forty years since many of these people obtained registration, and the rights they obtained as the registered proprietor of trade marks are not to be regarded if this clause passes as it stands. It seems to me that there should be some provision to enable the proprietor of a trade mark registered in New South Wales with a perpetual right under the State law instead of merely a right for fourteen years, to obtain re-registration as from some other date under this Bill.

Senator DAWSON.—That would come under clause 50. I think that fourteen years is a fairly long term.

Senator KEATING.—It may be, but the rights under the New South Wales law are perpetual, and they exist at the present time. There should be some modification of this clause to meet such cases. I hope that even though the clause should be passed in its present form, the Vice-President of the Executive Council will consider an amendment to meet these special cases before we finally dispose of the Bill.

Senator DAWSON.—We might give priority to an application for a renewal of registration in such cases.

Senator MCGREGOR.—If the clause agreed to now, and the Bill reported, I will see that the position in this respect, as reported to the Committee, will be laid before the officers who drafted the Bill. If they cannot give valid reasons why the clause should remain as it is, I shall have no objection to the recommittal of the Bill to enable such an amendment to be moved. Senator Keating thinks necessary.

Clause agreed to.

Clause 53 agreed to.

Senator BEST (Victoria).—I move—

That the following new clause be inserted:—

“ 53A. Where a trade mark has been removed from the register for non-payment of the prescribed fee, the Registrar may, within three months from such removal, if satisfied that it is just so to do, restore such trade mark to the register on payment of the prescribed additional fee for renewal.”

It will be noticed that clause 53 provides for the removal of a trade mark from the register if the fee is not paid. I desire here to incorporate a provision taken from the Victorian Act enabling the Registrar, where the default arises from some mistake, to restore the trade mark to the register on payment of a prescribed additional fee within a certain period.

Senator DAWSON.—That is really a provision for a fine for non-payment of the fee?

Senator BEST. — Yes, the applicant would, of course, be fined in such a case.

Proposed new clause agreed to.

Clauses 54 to 57 agreed to.

Clause 58—

There shall be kept at the Trade Marks Office a register of trade marks wherein shall be entered particulars of—

- (a) all registered trade marks, with the names and addresses of their proprietors;
- (b) notifications of assignments and transmissions, and disclaimers; and
- (c) any other matters relating to registered trade marks which are prescribed.

Senator DOBSON (Victoria). — Under clause 53 the Registrar is required to send notice in the prescribed manner to the registered proprietor of the date at which the existing registration will expire. That is a very important provision, and if the register is to be complete, one of the paragraphs of clause 58 should provide that the register must contain the date of registration and the date at which it expires. I therefore move—

That after the word “proprietors,” line 5, the following words be inserted, “together with the date of registration and expiry thereof.”

Senator DAWSON.—That is covered by paragraph c.

Senator DOBSON.—It is true that under paragraph c we could get in anything. But we can have no register worthy of the name unless there is an entry of the date of registration and the date of expiry thereof.

Senator PLAYFORD.—The date of expiry is shown by the Bill to be fourteen years from the date of registration.

Senator DOBSON.—It would be more complete if the register contained an entry of the date of registration, and the date of expiry thereof.

Senator MCGREGOR.—Senator Dobson's amendment will not, I think, do either good or harm. As Senator Playford has said, the Bill provides that the date of expiration shall be fourteen years after the date of registration, but if Senator Dobson believes that there ought to be an entry in some place in the register of the date of registration, and the date of the expiry thereof, there can be no objection to it.

Senator DOBSON.—In hundreds of cases the date of expiration will be at irregular intervals, because a part of the term of registration will have passed under the States laws.

Amendment agreed to.

Clause, as amended, agreed to.

Clauses 59 to 67 agreed to.

Clause 68—

1. The Court may, on the application of any person aggrieved, if it is shown that there has been no *bond fide* user of a trade mark for a consecutive period of two years since the date of the last registration thereof, order its removal from the register, unless it was at the date of the application in *bond fide* use and had been so for a period of six months immediately prior to the date of the application.

Senator BEST (Victoria).—A prominent merchant of Melbourne has written to me a letter, in which he says that two years is too short a period to fix. Perhaps I had better read the letter to the Committee:—

With reference to clause 68, page 13, the opinion of mercantile houses interested in trade marks is that the consecutive period should not be less than five years, instead of two years, as proposed. Changes of fashion, the failure of markets and the inability to procure the raw materials, also the endeavour on the part of a manufacturer to supersede an article bearing a certain trade mark by another of a different brand, reserving the right to go back to the original trade mark if thought desirable, and many other arguments may be adduced in favour of a lengthened period. I have my doubts whether the clause is necessary at all, because it is hardly likely that a manufacturer of standing would care to use a trade mark which had been employed for a similar article by another firm, but it might give an opportunity to unscrupulous people to avail themselves of the established reputation of a mark in the event of a temporary cessation of its use.

In my opinion the position would be fairly met by substituting three years for two years. Therefore, I move—

That the word "two," line 4, be left out, with a view to insert in lieu thereof the word "three."

Senator MCGREGOR.—I am quite willing that this amendment should be made, because in Australia circumstances might happen which would make it almost impossible for a man to do business with the article for which he had registered a trade mark. In South Australia, for instance, a dairy factory or company might register a trade mark in connexion with butter. If a drought were to come for two or three years, it would be impossible to produce the article, and when prosperous times did return the company might find that somebody else had registered their trade mark. I think that three years is a very fair compromise, and therefore I accept the amendment.

Amendment agreed to.

Clause, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 69 agreed to.

Senator PEARCE (Western Australia).—I desire to introduce a new part, dealing with trades union marks, and to that end, the law officers have drafted for me a number of clauses. I move—

That the following new clause be inserted :—

PART VIA.—TRADE UNION MARKS.

69a. In this part of this Act—

"Trade union" means any trade union registered as such under the law of any State or any organization or association of workmen or employes registered under any law of the Commonwealth or of a State relating to conciliation or arbitration for the prevention or settlement of industrial disputes; and

"Trade union mark" means a distinctive mark or device adopted by a trade union for the purpose of designating the products of the labour of the members thereof.

This subject was introduced by myself on a former occasion in an attempt to alter the definition of "applicant." It was then pointed out, however, that the proposal would necessitate the alteration of a number of clauses, and that any slight difference between this particular kind of trade mark and others, might lead to some confusion. On the whole, it was thought better, if the object desired had to be attained, to propose a new part, containing the necessary clauses. The new clauses, the first of which I have moved, are intended to enable a trade union to register a label or a trade mark, to be used

for the purpose of showing that goods have been produced under fair conditions. This is by no means new legislation, so far as other countries are concerned. Several of the State Parliaments in the United States have passed Acts of a similar character, though legislation of the kind is somewhat new in the British Empire. In Western Australia, however, in the case of the Bootmakers' Union, the provisions of the State Trade Mark Act were availed of to register a label which was lent out to employers who worked their factories under fair conditions, and who used it to mark their goods. It was thought by the union that they had power to prosecute any person who used the label without authority, but the matter was never tested in the Law Courts. I am told by some of the members of the Senate that if a union could register such a label under the Western Australian Act, such registration would stand the test of law. Whether that is so or not, I am not in a position to say, but, at any rate, the same object is gained in the United States under separate legislation providing for the registration of labels, brands, or marks used by labour organizations. I have here the Act passed in the 120th session of the New York Legislature in 1897, which practically carries out the intention of the clauses which I now submit to the Committee.

Senator BEST.—Are the clauses now proposed founded on the provisions of the New York Act?

Senator PEARCE.—The clauses are based on the New York legislation, though quite different wording is used; the same end is arrived at by similar machinery. There is provision for a union to register and be the proprietor of a device, mark, or label, and for a penalty for the illegal use of such label.

Senator BEST.—Under the New York law, is anybody at liberty to use the label who manufactures under trade union conditions?

Senator PEARCE.—Any manufacturer who carries on his factory under trade union or fair conditions may apply to the secretary of a union for leave to use the label.

Senator MILLEN.—Who is to be the judge of the fairness of the conditions?

Senator TRENWITH.—Senator Pearce has better simply speak of trade union conditions.

Senator PEARCE.—A trade union has o power to compel an employer to use a label; that is left as a matter of arrangement. It may be to the advantage of an employer, who works his factory under trade union conditions, to have his goods marked with the brand of the union; and he public could have no better guarantee that the goods are produced under fair conditions.

Senator BEST.—Do I understand that a non-unionist employer, although he manufactured the same goods under trade union conditions, would not be entitled to use the label?

Senator PEARCE.—If the union cared to refuse the use of the label, certainly not.

Senator BEST.—That is unionist preference all over again.

Senator PEARCE.—No, it is not. The object of the label is to give the buyer an opportunity to know that the goods which he purchases are produced under fair conditions, and the trade unionist is concerned in seeing that those conditions are observed. In Western Australia there were boot factories, which were largely non-union, but which, because they were worked under agreement drawn up between employers and employed, were allowed to use the label.

Senator BEST.—Then a trade union may do as it likes in that connexion?

Senator PEARCE.—Certainly; and in what other manner could the matter be dealt with? There must be some responsible body; and there is nothing to prevent a small body of non-unionists forming a union. But the arbiters in that case would be the great body of the public. There are no means of compelling the general public to buy these goods, and if the employer finds that the great body of the public do not like the label he will not use it. The employer depends upon the great body of the public to buy his goods.

Senator MULCAHY.—What about a State like Victoria, where the Wages Boards determine the conditions of labour?

Senator PEARCE.—They determine the wages and conditions in Melbourne, but not in the country districts. It might be an additional inducement to the general public to buy goods if they knew that they were made under fair conditions. Consequently, its use might be an advantage to the manufacturers. I admit that the great body of the public, who are the great body of the consumers, are not trade unionists. but I believe that the great body of the public are desirous to purchase goods made

under fair conditions, whether trade union conditions or any other. Hence the advantage to the public of using a trade union mark. In no case in Western Australia did the trade unions ever attempt to force the mark on any employer. Usually, the employers were glad to have an opportunity to use the mark to show the public that their goods were produced under fair conditions, as against goods which were produced under unfair conditions.

Senator MULCAHY.—Not necessarily.

Senator PEARCE.—I am speaking of a case where I know that some goods were necessarily produced under unfair conditions. An amicable arrangement was made between employers and employés, and all the goods produced under those conditions could be stamped with the trade union label. Some employers, however, did not adopt those conditions, and did not have the advantage of using the label. The label was an advantage both to employers and employés as well as to the general public, who were able to say when they purchased goods —“Here is a mark which denotes that this boot was made under fair conditions.” This legislation will enable those who are the best judges to have an opportunity of registering, and becoming the proprietors of a mark.

Senator DOBSON.—I understood the honorable senator to say that the existence of Wages Boards in Victoria would obviate the necessity of having trade union labels in this State. Does not that show that this is a State, not a Commonwealth, matter?

Senator PEARCE.—While all the goods manufactured in Victoria may be made under fair conditions, there still remains the import trade. I can imagine Victorian employers saying that they would like to have the use of this mark to show the public that the goods which they placed upon the market were made under fair conditions, as compared with imported goods.

Senator BEST.—That would be very unfair.

Senator PEARCE.—It is not more unfair than to enable a man to say, by means of a mark, that certain butter is Victorian, not New Zealand butter.

Senator BEST.—It is unfair against other manufacturers.

Senator PEARCE.—Where is there any unfairness when all are equally entitled to the use of the label?

Senator BEST.—They would not all be entitled; it is for the trade unions to say who shall use the label.

Senator PEARCE.—The unions may allow the use of labels to as many employers as care to apply for them.

Senator BEST.—They may, if they like.

Senator PEARCE.—They would naturally do so. Honorable senators are looking at this matter as if the labels would be used by the trade unions in a hostile spirit. Their object in using them would be to encourage employers to produce their goods under fair conditions. To say that they would endeavour to constitute a monopoly is not reasonable. Is it not the object of trade unions to have a majority of the employers conducting their factories under fair conditions? That being so, they would naturally concede the use of a label to every manufacturer who cared to apply for it.

Senator BEST.—There may be a factory worked by non-unionists, but, under the same terms as a factory worked with union labour. The label might be refused to the non-union factory. A union might say that they would not grant its use to non-union factories.

Senator PEARCE.—I do not believe that there is a State in Australia where that would be possible. That would be the worst policy that the trade unions could adopt. Their policy would naturally be to grant the use of the label to all employers who were working their factories under fair conditions.

Senator BEST.—Would the honorable senator consent to a clause compelling the unions to do so?

Senator PEARCE.—I would not consent to compulsion with regard to unions any more than I would consent to compel any manufacturer to grant the use of his trade mark to other persons. I say that this is a proper provision. The label would be the property of the trade union that registered it, and they would have a perfect right to refuse the use of it to those who did not observe the conditions under which the use of the label was given.

Senator MILLEN.—The clauses do not say that.

Senator PEARCE.—In practice that would be the result.

Senator MILLEN.—We can look only to what the clauses provide.

Senator PEARCE.—Honorable senators seem to be under a misapprehension in thinking that a union would endeavour to

make a monopoly of the use of a label. would be madness for it to do so.

Senator MILLEN.—We are entitled draw that conclusion from recent events.

Senator PEARCE.—I do not think it is to the interest of the unions to have the majority of the factories working under fair conditions, and it would be illogical and foolish for them to grant the use of labels to a minority only.

Senator MILLEN.—The clause would enable a union to force the employers adopt conditions which it dictated.

Senator PEARCE.—It would not state any conditions to the employers, I would say, "If you adopt such such conditions we are willing to let use our label as an indication to the public that you have adopted those conditions. After all that is a power which should long to any union or any employer.

The label served as an encouragement to goods, it would be an encouragement manufacturers to conduct their factories under fair conditions. If the use of label served as a discouragement to the employers would disregard it. I

am aware that it may be said that I am bringing forward something which is new so as English legislation is concerned. Nevertheless, the proposal is not to be condemned simply because of its novelty.

It may be said, perhaps, by some of the honorable senators that we are stretching very wide the interpretation of a trade mark. The old idea of a trade mark has been very much attenuated by some of the decisions which I have seen in reading the literature of this subject. We find that goods which have passed through a number of hands

finally branded with a trade mark by a person who had nothing to do with their origin. Here are goods in the manufactured state. The present owner of them had nothing to do with their manufacture.

Yet we find them bearing a trade mark signifying the name of a person who had nothing to do with their origin. The man who puts his trade mark upon them is little more than an agent. He has added a single penny to their value.

Has he added a single process to their manufacture. That shows that the argument that a trade mark must denote the origin of the goods has been very much attenuated by legal decisions.

Senator DRAKE.—Is not the honorable senator talking of a trade description?

Senator PEARCE.—No, I am talking of a trade mark, and I am answering

arguments used against my proposal when I first submitted it. A trade mark does not necessarily denote property in goods.

Senator BEST.—It does as applied to certain goods, and it also incidentally relates to the good-will.

Senator PEARCE.—I have here Stroud's *Judicial Dictionary*, which gives the following definition of a trade mark:—

A trade mark is—

(a) A mark lawfully used by any person to denote any chattel to be an article or thing of the manufacture, workmanship, production, or merchandise of such person, or to be an article or thing of any peculiar or particular description made or sold by such person;

(b) Any mark or sign which, in pursuance of any statute in force for the time being relating to registered designs, is to be put or placed upon or attached to any chattel or article during the existence or continuance of any copyright or other sole right acquired under the provision of such statutes or any of them.

The Constitution gives us power to legislate in regard to trade marks, and I should think that it gives us power to step out of the groove, and does not bind us down to model our laws entirely on English or State laws. I admit that my proposal is somewhat different from the old idea of a trade mark. It is an extension of the principle. But I contend that it serves the same purpose, inasmuch as a trade union mark is a mark which indicates to the buyer of the goods something concerning their origin.

Senator CLEMONS.—What does it guarantee?

Senator PEARCE.—It guarantees that the goods were made under fair conditions.

Senator MILLEN.—Made under conditions which the men consider to be fair.

Senator PEARCE.—Made under conditions which the owner of the trade mark considers to be fair; and he has a right to say that the goods are made under fair conditions. If a union were to exercise its power in a tyrannical and suicidal manner, and made the majority of the factories hostile to it, only a minority of the goods sold would bear the union mark. That would be so much the worse for the union. Their object from a selfish point of view is not to induce the minority of the factories to use their mark, or to have a minority of the goods sold bearing that mark, but to get the majority of the employers to use it and the majority of the goods sold to bear it.

Senator CLEMONS.—In other words, to spread trade unionism.

Senator PEARCE.—Not necessarily, but the spreading of the conditions which trade unionism stands for, that is, fair conditions.

Senator BEST.—But apart from that, the honorable senator does not propose to give an opportunity to non-unionists working on the same conditions, to go to the Registrar, or anybody else, and insist upon being equally provided for.

Senator PEARCE.—Yes. Non-unionists will have an equal right to come together as a trade union, to register under the Trade Union Act, or under the Conciliation and Arbitration Act, and then avail themselves of these provisions.

Senator CLEMONS.—Why should they? What has this to do with fair wages?

Senator PEARCE.—It has everything to do with the provisions of this Bill. I have to say, in answer to the interjection made by Senator Best, that the provisions do not confer a monopoly upon any person. They will give a right to the use of a trade mark, but they will give the same right to any other body of persons in the community. If non-unionists consider themselves aggrieved by these provisions it is open to them, by adopting similar machinery, to become possessed of a trade mark, which can be attached to all goods manufactured under their conditions.

Senator CLEMONS.—Without joining a union?

Senator PEARCE.—Certainly, they would have to join a union to do this. If they object to a trade union being allowed to register a trade mark, the alternative is for them to form a union of their own.

Senator MILLEN.—They cannot do so; there can only be one union in each trade.

Senator PEARCE.—Where does the honorable and learned senator get that idea from?

Senator MILLEN.—From the practice in New South Wales.

Senator PEARCE.—The honorable and learned senator is altogether wrong. Even in his own State, there is more than one union in the same trade. He must know that there are two shearers' unions in the same trade.

Senator MILLEN.—Two registered unions?

Senator PEARCE.—I am not sure that they are both registered.

Senator MILLEN.—The honorable senator must know that only one of the shearers' unions is registered?

Senator PEARCE.—I can tell Senator Milten that while there may be only one of the unions registered, under the Conciliation and Arbitration Law, they are both registered under the Trade Union Law.

Senator GUTHRIE.—Fifty unions in the same trade may be registered under the Trade Union Act.

Senator PEARCE.—That is so; there is no limit to the number of unions in the same trade that may be registered under the Trade Union Law, which is in existence in every State of the Commonwealth. It is, therefore, idle for honorable senators to say that the men to whom they have referred would have no redress. I notice that some of my honorable friends opposite are eager to seize these provisions as a red rag; but I trust that they will not allow any prejudice which may exist in their minds, as the result of the last few years of press education on trade unionism, to influence their opinions upon this question; nor will they allow the fact that these provisions are not to be found in English law to determine their vote upon these clauses.

Senator MILLEN (New South Wales).—I hope, before I sit down, to convince even Senator Pearce, that I have no desire to approach the discussion of this new clause in that spirit of antagonism which is supposed to mark the bull at the appearance of a red rag. I desire to point out what appears to me to be an extremely serious defect in the proposal submitted to the Committee. The honorable senator has affirmed, and the clause indicates it, that the object of this proposal is to enable trade unions to register for themselves a trade mark, and, having registered it, to permit employers who employ union labour to use it. The honorable senator referred to those who employ labour under fair conditions, and I asked him, by interjection once or twice, who was to be the judge of fair conditions. His reply was that the union which was the proprietor of the trade mark would be the judge. I am not now speaking against the general principle of these clauses, but I desire to point out a possible condition of affairs which I think would constitute a very gross injustice to probably a very large number of employers. Let me submit to Senator Pearce a case in which, acting under a common rule, approved by the Arbitration Court of New South Wales, an employer was employing union labour under conditions which the Arbitration Court had said were

fair. Some little dispute arises between the men and their employer, in connexion with some minor matter, outside the award of the Arbitration Court, and they take the dispute before their union. The result is that the union says to the employer, "though you are employing union labour, shall not allow you to use our trade mark."

Senator DAWSON.—If the mark is registered, how can the union do that?

Senator MILLEN.—Because the union that registers the trade mark becomes proprietor of it, and will be able to refuse to allow a particular employer to use it, though he may be employing only union labour.

Senator PEARCE.—What inducement would the union have to do so foolish thing as that?

Senator MILLEN.—The inducement might be to force an employer to make some concession other than that required by the Arbitration Court. The honorable senator has frequently referred to the fact that it might be an advantage to an employer to be able to satisfy the purchaser of his goods that they were made by union labour. I admit that there is a great deal in that contention, but it is just because of that advantage that the trade union proprietor of the trade mark would be able to exercise a process of leverage on the employer. If the honorable senator would provide that any employer or manufacturer who employs union labour should be entitled to use the trade union trade mark, my objection to the clauses would be very largely minimized. If his sole object is to have goods manufactured by union labour so branded, I am unable to see how the honorable senator can object to the suggestion I now make, that all employers of manufacturing goods by union labour should be entitled to use the trade union mark.

Senator PEARCE.—I could not conceive of a union refusing so reasonable a request.

Senator MILLEN.—Then the honorable senator has no objection to what I suggest.

Senator PEARCE.—There must be a property in the trade mark.

Senator MILLEN.—I remind honorable senators that what we are dealing with is not the practice which may spring up under the law, but the shaping of the law itself, and the practice to be developed will be in accordance with the way in which we shape the law. Senator Pearce says that he cannot conceive of a trade union refusing to any one employing trade union labour

the right to use the union trade mark; but I still submit that a case may arise in which an employer, employing only union labour, might be refused the use of the union trade mark, because of some conflict on minor matters between himself and the unionists in his employ. Senator PEARCE, when asked who is to judge whether the conditions of labour are fair, in order that a trade union may decide whether the use of its trade mark is to be permitted to a certain employer, tells us that it is the very men who are concerned who must be the judges in their own case. If the honorable senator would agree that any employer working in the Commonwealth with union labour, should have the right to the union trade mark, my objection to his proposal would largely disappear. But I cannot give a vote in support of a proposal which appears to me to place in the hands of a trade union a power beyond anything ever attempted by any Arbitration Court, or any arbitration law, of which we have had any knowledge yet. I put it to the honorable senator to say whether the object he has in view would not be met by what I have suggested?

Senator PEARCE.—I have said that I can conceive of no case such as that referred to by the honorable senator, where a trade union would refuse the use of the union trade mark.

Senator MILLEN.—I can. The honorable senator need only look down the list of cases awaiting adjudication by the Arbitration Court of New South Wales, and he will find that two or three score of employers, who are carrying out the decisions of the Court, and employing union labour, are cited before the Court because of minor grievances with their employes.

Senator PEARCE.—Because they have infringed the awards of the Court.

Senator MILLEN.—No, because of minor differences with employes. The honorable senator has, however, given me my answer when he says that the trade union concerned is to be the judge in this matter, and not the Arbitration Court.

Senator PEARCE.—How would the honorable senator make the Arbitration Court a judge of trade union labour? The honorable senator is aware, also, that, so far, there is not an Arbitration Court established for the Commonwealth, and that there are no factory laws or Wages Boards in operation in Tasmania.

Senator MILLEN.—I take the cases with which I am dealing under the Arbitration law in New South Wales, and I say that I can mention many instances where men are employing trade unionists, and in all fairness they should be entitled to the use of the union trade mark. Does the honorable senator propose to take from those employers of trades unionists the right to stamp on their goods the fact that they were made by trade unionists? If his object is merely to provide that goods made by trade unionists shall be so marked, there can be little objection to the proposal. But if he intends to leave it to certain people to say that certain goods made by trade unionists may be stamped with the union trade mark, whilst other goods also made by trade unionists shall not be so marked, I must say that I am entirely opposed to his proposal.

Senator DOBSON (Tasmania).—Senator Pearce will remember that when I first heard of these amendments I expressed my doubts as to whether they were constitutional. I regret to say that my doubts on the subject have not yet been removed, and the honorable senator has himself rather shirked the point. He has said that the existence of Wages Boards in Victoria renders it unnecessary for trade unions in this State to apply for a union trade mark.

Senator MCGREGOR.—The honorable senator did not say anything of the kind.

Senator DOBSON.—But he got out of the difficulty by saying that there was an import trade. We have nothing to do in this Bill with the putting of labels on imports.

Senator PEARCE.—Imports would not be eligible, so I could never have said anything of the sort.

Senator DOBSON.—The honorable senator has admitted that, because there are Factories Acts and Wages Boards in Victoria, these provisions would not be wanted in that State.

Senator PEARCE.—I never admitted anything of the sort.

Senator DOBSON.—I understood the honorable senator to admit that; if he did not, I withdraw what I have said; but I am under the impression that his admission went nearly to that extent. I think that the honorable senator has himself shown that this is a State matter, and not a Commonwealth matter. We know there have been motions submitted in another place, by which it has been sought to have the

industrial life of Australia brought under Commonwealth law, instead of the workmen of each State being subject to their own local laws. That has not yet been accomplished. This is, to my mind, a purely trade union and industrial matter, and has no connexion whatever with the question of trade marks. If the honorable senator will look at the last two lines of the last new clause he proposes, he will find that he absolutely prevents these trade union marks from being trade marks at all. One of the essential qualifications of a trade mark is that it is property which can be assigned and dealt with, and which passes with the good-will. In the last new clause which Senator Pearce proposes, he provides that—

A trade union mark shall not be assigned so long as its registration continues. The very wording of the clauses before us cuts the ground from under the honorable senator's feet.

Senator PEARCE.—Would it not be possible for us to make that provision with respect to an ordinary trade mark?

Senator DOBSON.—Certainly not. An ordinary trade mark has a common law meaning and common law rights attached to it, and rights in every State of the Commonwealth. It has a distinctive meaning. Senator Pearce has said that what he wants is a trade union label to be attached to goods made under what he considers to be fair conditions, but we could not call a label of that sort a trade union trade mark. Supposing that one bootmaker had his window filled with boots bearing the label, "These goods are made under fair conditions," and that the bootmaker in the next shop had his window filled with boots bearing no label, and supposing that the boots in each shop were offered at exactly the same price. On Saturday night the wives of working men would naturally go to the shop in which the boots were labelled as I have described. I think it would be grossly unfair to give these labels a kind of legal sanction, and to imagine that other unions who made similar goods under fair conditions had not a right to label them with those words. I cannot vote for these clauses, and the clause before the Committee will not become law with my consent. Let the wording of these labels be confined to the fact that the goods were made under trade union conditions, or under arbitration conditions, or under the award of an Arbitration Court. But it is not proper to give to any section an exclusive right to the use of the expression "fair conditions."

Let the labels state the conditions under which the goods were made, and leave it to requiring persons to see the award of the Arbitration Court or the trade union rule. We ought not to give to any set of men the right to use the words "fair conditions" when other men who are equally entitled to use those words do not get the privilege because they do not come forward and employ an agent to register their trade union mark. The fact that several efforts have been made to vest this Parliament with the right to pass industrial legislation ought to show Senator Pearce that his clauses are *ultra vires*. It cannot be contended for a moment that they deal with the subject of trade marks on which the Constitution empowers us to legislate. On the contrary, they simply deal with trade union labels, which ought to be dealt with by the States in Factor Acts.

Senator TRENWITH (Victoria).—I think that the objections to the proposal of Senator Pearce have no foundation in fact. Senator Dobson sees the danger of persons being clothed by this provision. He has passed, with the authority to use the words "These goods are made under fair conditions." I do not see any provision in the new clause which would grant that power. Apparently, what is sought is that trade unions, which are held by many persons to be institutions of very great advantage to the public weal, should have the power to indicate, and give the right to traders to indicate, that certain goods were made under the conditions they prescribed.

Senator MILLEN.—It is limited under the new clause to trade unions.

Senator TRENWITH.—That is different from the point which was raised by Senator Dobson, and which I am dealing with. I take it that if the case assumed by Senator MilLEN could arise no injustice would be done, because the device could only have a moral value. It could have no positive value unless what was behind it impressed itself on the minds of intending purchasers. That is the great point to be considered. If we assume, for argument's sake, that trade union would damage the value of a trade mark by doing the extremely illogical thing which the honorable senator indicates possible—

Senator MILLEN.—Will the honorable senator admit that it is possible under the new clause?

Senator TRENWITH.—I should say that it would be possible for a trade union

to decide to sell the use of its registered mark to a single individual, but that is so improbable as to be practically impossible, for the reason that directly it so acted, that fact would be advertised, and the mark instead of being an advantage in the eye of the intending purchaser would be a disadvantage. Therefore, no injury would be done in that case, except to the unfortunate person who had bought the right to use the mark.

Senator MILLEN.—The honorable senator is going to an extreme that I never suggested.

Senator TRENWITH.—I admit, that very often it is only by taking an extreme case that one can show the rectitude of one's argument. But if a trade union were to do the lesser thing, which the honorable senator indicated, that is to refuse the use of the mark to an employer who was complying with all the conditions prescribed by the trade union—

Senator MILLEN.—No, by the Arbitration Court.

Senator TRENWITH.—I confess, at once, that the awards of Arbitration Courts are not covered by the provision, and I do not agree with Senator Pearce when he says that trade unions in this State would think the registration of a mark unnecessary. I think it is quite likely that they would. There might be in connexion with trade unions some conditions which the public would approve, but which had not yet received the sanction of the Legislature, and therefore a trade union mark might be of great advantage to a trade union, and to those who desired to purchase the products of trade unionists. I prefer to keep out of the discussion of the question of fair or unfair conditions. Of course, we started properly with the assumption that trade unions are organized for the purpose of obtaining fair conditions for their members. And it is a reasonable assumption that goods which are made under the rules prescribed by trade unions are more likely to be made under fair conditions than goods not so made—at any rate, fair to the trade unions. Of course, I know it is arguable that trade unions may prescribe conditions that are unfavorable to the employer. But that is a question in connexion with the trade mark which rests entirely with the public. For the purpose of securing custom, trade marks are affixed to goods having specific qualities preferred by the public. I think that a very large majority of the

people in the Commonwealth prefer trade union conditions, and would like to see them generally observed. There are many reasons why persons who approve most heartily of trade unions are not trade unionists. There are many avocations in which the difficulties of organizing are so great that persons who approve of trade unions, and would, if they could, be members of trade unions, find that they cannot be trade unionists, but would be very glad to know how they could purchase goods which were marked as having been made by trade unionists, and thereby be assured that, in connexion with their production, conditions were observed of which they approved. I cannot see how any injury could be done to any person by allowing A, B, or C, to register a device, and say, "These are the goods that we make." I can see at once an objection to allowing them to say, "These goods are made under fair conditions," and so deprive others of the right to publish that statement. That I admit at once might be a very serious injustice, but it could be no injustice to any one to allow A, B, or C to say, "These are the goods which we make."

Senator MILLEN.—A, B, or C might be making the goods, and might still be refused the right to use this mark.

Senator TRENWITH.—That, while possible, is so improbable as to be practically impossible; and, while possible, if done, would frustrate the end that the person had in view in doing it, and, therefore, it would work its own cure.

Senator MILLEN.—It is not done, perhaps, in one case out of fifty.

Senator TRENWITH.—That is a bare possibility, and I do not like to strain an argument. It is highly improbable that a trade union would so act—to me so improbable as to be impossible; but if it did so act, the person injured thereby would at once take the opportunity of advertising the fact in such a way as to turn it to his account. It would be so suicidal an act on the part of the trade union that I, with Senator Pearce, cannot conceive that it would be done. I see a difficulty in compelling a trade union to grant the right to employers employing union men. I see the possibility of a man employing ten union men and ten non-union men. In that case the employer could conscientiously say that he employed union men. But what this mark is intended to indicate is that the goods are made entirely

under trade union conditions, and, therefore, a man who employed union men to half the extent of his establishment—

Senator WALKER.—And who paid non-union men the same wages.

Senator TRENWITH.—That is unimportant for the present. Supposing, for argument sake, that there was a very strong desire in the public mind for the goods which were produced by red-haired men, and that the latter desired to register a trade mark. There might be black-haired men who were producing a splendid article and paying the same rate of wages. It seems to me that there would be no injustice done to anybody by providing the means by which the public could be assured of the fulfilment of that desire. Therefore, I shall support the amendment of Senator Pearce. I should be glad, of course, if any practical guarantee against even the shadow of injustice could be afforded; at any rate, I feel quite sure that Senator Pearce does not desire to do any injustice. It is generally known that this legislation does not prevail in other parts of the world to any great extent, for the reason that trade unionists in the past have had very little voice in the making of the laws. Class legislation, which is now complained of, but does not exist, did exist in the past to a great extent. The term "governing class" had a distinct meaning; and in many parts of the world, it has a distinct meaning still, namely, that the government is exercised by a very small minority, who control the whole of the people.

Senator CLEMONS.—Is the honorable senator referring to present circumstances in the Commonwealth?

Senator TRENWITH.—If the honorable and learned senator desires, I shall refer to present circumstances. What I say is that in the past the term "governing class" had a distinct meaning in the mother country, but as the governing class became extended, legislation was controlled by larger numbers of people, until, as in Australia, the whole people came to govern, greater security was afforded. In countries where such legislation does prevail, the franchise is extremely broad, and, as in Australia, the whole people govern instead of the few. I feel that no injustice is likely to rise out of these clauses. In view of legislation we have already achieved, to a considerable extent, and which we are achieving from day to day, I question whether the same necessity

exists for such provisions as has existed in the past. They can, however, do no harm, and in many instances will be good. At any rate, people will be afforded the opportunity to give expression to their views on this question in the course of their daily trade. We may adopt Senator Pearce's proposals, feeling sure that wherever a union is so unwise as to adopt the course suggested by Senator Mill the injury, instead of happening to an individual, will happen to the organization, probably with advantage to the individual.

Senator MCGREGOR.—I do not think there is any possibility of our finishing this discussion to-night, and I suggest that progress be reported.

Progress reported.

SEAT OF GOVERNMENT BILL

Bill returned from the House of Representatives, with amendments.

In Committee:

Clause 2 (Determination of Seat of Government)—

House of Representatives' Amendment.—"That portion of New South Wales bounded to the north by a direct line running from the town of Pambula to the town of Cooma, thence west to the border of the State of Victoria, within fifty miles of Bombala" and in "seventeen miles of Dalgety."

Senator MCGREGOR (South Australia—Vice-President of the Executive Council).—Considerable time was occupied on a previous occasion in discussing the merits and demerits of the various proposed sites. The Bill has since been considered, and at considerable length, by the House of Representatives; and yet the amendments made by that Chamber are so much in conformity with what was decided in the Senate, that I do not think we ought to have much difficulty in coming to an agreement. I move—

That the amendment be agreed to.

Senator MILLEN (New South Wales).—I am sorry I cannot compliment the Government on its conduct of business either in Committee or in the House. Progress was reported on the Trade Marks Bill, on the plea that we could not conclude its consideration to-night; and at a moment's notice, we find ourselves in Committee on another measure. Such a course cannot, I think, inspire much confidence in the conduct of the business by Government.

Senator MCGREGOR.—I thought that the honorable senator was in a hurry to fix the Capital site.

Senator MILLEN.—Senator McGregor always appears to find us in a hurry when he desires us to fall in with his wishes. There is a fair and reasonable way of doing business which is generally followed by Governments. To pass from one Committee to another when there is no urgency, but with a possible object in view, is not a proceeding which commends itself to me. So far as the amendment is concerned, I want to very briefly state my position. I quite recognise that, in my opinions on this question, I am in a hopeless minority in the Senate; and that being so. I have no intention of wearying honorable senators by reiterating the objections which I feel to locating the Capital in the Monaro district. At the same time, I wish once more to place on record my opinion—of course I am in a minority, and must bow to the majority—that a serious mistake is being made—serious, not only as regards the interests of my own State, but also as regards the interests of the Commonwealth. A large portion of the session of the Federal Parliament must be during the winter months, owing to the date on which the Senatorial elections take place, and for that reason I think we are making a serious mistake when we place the Federal Capital at an elevation of 2,500 feet in one of the coldest districts of New South Wales.

Senator STANFORTH SMITH.—Do not discuss the merits of the sites.

Senator MILLEN.—I do not propose to do so. The majority of members in another place hold a different opinion, and I believe that I am correct in assuming that the majority of honorable senators will agree with the decision arrived at elsewhere. It only remains for me, as a representative of New South Wales—to which State the Dalgety site is distinctly distasteful—speaking from my knowledge of the district, to once more express the opinion that a serious mistake is being made in regard to the interests of Parliament itself.

Senator PEARCE.—Is the Dalgety site distasteful to New South Wales, or distasteful to Sydney?

Senator MILLEN.—I am more intimately connected with the country districts than with the metropolis, and I think I may fairly claim to speak for New South Wales. I merely refer to that, however, as a second

count. I believe that in the interests of Parliament itself, and of the members of the Parliament—in the interests of the satisfactory conduct of business—we are making a great mistake.

Senator WALKER (New South Wales).—I, like Senator Millen, bow to the wisdom of the majority.

Senator MILLEN.—Not to the wisdom, but to the numbers.

Senator WALKER.—I desire to place once more on record my opinion that the best proposed site was Tumut. That site is approached by railway communication, and is half-way between Melbourne and Sydney, while it possesses a climate which would, at all events, suit our friends from north of the tropic of Capricorn. Dalgety will be very cold in winter, and I find Melbourne quite cold enough for me. It is enough to freeze one's blood to think of spending the winter months in a place swept by cold westerly winds from the snow-capped mountains. Although I lived in Scotland in my youth, I spent twenty-five years in Queensland, so that I can well appreciate the difference between the climate of one site and another. However that may be, this Government will, I think, have the honour of settling this question, provided they are reasonable, and do not ask New South Wales for an area of anything like 900 square miles. Dalgety is admitted to have the best water supply amongst the sites proposed, and that is a great advantage. But, unfortunately, judging by the appearance of the country, it will be a long time before there are any decent-sized trees there. There are certainly some magnificent granite boulders, but, I fear, rather poor soil. I hope that we shall not ultimately regret the selection we may make. I give my adherence to Dalgety as probably the second best site, but I do not depart from my preference for Tumut.

Senator CLEMONS (Tasmania).—I agree with Senator Millen that this is scarcely a seemly way of treating an important measure. I say that, because it is an extraordinary state of things that we should rush out of Committee upon another Bill, in the belief that the subject under consideration cannot be exhausted this evening, and then rush into Committee to discuss the Seat of Government Bill.

Senator MCGREGOR.—The circumstances are different; this Bill has been before the Senate previously.

Senator CLEMONS.—And it comes back, with a message, asking us to reverse our previous decision.

Senator STANFORTH SMITH.—No.

Senator CLEMONS.—In my opinion, it does to a considerable extent. The Senate, as we all know, decided upon the site of Bombala.

Senator MULCAHY.—No.

Senator CLEMONS.—I was present, and know what we decided. I will put it in another way. I am aware that certain honorable senators think that the Capital site should have access to the sea. I suppose that Senator Mulcahy agrees with me with regard to that. I am also aware that certain honorable senators voted in favour of a site in the Monaro district, because they considered that it gave us access to the sea. The selection originally made by the Senate has been considerably changed; and while the Vice-President of the Executive Council is apparently inducing honorable senators to believe that the site selected will have access to a port, and that the decision of the Senate in that respect is not in any way interfered with by the amendments which have been sent up from the other House, I say that the position is considerably changed. I shall probably be told to look at clause 3, and that I shall find it stated there that the territory to be granted should contain not less than 900 square miles, and have access to the sea. I believe that some honorable senators are sufficiently gullible to imagine that the Bill, as it stands, gives us that right. But I say without the slightest hesitation that it does not. If we have a sufficiently large area to include Eden, of course, we have the same access to the sea that we originally desired. But the words which have been inserted in clause 3 do not give us what we desire.

Senator DAWSON.—Suppose we had an area large enough to give us access to a navigable river. Should we not then have access to the sea?

Senator CLEMONS.—If we have a sufficiently large area to carry the Federal territory down to Twofold Bay, we shall have access to the sea. But the clause, as it stands, does not give us that access. Personally, I am not very much concerned with that aspect of the question, and am not going to quarrel with the House of Representatives. But I think it is a perfectly fair thing to point out what the meaning of the Bill is. The words which have been

added to clause 3 are not worth anything at all, and if any honorable senators desire to insist upon the point of accessibility to the sea, they should not accept the amendment.

Senator DOBSON.—The words added to clause 3 must have some meaning.

Senator CLEMONS.—Any one may have access to the sea, no matter where he is. But the words which have been added mean nothing whatever. They are worth nothing.

Senator MULCAHY.—The words are only an affirmation.

Senator CLEMONS.—The matter is in this form, because the Federal Government have no absolute power to concede any territory to New South Wales to concede any territory. It is only an expression of opinion, and such it is an extraordinary thing to appear in an Act of Parliament. But the circumstances are unprecedented. The justification I can find for it is that the Bill itself is absolutely unprecedented. We have no possible parallel to it in the whole history of legislation. We are practically creating a new precedent, and I suppose that is a justification for the insertion of words which do not ordinarily appear in an Act of Parliament. I do not wish to deal with the question at any great length, but if I have created any doubt in the minds of honorable senators, I only say that while I am prepared to support the Bill, and while I am glad to see that the whole question is now practically settled, at the same time I think it is somewhat unfair to some honorable senators who are not present, and who have had no opportunity of knowing that a final decision upon the question is to be arrived at in the Senate to-night, that the Bill should be taken at this hour. I think it is a mistake, under these circumstances, that the Vice-President of the Executive Council should have projected this measure in the Senate at this time. So far as I am personally concerned, however, I have no objection to what is being done.

Senator GIVENS (Queensland).—There seems to be some misunderstanding concerning the amendment which another place has inserted in the Bill. I do not know whether there are two or more Dalgetys within the Commonwealth, or whether there is only one place of that name. I know that there are several places in Australia the names of which are duplicated.

The Bill, as amended, as I understand, provides that the Capital site shall be at Dalgety.

Senator KEATING.—It must be in the State of New South Wales.

Senator GIVENS.—If that point is clear, I have no objection to make. I trust that the Committee will unanimously agree to the amendments which have been made by another place, because, as has been pointed out, the territory which has been chosen by the House of Representatives includes the territory which the Senate favoured. As the House of Representatives are practically agreeing with us, and have simply fixed the site more definitely, there is no reason why we should not agree with them. We have been told by Senator Walker and Senator Millen that the choice is a very unwise one. Considering that we have been dealing with the matter for nearly four years, and have had an enormous amount of information concerning the different sites, I do not see how we could arrive at any wiser decision if the selection were delayed. I place no reliance upon the evidence of interested people. I place little reliance upon the objections of Senator Walker. In some cases, in order to defeat legislation to which he is opposed, he points out that one-half of the Commonwealth is unfit for habitation by white people, owing to the climate being too hot. On this occasion, with the object of defeating another provision to which he is opposed, he tells us that the place which has been selected is too cold for white people. But the race from which we have sprung is not a tropical race by any means. There are several honorable senators who come from the northern portion of the British Empire—from the mountainous districts of Scotland. Those who come from the colder regions are amongst the healthiest and most vigorous people we have amongst us. It may be that it will prove to be an advantage to the Commonwealth to fix the Capital site in a part of Australia where we shall be able to rear a hardy and vigorous race.

Senator STANFORTH SMITH.—Where we shall have a race of Highlanders.

Senator GIVENS.—Probably we shall be able to rear a race of people who will go about with bare knees, looking exceedingly picturesque. I think that Dalgety is about as good a place as could have been chosen. I have seen all the sites which are favoured by considerable numbers of

honorable senators, with the exception of Tooma. Bombala has some advantages over Dalgety, but at the same time Dalgety has very considerable advantages which Bombala does not possess, notably, in respect of the magnificent water supply, which is sufficient for a very large population, and at the same time gives us an opportunity of generating almost unlimited electric power of the very cheapest kind, by the utilization of the powerful streams of water which flow in the vicinity. Therefore, I shall vote with the very greatest pleasure for the final selection of Dalgety, as the site for the Federal Capital, and I hope that the time is not far distant when the Senate will be sitting there and enjoying the benefits which will accrue to us from the magnificent climate of that district.

Senator PEARCE (Western Australia).—I must extend my sympathy to my New South Wales friends in their sorrow at seeing this measure rushed through in the manner now proposed. After the many protests which the New South Wales senators have entered against the slow manner in which the Government have dealt with the selection of the Capital site, they must have undergone a considerable transformation, since to-day we find them joining Senator Dobson in protesting against undue haste. Considering that they have never been pleased at the speed which has hitherto been manifested in dealing with this question, and that they are now protesting against haste, we must arrive at the conclusion that this Bill has been responsible for a most remarkable change in their minds. With regard to Senator Clemons' protest against the adoption of the amendments of the House of Representatives, I would point out to him that practically what has happened is that the other House has come into line with the Senate. We have always been in favour of the selection of a site in the Monaro district, with a port. In the last Parliament the Senate declared itself almost unanimously in favour of the Monaro district. At the elections a large majority of honorable senators who favoured that district were returned, proving conclusively that the people of Australia are in favour of fixing the site there. It is also a fact that the majority of the Senate was of opinion that Dalgety was the best site in the Monaro locality. Therefore, the House of Representatives has practically come round to

our view. I claim this Bill as the product of the Senate.

Senator CLEMONS.—Does the honorable senator consider that accessibility to a port is an essential?

Senator PEARCE.—We consider that this Bill secures that advantage.

Senator MILLEN.—Was not that the reason why Bombala was first inserted?

Senator PEARCE.—No; because Senator Smith pointed out that a radius of fifty miles would include Dalgety.

Senator CLEMONS.—Did not the question of acquiring the port of Eden weigh in the selection?

Senator PEARCE.—Certainly; but that was only one of the many advantages which we believed that the Southern Monaro sites possessed. I consider that New South Wales has much to thank the present Government for. They have grappled with the question from the outset, and have lost no opportunity of pushing it forward; and they have to-night given the Senate an early opportunity of putting its final imprimatur upon the Bill. I shall cause no further delay, than to say that the choice made by the House of Representatives meets with my full approval.

Senator TRENWITH (Victoria).—There is just one matter to which I think reference ought to be made. Senator Clemons has said that the expression in clause 3, "and have access to the sea," means nothing. Perhaps if we were dealing with an Act of Parliament, which should be interpreted entirely upon its verbiage, the honorable and learned senator would be right. But it happens that we are dealing with a measure which is properly an expression of opinion in connexion with the matters with which it is concerned. The only affirmation in it that is positive is, that the Federal Capital site must be within a certain area. The amount of land that is to be acquired is a matter for negotiation.

Senator CLEMONS.—Is it? There is a limit even to that.

Senator TRENWITH.—It is true: that the Federal Parliament proposes to say that the area should not be less, but it has not said that it shall be more than 900 square miles.

Senator CLEMONS.—But it may be 9,000 square miles. Does the honorable senator contend that?

Senator TRENWITH.—Speaking for myself, I should be delighted if it were, but I do not contend that. I contend that the two Houses of the Federal Parliament

are united in declaring that the Federal territory should comprise an area of 900 square miles.

Senator CLEMONS.—And by that the honorable senator means 900 square miles or thereabouts; a little more or less.

Senator TRENWITH.—I should say that if it happened that we could not get 900 square miles exactly—say, within a couple of inches, we should not quarrel about the couple of inches.

Senator CLEMONS.—The honorable senator means up to 905 square miles, about

Senator TRENWITH.—I mean what I am saying, that the Federal Parliament thinks that the area should be 900 square miles.

Senator CLEMONS.—Would that take from Dalgety to Twofold Bay?

Senator TRENWITH.—If it were narrow enough it would take us there and bring us back again. The honorable and learned senator has said that the expression "and have access to the sea" means nothing, but I say that, in view of the fact that this Bill will be considered, together with the discussion that took place in passing it, it is largely an expression of opinion for the purpose of future negotiations between two independent Parliaments. There is not the slightest doubt that these words "access to the sea," will be interpreted as Senator Clemons has suggested, to mean that we should have access to the sea of some one else's territory, but that we should have access to the sea through Federal territory. Therefore, for all practical purposes, that clause is as definite as it need be. It is as definite as it could be made for practical purposes. Clearly, the object of Parliament in saying that we should have access to the sea is, that we shall have that access through Federal territory the whole way.

Senator BEST.—It is an instruction to the Government.

Senator TRENWITH.—Certainly; and for that purpose it is sufficiently definite. But I do not desire that it should go forth that it was not clearly indicated that the access to the sea should be all the way through Federal territory. If that impression were to go forth it might then be argued in the negotiations that the Federal Parliament recognised that the expression did not mean anything more than that there should be some route by which we could get to the sea, and not necessarily through Federal territory.

Senator CLEMONS.—The honorable senator has strengthened my argument in the same direction, and has completely created a great impression.

Senator TRENWITH.—Great minds often run together. I regret the amendment which practically shuts out Bombala, because I think it would have been better to have retained the widest possible range of choice within the area we had described. My own view is that Dalgety is the better site, but I am still sorry that the amendment to which I refer has been made. However, I do not think it of vital importance, or that we should lose the Bill because of it. It is, however, of very great importance that we should settle this question, and that a perplexing, vexing, and disuniting bone of contention should be removed. I feel now that there will be a more rapid approach to the proper Federal spirit that should exist, and does very largely exist, and which I believe will in the near future be complete and entire. In my opinion, this question while hung up had more influence than any other I can think of in keeping apart in sentiment and mind at least two, and possibly more, of the States of Australia. When this Bill is passed we shall not necessarily proceed immediately to this place, which Senator Walker has said is too cold for white men, but a cause of dissension will have been removed, and we shall be able to settle down to the consideration of the next question which presents itself to us—the question of ways and means. We cannot erect the Federal Capital without funds.

Senator FRASER.—We are not likely to get there in a hurry.

Senator TRENWITH.—That is quite likely; but a year or two, or three or four years, are nothing in the life and history of a Commonwealth such as ours. I think, however, that it is of importance that the question of the location of the Capital should be settled, in view of the fact that such a strong feeling has existed in the minds of many persons on the question. Though we are in splendid temper this evening, I could not but deprecate the slightly sneering, or perhaps I should say the bantering tone of Senator Pearce when he got up to congratulate the representatives of New South Wales. I think that we should, so far as possible, forget that we represent New South Wales, Victoria, or any other State, and should always feel that we represent Australia. The removal of this question

will probably do more than anything else to bring about that very desirable feeling amongst honorable senators.

Senator DOBSON (Tasmania).—It appears to me that throughout our discussions there is too much feeling shown and too little business done; too much prejudice in the assertion of rights, and too little statesmanship. Senator Millen has said that in the expression of his views he feels that he is in a hopeless minority, and I am greatly in sympathy with the honorable senator. I have much the same feeling with regard to my views when inside this chamber, but I have the satisfaction of knowing that a very large majority of the people outside agree with me in believing that we are considering this matter about a generation before its time.

Senator TRENWITH.—That is a consolation which the representatives of minorities always have.

Senator DOBSON.—Although Senator Trenwith has put his point nicely and clearly about the passage of this Bill doing away with feelings of hostility, I do not quite agree with the honorable senator. I should like to remind him that we may give way a little too much to these feelings. If we are going to treat the transcontinental railway in the way in which we have treated this question, honorable senators from Western Australia will only have to sing loud enough to secure the construction of that line. They will tell us it is necessary in order to maintain the Federal and national feeling which should follow the adoption of the Constitution.

Senator MATHESON.—Hear, hear.

Senator DOBSON.—I hope that Senator Matheson does not think that I believe in any such nonsense as that?

Senator MATHESON.—I know that the honorable and learned senator believes in the Federal feeling.

Senator DOBSON.—I do, but it is not going to be brought about by honorable senators on one side clamouring for something as if they ought to get it at once, and the rest of us, like a parcel of children, giving in to the clamour. I do not propose to decide any question in such a way. I have yet to be shown that the choice of a Capital site, at which half the members of the Committee are sneering, will allay the feeling which is said to exist in New South Wales. I have yet to see whether the pledge, if it was a pledge, made by the Prime Minister is to be carried out. That honorable gentleman said that

any one who would advocate the building of the Federal Capital at an early date would be guilty of the grossest extravagance. I remind honorable senators that in the opinion of the Prime Minister the Federal Capital will not be built for twenty years to come.

Senator MILLEN.—Has the Prime Minister said that?

Senator DOBSON.—I have yet to learn that the indecent haste with which we are now proceeding with this matter will allay any feeling whatever, or bring about any broader or more Federal spirit. I do not agree that Ministers are to be congratulated upon the undue haste with which they have asked us to deal with this matter. We have on three occasions busied ourselves with the Trade Marks Bill, and have three times considered the clauses submitted by Senator Pearce, and now when we have got them well into our heads the debate upon them has been adjourned, and we have been asked to consider the question of the Capital site. Many honorable senators who have taken a great interest in the settlement of this question are not present, and there is not one absent who could have had the slightest idea that this matter would come on for discussion this evening. Ministers have no right to ask us to enter upon the consideration of this question at this time of the night. I have an amendment to propose, but before I move it I should like to say that I recognise that a large majority of honorable senators will probably be against me. Personally, I should be glad if the Committee did not consent to the amendments made in the Bill in another place. Honorable members in another place have restricted our choice to a site within seventeen miles of Dalgety. It is possible that Dalgety is preferable to Bombala, but by adopting the amendment of another place we shall be restricting our choice and restricting the choice of the experts who, with their instruments and levels, will have to decide on the best place for the Capital. If the words of the clause as passed by the Senate, "within fifty miles of Bombala," take in Dalgety, and the port of Eden, I should prefer that those words should be retained. I can see no reason why we should be asked to accept the amendment, except that it is thought we should deal with this matter with undue haste, or that possibly Ministers are expecting an early political death, and they desire to have the credit of passing this Bill.

Senator DAWSON.—The honorable learned senator might give us a chance to make our will.

Senator DOBSON.—I do not begrudge Ministers any credit to which they are entitled. They are entitled to much credit on many points, but they are not entitled credit for postponing the consideration of the Trade Marks Bill in order that it might proceed to consider this Bill. The point referred to by Senator Clemons, not been quite disposed of by Senator Trenwith. I am inclined to believe that if the High Court had to construe the words referred to, it would possibly give them an interpretation which Senator Trenwith indicated. But why should there be doubt on the subject? It is a matter of very great importance, because I do hesitate to say that Southern Monaro Dalgety was chosen by the Senate and the House of Representatives simply because it was felt that a selection in that district would give us access to a port. Surely it is a right thing for us to see that we get that access. But I am not quite certain that we shall get it. The words used are—

Not less than 900 square miles, and have access to the sea.

That may mean by a strip of land one chain or twenty chains wide—one mile or five miles wide.

Senator DAWSON.—Does the honorable and learned senator mean an increase of area in order to get a port?

Senator DOBSON.—There might not be territory sufficient to take us to the port, except by a very narrow strip indeed. I should like my honorable friends to consider whether it is wise to limit the choice of a site in the territory by the experts. I believe that a majority of the Senate favour Dalgety now more than Bombala. But why should we not have a radius of fifty miles in which to choose the site for a Capital instead of a smaller area?

Senator BEST.—What is the suggestion of the honorable and learned senator?

Senator DOBSON.—My suggestion is that we should disagree with the amendment of the other House, because the clause, as it left the Senate, would give a wider choice to the experts. I would ask honorable senators to consider how we have wobbled about in this matter, how on every occasion we have started before we were ready, and how at the last moment a site has come to the front which many of us have never

and none of us had heard of until the last few weeks. Tooma secured almost as many votes as Lyndhurst. Let it be borne in mind that when a number of us travelled by coach and visited Dalgety not one of us saw with the skilled eye of Sir John Forrest that it was a good site, or dreamed a few months ago that it was preferable to Bombala. We did not take sufficiently into account the question of water supply—the potentialities of the Snowy River which runs through the territory. We did not attach sufficient importance to the enormous electric power which could be generated by means of that water. We have made all these mistakes by proceeding with undue haste, and without that expert evidence which is necessary. We have now chosen the site, although one expert, who was expressly sent to make an official report, told us that we ought not to choose Southern Monaro without making a more thorough and exhaustive inquiry into the climate. At Bombala I was told by at least a dozen persons that in a severe winter the snow lies on the ground for three or four days together, and that when the winter is not severe it lies on the ground for about six hours. But I was pleased with Southern Monaro. At the same time, our experts tell us that we ought not to make a choice until we have made further inquiries.

Senator TRENWITH.—London is a pretty fair sized town, with something like the same snow conditions.

Senator DOBSON.—I am quite aware of that fact; but my honorable friend knows that most persons who can get out of London in the winter time go.

Senator TRENWITH.—Generally about 5,000,000 stay.

Senator DOBSON.—I have heard from a relative that a great many persons can stand two winters, but not a third winter.

Senator DAWSON.—The honorable and learned senator wishes to put the Bill on the shelf for a while.

Senator DOBSON.—I desire the Bill to be considered in a statesmanlike and exhaustive manner. I do not desire, like my honorable friend, to pass the amendments of another place without consideration, and then go into Committee on another Bill.

Senator DAWSON.—The honorable and learned senator has had four years in which to consider this Bill.

Senator DOBSON.—Every time we have been asked to consider this question we have not been furnished with the necessary information. My honorable friends may think that they are doing the right thing tonight. They may pride themselves on the fact that they are in a majority here, but I believe they are in a hopeless minority outside.

Senator MULCAHY (Tasmania).—I do not agree with the sentiments which have fallen from my honorable and learned colleague. I hope that we shall not make any alteration in the Bill, though I should like to see clause 3 eliminated. If we wish to give an expression of opinion to our Government the proper way for each House to proceed is by resolution. In that way we could have given the Government some definite expressions of opinion.

Senator DAWSON.—Does the honorable senator object to the Government negotiating with New South Wales?

Senator MULCAHY.—I object to loading the Bill with a mere expression of opinion. I do not think it will reflect on our legislative wisdom if we make a mere expression of opinion the subject of an enactment. While I strongly support the selection of a site, and believe that practically the best site has been selected by the Houses, I do not consider that by assenting to these amendments I am necessarily committing myself to any large expenditure. I think that we should be acting directly in opposition to the wishes of the people of Tasmania generally, and of all sensible people throughout the Commonwealth, if we were to indulge immediately in any very large expenditure. It is a consolation to me to know that the disposition of this Parliament is not to borrow. I recognise that if the money has to be provided out of the annual revenue we shall proceed cautiously enough.

Motion agreed to.

Clause 3—

The territory to be granted to or acquired by the Commonwealth, within which the Seat of Government shall be, shall be within the area mentioned in section 2, and shall contain an area not less than nine hundred square miles.

House of Representatives' Amendment.—Omit "shall be within the area mentioned in section 2, and shall," and insert "should."

Senator MCGREGOR. — After the lengthy discussion on the previous amendment, I expect that this amendment, by reason of its simplicity, will be accepted

with very little loss of time. When the previous amendment was being considered I felt tempted on several occasions to rise and express my opinions in opposition to the views of some honorable senators, but I was so anxious to see this Bill carried that I refrained from exercising my privilege. I move—

That the amendment be agreed to.

Senator KEATING (Tasmania).—I wish to once more record my objection to the insertion of the word "should" in this clause.

Senator MCGREGOR.—It is only done out of deference to New South Wales.

Senator KEATING.—Exactly. On a previous occasion when an attempt was made by some honorable senators to insert the word it was pointed out that we could not use the word "shall," because it did not rest entirely with this Parliament to ultimately decide the actual extent of territory.

Senator STANFORTH SMITH.—Did not a previous Government consent to the use of the word "should"?

Senator KEATING.—The members of the present Government resisted the use of that word, as I did. It was decided by the Senate, to send the Bill down to the other House, with the word "shall" in this clause, trusting, however, to the good sense of the Government of New South Wales, to recognise that there was no attempt on the part of this Parliament to coerce that State, or to usurp any legislative rights, but that it merely wished to adhere to a legislative word, which should be used in such circumstances. Last night another place was asked to again exhibit deference to New South Wales, by substituting "should" for "shall." I agree with Senator Mulcahy, that this clause is an affirmation of something which should not be found in a legislative enactment. It is not an enactment, but a mere recommendation, or an expression of a pious wish, and its proper place would be in a resolution passed by each House, as an instruction to the Government, that when they approached the Government of New South Wales, they could say just as easily as they can say now, and with far better grace, "We come to you with this Bill, and these instructions, which express the will of our Parliament, so far as it can be given legislative form, and beyond these instructions we are not

to go in negotiating with you in the matters which must be dealt with by us, a matter of contract or bargain." However, the clause is there, and the object those who are considering the interests Australia generally, and not the interests of the few, whom Senator Dobson sees to, is to see that this Bill is done with as speedily as possible. As soon as it has been dealt with, and our Government can proceed to negotiate with New South Wales, no doubt a great deal of present irritation and friction will disappear. I, for one, feel that, although we shall have passed the Bill, yet, even if our Government succeed in selecting a site ultimately, neither this nor a succeeding Parliament will launch out upon extravagant expenditure, as so many persons, who are opposed to the selection of a site for the Capital, are so fond of telling the people. I am confident that we shall proceed cautiously and slowly, that we shall cut our coat according to our cloth, and that the Capital, though its construction be entered upon early, will not be completed before a generation or two has passed. I trust we shall take such steps as are necessary under present circumstances, to establish a territory in that portion of New South Wales which will ultimately be decided upon, which shall not belong to the people of any State, but shall be the common property and heritage of the citizens of Australia for all time, and that we shall gradually, as the years go by, make a centre which shall be worthy of this Commonwealth.

Senator PLAYFORD (South Australia).—I believe that it was a great mistake on our part to insist upon using the word "shall," because we had no constitutional right to do so. We must bear in mind that, in the territory "shall have been granted and acquired" by the Commonwealth, the land is vested in and belong to the Commonwealth; we have no right to fix on a site. We are not passing an Act of Parliament, but really it is merely a means of informing the Government of New South Wales that our desire is. According to the Constitution the area shall not be less than 100 square miles; but does any man in his senses believe that the High Court would decide that we could take 200 square miles without the consent of New South Wales?

Senator TRENWITH.—Yes, if that land were required for the Capital.

Senator PLAYFORD.—All the Commonwealth can do is to express a wish for a larger area than that mentioned in the Constitution; and in such an expression I quite agree. I trust that New South Wales will accede to any request of the Commonwealth in that direction; but, at the same time, we have no power to force that State to hand over 900 square miles.

Senator KEATING.—Our wish should be expressed by resolution.

Senator PLAYFORD.—Why not express ourselves in language that is intelligible?

Senator CLEMONS.—An Act of Parliament is not a vehicle for the expression of wishes.

Senator PLAYFORD.—This is a most exceptional measure; though I admit it might have been better to convey our wishes by a joint resolution of the two Houses, I am entirely in agreement with the choice which has been made. Though I have never seen the territory myself, I think I am able to judge of its merits from the reports of intelligent people who have visited it; I can read the details as to the temperature, the rainfall, and the quality of the soil.

Senator FRASER.—Rainfall in a poor country is not much good.

Senator PLAYFORD.—But no rainfall in a poor country is worse. Very rich country with very little rainfall is not half so good as poor country with a heavy rainfall. I have judged this site from the reports of others, and have paid special attention to the report given by Sir John Forrest. That gentleman was in no way interested in any particular site, but made his investigation with an open mind. He was at one time a surveyor, and, with his full knowledge of land, gave his opinion unmistakably in favour of Dalgaty. Personally I should have liked the site to be nearer Twofold Bay, because it is important that the Federal Capital should be connected with a port. But we cannot get everything we desire; and we know that at Dalgaty there is sufficient water power to generate electricity for railways and for manufactures within a certain distance, at the least possible cost. As to climate, I prefer cold to heat, as I think the majority of people do. Those who come from the north, and have been enervated to a certain extent by tropical conditions, will at Dalgaty be braced up for future usefulness. As to the necessary expenditure,

my idea is that no money should be borrowed in connexion with the Federal Capital; that all expenditure necessary for providing accommodation for Parliament ought to be met out of the revenue. We have lately heard a great deal about Socialism, and have been told how inadvisable it would be to establish anything like socialistic conditions on the Federal Territory. All I have to say is that if the Commonwealth Government, when they acquire the land, are foolish enough to part with the fee simple, the people of Australia will curse them in the future, because no greater mistake could be committed. We know what the result of parting with the fee simple has been in other parts of the world. In the city of Adelaide I know of acres which originally sold for £5 or £10, but which, on their unimproved value, are now assessed at £20,000. I was never more struck in my life with the importance of not parting with the fee simple as I was during a visit I paid to Singapore. I called upon the Governor, and, speaking of the magnificent buildings I had noticed in the town, I asked him on what tenure the land was held. He informed me that it was leased by the Government for fifty years or ninety-nine years, there being a clause stipulating for certain improvements; and the result of the system is that in the course of time the whole of the property will fall into the hands of the Government. Very little taxation is required there at present, and the possession of this property will render taxation unnecessary in the future.

Senator FRASER.—Singapore is a Crown Colony?

Senator PLAYFORD.—Yes; some extremely socialistic plans are tried in Crown Colonies, very often with a considerable amount of wisdom. I am exceedingly glad that the House of Representatives has practically come to the same conclusion as has the Senate in regard to the site for the Federal Capital. I was afraid, from what had taken place previously, that there might be considerable difficulty; and it is exceedingly gratifying that the result is so good, so far as we have proceeded.

Senator MILLEN (New South Wales).—Some remarks which have been made this evening may create a feeling approaching alarm amongst the people of the district in which the proposed Federal territory is situated. It has been affirmed that after the passage of the Bill there is no intention to borrow money for the purpose

of carrying its provision into effect. I wish to point out that once the Federal territory is acquired it will be absolutely necessary for the Commonwealth to borrow an amount sufficient to pay for private property which it may be necessary to take over.

Senator PEARCE.—But not to compensate the owners.

Senator MILLEN.—Having assumed this territory, we cannot allow it to remain for the periods which have been mentioned—periods ranging from four to twenty years, or from one to two generations—without paying for the property which is claimed. The remarks as to the delay which will take place before any money is expended or borrowed apply only to the building of the Capital, and not to the compensation of those whose private property may be interfered with.

Motion agreed to.

House of Representatives' Amendment.—At end of clause add "and have access to the sea."

Senator MCGREGOR.—No argument is, I think, necessary to impress on the minds of honorable senators the importance of this amendment. I believe a large majority of honorable senators recognise the advisability of having access from the Federal Capital to the seaboard, and for that reason I shall not occupy time in recommending this amendment. I move—

That the amendment be agreed to.

Motion agreed to.

Resolutions reported; report adopted.

SELECT COMMITTEE: TOBACCO MONOPOLY.

Motion (by Senator PEARCE) agreed to—

That the Select Committee on Tobacco Monopoly have leave to extend the time for bringing up their report to this day four weeks.

Senate adjourned at 10 p.m.

House of Representatives.

Wednesday, 10 August, 1904.

Mr. SPEAKER took the chair at 2.30 p.m., and read prayers.

PETITION.

Mr. LEE presented a petition from the Women's Christian Temperance Union of New South Wales, praying the House to

prohibit the introduction, sale, and manufacture of intoxicating liquors in British New Guinea.

Petition received.

CAUCUS MEETINGS.

Mr. BAMFORD.—Has the attention of the Prime Minister been directed to a paragraph which appears in this morning's *Argus*, and is to the effect that yesterday the Legislative Council of Victoria held a caucus meeting? Can the honorable gentleman inform the House if there is any difference between the procedure reported to have been adopted by the Legislative Council of Victoria, and that followed by the Labour Party and other parties?

Mr. WATSON.—I have not seen the paragraph referred to, but, no doubt, the system of holding caucus meetings has preceded in every case from the one general source, and is worked in the same fashion by every party.

Mr. EWING.—It is spreading.

Mr. WATSON.—May not that be due to the example afforded by the party to which the honorable member belongs? The Labour Party has not been in existence sufficiently long to influence the other parties in this matter. The caucus is a new invention in Victoria, and I understand that it was recently used in connection with the choosing of the presiding officer of the more representative branch of the Victorian Parliament.

COLONEL HOAD.

Mr. PAGE.—Is it true that the Commonwealth military representative at the Russo-Japanese war is still at Tokio? So, do Ministers expect that he will get much military information there?

Mr. WATSON.—Colonel Hoad was some time at Tokio, and the Government were considering the advisability of asking through the proper channels, that he might be allowed to proceed to the front. As the alternative, we intended to direct him to return home. Since then, however, a more than a week ago, he obtained permission to proceed to the front, and he is there now, for anything we know to the contrary.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION.

Mr. CULPIN.—It is stated in to-day's *Age* that I entered the House yesterday after the first ballot was taken. That is incorrect, because I was in the Chamber when the ballot-papers were distributed previous to the ballot being taken; but

had paired with the honorable member Mr. Barrier, I did not vote. I think it is only fair to myself that I should refute the statement I have referred to.

NEW HEBRIDES.

Motion (by Mr. HUME COOK) agreed to:—

That a return be laid upon the table of the House showing—

1. The number of British subjects resident in the New Hebrides.
2. The description and value of their surplus products for export.
3. The total amount of a full rebate of duties for one year on the products entering Australia.
4. The estimated amount of such rebates on a ten years' concession after providing for a reasonable increase in the volume of trade.
5. The total area of land held in 1903 and 1904 by British subjects, and the conditions upon which such land was held.

SEAT OF GOVERNMENT BILL.

Report adopted.

Motion (by Mr. BATCHELOR) agreed to—

That the Standing Orders be suspended to enable the Bill to pass through its remaining stages without delay.

Bill read a third time.

CONCILIATION AND ARBITRATION BILL.

Mr. WATSON (Bland—Treasurer).—I move—

That the Bill be now recommitted to a Committee of the whole House for the reconsideration of clauses 4, 37, 38, 39, 46, 48, 52, 67, 68, 90, schedule B; and the consideration of proposed new clauses 52A and 95A.

I do not propose to offer at this stage any observations on the amendments which the Government intend to move if the recommitment be granted, since the proposed amendments have been circulated, and honorable members, therefore, have had an opportunity to make themselves acquainted with our intentions. I shall, however, give detailed reasons for the proposed amendments when we get into Committee.

Mr. DEAKIN (Ballarat).—Although the Government have given notice of the amendments to which they propose to ask the Committee to agree, I would remind the Prime Minister that other amendments were suggested which appear not to have commended themselves to the Cabinet.

Mr. WATSON.—We shall not oppose the recommitment of such other clauses as we agreed to reconsider.

Mr. DEAKIN.—If we were informed why the Government did not think it necessary to make certain amendments, the recommitment of those clauses might not be necessary. For instance, the first point that occurs to me, without reference to my copy of the Bill, is that to which I directed the attention of the Attorney-General, namely, the appointment of a Judge of the High Court. I do not notice that it has been thought necessary to make an amendment there.

Mr. WATSON. — The Attorney-General considered the point, and he thought we had power, under all the circumstances. Of course, that is only his opinion.

Mr. DEAKIN. — And the Government could not have a higher opinion. My point was not merely, in one sense, whether the Government had the power. I raised the question whether the provision of the Constitution, as to the office of Justice of the High Court, would permit of the appointment being made in that way, at all events, without the consent of the Justices. If the Prime Minister says that the Attorney-General has considered the matter, and is satisfied, I have nothing further to say. When the Prime Minister moves recommitment for the purposes of these amendments, do I understand that in each case he moves the recommitment of the whole clause?

Mr. WATSON.—Yes.

Mr. DEAKIN. — Because that will enable me to ask for the justification for retaining the words "subject to the Constitution," to which attention was called in clauses which provide that no awards of the Court shall be capable of being reconsidered by any other tribunal—questioned in any Court whatever. I think attention was drawn to the fact that the words were unnecessary. They were introduced originally, not for any legal effect, but to satisfy the minds of laymen who might suppose the clause to over-ride the Constitution. The words are unnecessary for that purpose, but I do not notice that the Government propose to omit them. I understand, however, that the Prime Minister will afford us an opportunity to consider all these matters.

Mr. McCAY (Corinella).—I notice that amongst the ten or eleven clauses which it is proposed to recommit there is clause 48; and I also observe an amendment in respect of that clause. The proposal is to omit the proviso inserted at my instance some weeks ago,

and to insert in its place another proviso which has been circulated, and to the terms of which I shall refer in a minute or two. We all know that certain declarations have been made by the Government in connexion with this amendment. The Government seem to consider this amendment of more importance than most of the other matters referred to in the motion for recommitment; and it seems to me—as I agree with them in regarding it as a matter of very great importance—that nothing would be lost, while much would be gained, by getting the determination of the House at the earliest possible moment. There will be, as I understand, as full freedom to discuss the clause and the alternative amendment in the House as there would be in Committee.

Mr. WATSON.—Not now. The honorable member has apparently closed my mouth; I cannot speak again.

Mr. McCAY.—The Prime Minister can speak on the amendment.

Mr. REID.—The Prime Minister may speak with the unanimous concurrence of honorable members.

Mr. McCAY.—The Prime Minister may in any case speak on the amendment.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Why not go into Committee in the proper way?

Mr. WATSON.—We might as well have the question tested now as at any time.

Mr. REID.—I suppose the Prime Minister has been expecting this for a long time?

Mr. WATSON.—It would show a little more courage to do it in a direct fashion.

Mr. McCAY.—I do not understand this unusual heat.

Mr. WATSON.—I do not understand this change of tactics.

Mr. McCAY.—So far as I am concerned there has been no change of tactics. From first to last, I have expressed very definitely and emphatically my opinion about the amendment that was carried, and I should think the Prime Minister might easily realize that the substitute he proposes does not meet, at any rate, with my approval.

Mr. SPENCE.—The matter was not debated.

Mr. WATSON.—There is another stage at which what the honorable and learned member proposes is usually done.

Mr. McCAY.—The matter was debated for three or four days; and my amendment was fully within the cognizance of all honorable members who were noticing the

course of the debate. To return to what I was saying when the interruption occurred, there will be, as I understand, a full opportunity to debate in the House as there would be in Committee, the alternative amendments, with the limitation, of course, that the forms of the House do not permit honorable members to re-address themselves to the subject. So far as I am concerned, I shall not feel those forms of the House any hindrance. I wish to speak only once, and I do not suppose that other honorable members desire to speak often. I do think, however, that it is not only reasonable but proper to bring this matter under the notice of the House at the earliest possible moment, in order that we may determine how this very important question of limiting the giving of preference to organizations is to be decided. I propose, therefore, before I resume my seat, to move that the figures "48" be omitted from the notice for recommitment.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—A despicable trick.

Mr. McCAY.—I ask you, sir, whether the honorable member for Hume is in order in using the words "despicable trick"?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I never heard of such a thing before.

Mr. SPEAKER.—I ask the honorable member for Hume to withdraw the expression to which attention has been called.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I withdraw it.

Mr. McCAY.—I cannot understand the heat of the honorable member for Hume.

Mr. McDONALD.—The honorable learned member is working very hard, and I congratulate him.

Mr. TUDOR.—The honorable and learned member wants to be in the team.

Mr. REID.—The honorable member for Hume evidently wants to be in something.

Mr. McCAY.—All I can say is that it is owing to nothing that I am doing, asking, that the Government have taken their present attitude in the matter.

Mr. WATSON.—All the same, it is usually considered most discourteous to refuse reconsideration.

Mr. McCAY.—I would point out to the Prime Minister that no reconsideration is being refused, because the whole matter can be fully debated on the amendment I am about to move.

Mr. WATSON.—No, it cannot.

Mr. McCAY.—If the amendment cannot be debated, I should not submit it.

Mr. WATSON.—The honorable learned member knows that no amendment

can be moved, at this stage, on his proposal, or upon that of the Government.

Mr. McCAY.—I do not know how many amendments the Prime Minister wants to move.

Mr. WATSON.—I do not want to move any amendment.

Mr. McCAY.—I know there was an amendment in the clause carried by a majority of the Committee, and I know that the Government propose to insert another amendment which they have circulated in, I presume, the exact words which they wish to have inserted. We have two alternative proposals before us, and nothing more; and, having those proposals before us, we can as easily decide the matter now as later on in Committee.

Mr. HUGHES.—That applies to every one of the clauses it is proposed to recommit.

Mr. WATSON.—Hear, hear!

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—We will not do it.

Mr. McCAY.—The honorable member for Hume says, "We will not do it"; but that is a matter for the House to determine.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—The sense of fair play of the House will not permit anything of the kind.

Mr. McCAY.—I can see no unfair play.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I can.

Mr. McCAY.—The honorable member for Hume may be a good judge of what is fair or what is unfair play; but, so far as I am concerned, I can see nothing unfair in my proposal. It seems to me that the House is as fully competent as the Committee would be to decide this question. It is not as though there were a variety of different proposals submitted.

Mr. McDONALD.—Then why go into Committee at all?

Mr. SPENCE.—Why propose a departure in regard to this clause, and not in regard to the others?

Mr. McCAY.—Because on this particular clause the Government have taken up the position that they will not accept my amendment.

Mr. SPENCE.—How does that apply?

Mr. McCAY.—The Government are determined to have their own amendment; and I venture to take up the position that I shall adhere to my amendment, and will not support that of the Government. I am prepared to back my opinion by moving accordingly; that is all.

Mr. GROOM.—Why not move in Committee?

Mr. McCAY.—Why should I not move in the House? What injury can the Government suffer by having this matter debated in the House instead of in Committee? It is not a question of settling verbiage, or of drafting, but of choosing between two very important alternatives, one of which seeks to achieve a particular end, whilst the other has an object which I must confess is not quite clear.

Mr. HUGHES.—How does the present proposal differ from any other for the recommitment of a Bill? Why should not the honorable and learned member oppose all recommitments?

Mr. McCAY.—I have known recommitments to be objected to. I can remember cases in which Governments have objected to recommitments. Take the case of the tea duty. I have also known a Government to receive a warning that the recommitment of a tea duty would not be permitted. Even in connexion with the present Bill, I heard the Prime Minister say that he would not agree to a recommitment for the purpose of considering the principles contained in one or two clauses.

Mr. FISHER.—The Government did not propose to recommit the tea duty.

Mr. McCAY.—It was announced beforehand that the Labour Party would oppose it. The Prime Minister announced, when he was asked if he would agree to an unconditional recommitment, that he would not consent in regard to one or two clauses in which certain principles were involved; that he would agree to a recommitment with the object of dealing with the verbiage, but for no other purpose. If the Government are entitled to refuse to recommit a clause because they hold certain views, I fail to see why any honorable member, however humble may be his position, should not be entitled to adopt the same attitude, especially when, as is the case here, the whole question can be as definitely decided in the House as in Committee—with the exception, as I said before, that honorable members will not be able to speak so frequently in the House. That is not an unmixed evil, although it possibly may be an evil of some kind. The amendment which was carried after fair consideration—I wish the honorable member for Hume would not interrupt.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I am not interrupting the honorable and learned member.

Mr. McCAY.—I object to any honorable member indulging in a constant stream of

interjections that I can hear, but which Mr. Speaker cannot hear.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—The honorable and learned member ought to behave himself.

Mr. McCAY.—If the honorable member wants to interject, he might at least do me the courtesy of not sitting immediately behind me, because it is difficult to speak when one is subjected to a stream of interjections from behind. I do not wish to introduce any heat into this discussion, or to strike sparks from the anvil of the honorable member's feelings.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—The honorable and learned member wants to strike below the belt.

Mr. McCAY.—I do not know why the honorable member is so worried about this matter.

Mr. McDONALD.—Why is the honorable and learned member worried about it?

Mr. McCAY.—I am not in the least worried. I have fought and lost, and I have fought and won, in connexion with this Bill. I have borne my beatings as cheerfully as I have taken my successes, and I have not quarrelled with other honorable members because I have been beaten.

Mr. SPENCE.—The honorable and learned member is very much afraid of the Committee.

Mr. McCAY.—I am not afraid of the Committee. I cannot understand the extraordinary zeal on the part of some honorable members to get to the Committee.

Mr. McDONALD.—The honorable and learned member changes his views very quickly.

Mr. McCAY.—I do not think the honorable member can point to any instance in which I have changed my views.

Mr. McDONALD.—What about the contribution towards the maintenance of the Australian Auxiliary Squadron?

Mr. McCAY.—I never changed my opinion upon that subject—not so far as my memory serves me.

Mr. McDONALD.—Does not the honorable and learned member remember the conversation we had?

Mr. McCAY.—The honorable member is referring to a casual conversation over the billiard-table?

Mr. SPEAKER.—I must ask honorable members not to interject so as to interrupt an honorable member who is addressing the House. I would especially ask them to refrain from introducing matters that are absolutely irrelevant, and to

which the speaker who is in possession of the Chair cannot in the course of his speech reply. If honorable members will quietly listen to the honorable and learned member they will have an opportunity of replying to him later on.

Mr. McCAY.—To return to the subject and to leave the digression into which was drawn by the somewhat surprising statement of the honorable member Kennedy, I would point out that the proviso in clause 48 reads as follows:—

And provided further that no such preference shall be directed to be given unless the application for such preference is, in the opinion of the Court, approved by a majority of those affected by the award who have interests in common with the applicants.

The key-note of the proposal is that, the opinion of the Court, the majority of the workmen who are asking for preference shall be favorable to it. The Government proposal is that the following proviso should be substituted:—

The Court, before directing that preference shall be given to the members of an organization shall be satisfied that the organization substantially represents the industry affected in point of the numbers and competence of its members.

The operative words are "substantially presents," and I shall have a few words to say in regard to their meaning. I must say that when I first saw the amendment circulated as an alternative to mine—

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—Was not the honorable and learned member's amendment adopted by the Committee?

Mr. McCAY.—Yes.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—Then it has become the work of the Committee.

Mr. McCAY.—Yes, it was adopted by a majority of seven votes.

Mr. HUTCHISON.—Without proper discussion.

Mr. McCAY.—I do not agree with the honorable member. We had four days of discussion.

Mr. HUTCHISON.—Not upon that point.

Mr. McCAY.—I gave notice of my intention to withdraw my original amendment, and substitute another, certainly in the form in which the proviso was finally adopted, but one embodying the same principle. Every honorable member had ample opportunity to consider it before it was adopted and certainly has had ample opportunity to consider it since, and I do not suppose that any honorable member will contend that he has not so

sidered it. When I first saw the Government proposal, and noticed that it once more made a concession, at any rate to the views of myself and others, I wondered what kind of reception the Government amendment would have had if it had been proposed by me in the first place. If I had suggested that a preference should be allowed to an organization substantially representing an industry in point of numbers and competence, I question whether I should not have been told to trust the Court. I remember that when an earlier amendment of mine regarding the political character of unions was under consideration, it was pointed out at one moment to those who were inclined to agree with me that after all the Government proposal was very much the same as mine, and that they might as well support it, and the next moment it was pointed out that they could not support my proposal because it was so different. I dare say we shall hear something of the same kind on the present occasion. The Government propose that the Court shall be at liberty to give preference to an organization, when satisfied that it substantially represents an industry. I do not quite understand what "substantially represents" means. I take it that the whole question would be left to the discretion of the Court. The expression means very little more than that. It means, once more, "trust the Court." If it means that, until a majority of the workmen support or approve, preference shall not be given by the Court, then the Government proposal says, in less definite words and in vaguer language, the same thing as my amendment. I do not suppose that the Government would for a moment accept that view, nor do I suppose that the Government mean that. Their amendment must mean something substantially less than my amendment as it appears in the Bill. It means, apparently, that the Court will be called upon to decide what constitutes "substantial representation in numbers and competence." That is to say, the numbers of the organization must substantially represent the industry affected, and the competence of its members must also substantially represent it.

Mr. SPENCE.—What more does the honorable and learned member want?

Mr. McCAY.—If the Government proposal means as much as does my amendment, I desire no more. But it does not

mean as much, otherwise the Ministry would not propose it.

Mr. WATSON.—We say that the amendment of the honorable and learned member is unworkable.

Mr. McCAY.—In other words, the Government affirm that unionists can never secure the approval of a majority of those interested in any industry. If that be so, I hold that they should not be granted a preference. Rightly or wrongly, I am very definitely of opinion that it should be essential to the granting of a preference to unionists, that at least the Court should believe that a majority of those concerned in the industry affected desire such a preference.

Mr. HUTCHISON.—How would the honorable and learned member secure the opinion of the majority?

Mr. McCAY.—I shall deal with that matter at a later stage. At present, I am discussing the proposal of the Government. I would remind the House that in New Zealand, the Court has always proceeded upon the principle that it was necessary that a majority of the employes interested in any industry should ask for a preference to be extended to them before any such preference was granted. If in New Zealand the Court finds it possible to determine when the employes who desire that a preference shall be extended to them constitute a majority of those engaged in an industry, I must confess that I am unable to understand why the same result cannot be achieved in Australia. I shall point out the reasons for my belief in a minute or two. What does "substantial" representation mean? I do not for a moment suppose that it means as little as is conveyed in some comments by the right honorable member for East Sydney, which appear in the *Argus* of to-day, and in which he points out that it has been held by a Court that a house was in "substantial" repair, notwithstanding that its walls were in very poor condition. But let us take a specific instance. Does the Prime Minister think that Mr. McGarry substantially represents the electorate of the Murrumbidgee in the Parliament of New South Wales?

Mr. WATSON.—I think so.

Mr. McCAY.—The Prime Minister asserts that Mr. McGarry substantially represents the electors of the Murrumbidgee?

Mr. WATSON.—I do.

Mr. McCAY.—Mr. McGarry polled 1,538 votes out of 8,111 electors upon the roll, and out of a total of 5,171 votes recorded.

In other words, he received 30 per cent. of the votes that were polled and 19 per cent. of the votes of the electors whose names appear upon the roll. In his case the number of voters upon the roll would correspond with the number of persons employed in an industry. Consequently, the Prime Minister argues that 19 per cent. of those engaged in an industry would substantially represent that industry. I say that it does not.

Mr. WATSON.—It is not a question of what the Prime Minister thinks, but of what the President of the Arbitration Court would say.

Mr. McCAY.—I was waiting for that admission. In other words, under the proposal of the Government we have got back to the position that we are required to trust the Court without imposing any limitation upon its action. If the Court were to declare that 19 per cent. of those engaged in an industry substantially represented that industry, I should not agree with it. The words "substantial" and "substantially" are vague words, which we never employ in an Act of Parliament if we can avoid them. The effect of their insertion in this clause would be to vest the Court practically with a discretion to say that "substantial representation" exists in any industry, unless that representation was obviously trivial or frivolous. Under the Government proposal, almost anything might be upheld as "substantial representation." But I would point out that, should an appeal be made from the decision of the Arbitration Court to the High Court on the ground that the former has held that certain representation was "substantial," whilst those immediately concerned, against whom such an award had been made, did not think so, the question involved would be one of fact, and not of law. I repeat that under the amendment foreshadowed by the Government it would be left absolutely to the Arbitration Court to declare what was "substantial representation," and what was not. It is easy to conceive that a course of decisions might be given producing a result which would cause the Court to regard as substantial sets of circumstances which none of us would ever dream of describing by that term. I claim that a limitation which leaves the Court practically unfettered is no limitation at all. Honorable members are aware that the form of the Government proposal was decided upon some weeks before it was circulated. I did not receive a

copy of it, although some honorable members did. I do not wish to speak at a greater length. No doubt a number of honorable members will address themselves to the question, and the alternative proposal before the House will meet with full discussion. Each side will be sure to point out the errors of the other side, and my amendment will, doubtless, be subjected to severe criticism. I trust, however, that it will be subjected to destructive criticism, because I venture to think that, after all, it expresses as reasonably, fairly, and definitely as is possible in matters of this kind, the views held by the Committee at the time it was made, and the opinions which its supporters still entertain. I start by postulating that from the stand-point it is essential to the exercise of the commonest fair-play that a majority should be in favour of the extension of preference to them before any such preference is granted. I protest in the strongest terms at my command, and I protest by my action as well as by my voice, against any system which will allow minorities to control the destinies of majorities, especially the industrial destinies of majorities, because that is more important than is the mere determination that majorities shall rule in political affairs. As a rule, political matters touch us only indirectly. They may affect us very vitally but almost invariably they do so in an indirect manner. But we shall strike at the root of the livelihood of a very large number of the people of Australia if this preference is granted without a limitation to the effect that a majority of those concerned in the industry affected shall first declare themselves in favour of such a preference. At the very least, I claim that if we are to establish a rule of this kind, we should say to the Court, "It shall be a majority rule, and not under any circumstances a minority rule." I am satisfied that the great bulk of the people of the Commonwealth believe that such a limitation is essential, and that it is only from a limited section that protests against it are forthcoming. We have been told that the amendment constitutes a menace to unionism—that it strikes a blow at its fundamental principles. I entirely dissent from that view. I quite agree with the right unions to do their work in the way they think best, and to obtain, by proper constitutional means, everything that they want. If they can induce a majority of the

ors of Australia, in the expression of their wishes at the ballot-box, to agree with their own views, and if, as a result, I am left in a minority, I shall not quarrel with majority rule. I am perfectly prepared to apply to myself the same rule that I wish to apply to others. But I will not agree to what is practically the establishment of minority rule under any circumstances whatever. It has been said that my amendment is not workable. The following are its exact words—and I must apologize to the House for repeating them, but apparently the Prime Minister suggests that the question involved is one of wording—

Mr. WATSON.—I said that the amendment of the honorable and learned member is unworkable.

Mr. McCAY.—Then it is not the wording of my amendment with which the Prime Minister quarrels, but its working possibilities. I suppose that he means that it would never be possible to secure such a state of affairs as would induce the Court to think that a majority of those affected by the award were in favour of a preference being given to the organization.

Mr. KELLY.—He will not trust the Court in that case.

Mr. McCAY.—No; he can trust the Court only in matters in which its operation can move in the direction of his own desires, and not against them.

Mr. POYNTON.—Will the honorable and learned member show how his proposal could be carried out?

Mr. McCAY.—I shall give one or two cases in which it could not fail to work. I shall take such authorities as the honorable member for Darling, and the Minister of External Affairs.

Mr. POYNTON.—They represent only two instances.

Mr. McCAY.—The honorable member asks me to show how my proposal could be carried out, and when I begin to quote cases in relation to which it would certainly operate he remarks—"Those are only two instances." He anticipates my being able to answer his questions, and that being so I have done something towards proving that which it was prognosticated I should not be able to prove. The honorable member for Darling tells us that the vast majority of those connected with sheep shearing are members of the Australian Workers' Union. That being so, when that union goes to the Court and asks

for a preference to members of the organization it will not have the least difficulty in satisfying the Court that it represents a majority of those concerned, and that the preference may safely be given.

Mr. SPENCE.—How would it prove that?

Mr. McCAY.—I have not said that it has to be proved by such evidence as is required in an ordinary Court of law. The Bill provides that the Court may inform itself in practically any manner whatever. If the union produced the statistics which the honorable member says it is able to produce—if it showed that it had five-sixths of the shearers of Australia within its ranks, it would have no difficulty whatever in satisfying that impartial Judge whom the honorable member is so willing to trust in all other matters, that there was a majority of those concerned in favour of the application.

Mr. HUTCHISON.—It would have to prove how many did not belong to the union.

Mr. McCAY.—The evidence I have mentioned would satisfy any Court. Those who desired to dispute the conclusions which the Court was asked to draw from the statements submitted by the union, would have to bring forward remarkably strong evidence, and prove up to the hilt that the statement was not true, before the Court would disregard it.

Mr. HUGHES.—On whom would the onus be thrown?

Mr. McCAY.—Upon those who applied for the preference. The honorable and learned gentleman, as a lawyer, knows well enough that the burden of proof may be shifted from time to time during the hearing of a case, and that the *prima facie* evidence to which I have referred would forthwith shift the burden of proof on to those who objected. The Court will not be bound by the ordinary rules of evidence.

Mr. POYNTON.—I venture to say that even if the honorable and learned member had nothing else to do for twelve months he could not tell us how many shearers there are in Australia.

Mr. McCAY.—Perhaps I should not be able to state the exact number, but I should be able to give it within, at all events, a few hundreds.

Mr. HUTCHISON.—We will give the honorable and learned member a margin of 500.

Mr. McCAY.—A margin of 500 or of even 1,000 would not be sufficient to affect the question.

Mr. WATSON.—It might affect a majority.

Mr. McCAY.—In the case under notice the number of the members of the organization is so overwhelming that such a margin would not in any way cause injury to the majority. The honorable member for Grey speaks of the necessity there would be to prove the number of shearers in Australia. Does he think that there would have to be a muster of the shearers, as well as of the sheep, in order that a count might be made to satisfy the Court?

Mr. GLYNN.—One could prove a majority although he had no knowledge of the total.

Mr. McCAY.—Exactly. Let me refer now to the Federated Seamen's Union. The Minister of External Affairs told us that, with the exception of the waterside workers at a few small ports, practically every one concerned in Australia was a member of that union. If that be so, there would be no difficulty in proving that the application for a preference was supported in that case by a majority of those concerned. Let us take another case in which the members of a union do not represent a majority of the workers in the industry to which it applies. Let us take a case in which it is doubtful whether the organization, although a large one, represents a majority of those affected. To begin with, I would point out that it is more difficult to ascertain the exact number of persons concerned in the pastoral industry, and that relating to transportation by land and sea, than it is to discover the number engaged in any other calling, because both occupations are more nomadic than is any other. But in those cases the difficulty has already been obviated by the praiseworthy efforts of those who have been concerned in forming unions relating to them. Let us deal with other industries in which the occupation is more localized. I take it that there would be no difficulty in ascertaining, for example, the majority of railway employés or of those engaged in the coal-mining industry. The coal mines of Australia are situated in a limited number of localities, and it would be the easiest thing in the world to ascertain the majority in the case of those employed in them. I come now to the position of gold miners. We have a certain unascertained percentage of men engaged in that industry who are working on their own account. When I say that the percentage is unascertained, I mean that it is not quite accurately ascertained. Speaking from experience gained by a life-time spent on the gold-fields, I venture to say that it would

be possible to ascertain with comparative ease the majority—

Mr. POYNTON.—It would not; and know as much about the gold-fields as do the honorable and learned member.

Mr. McCAY.—I dare say; but I am merely speaking of what has been my own experience. I cannot say what are the results of the honorable member's experience in this direction; but my experience is, first of all, that the number of men working on their own account is small, compared with the number employed on wages. There would be practically no substantial difficulty in ascertaining the number of gold miners employed by others and those who were working for themselves would not be concerned by an award because they would be neither employers nor employés. We should find that in every industry there would be no substantial difficulty in carrying out my amendment. The clause does not say that a majority of those concerned in the industry in Australia must approve before an award may be given. It simply says that the application shall be "approved by a majority of those affected by the award." Some ingenious individuals may possibly say that a man in Western Australia might be affected by an award applying to Victoria and New South Wales, and that therefore he would have to be included in the total before a majority could be ascertained. I venture, with very little hesitation, to differ from that view of the position. On matters relating to the construction and the interpretation of the English language no one can speak with absolute certainty, because it lends itself, to a very great extent, to the ingenuity of those who love puzzles.

Mr. HUTCHISON.—What about the common rule; it affects the honorable and learned member's argument?

Mr. McCAY.—I shall come to that presently; but, to parody Sir Boyle Roche's statement that a man cannot be in two places at once unless he is a bird, I would point out that I cannot deal at once with two aspects of the case. I assert, without practically any hesitation, that a man in Western Australia would not be affected by an award which applied, say, to Victoria and New South Wales. He might be subsequently affected by the award. The clause does not require that there shall be a majority of those who "may" be affected, but a majority of those who "are" affected by the award. The widest in-

pretation which the Court could give to my amendment would be one saying in effect, "We want a majority of those within the area over which the award is to extend." If the award extends over Australia—assuming that the Constitution will allow it to so extend; and that, of course, is another matter—we need the consent of a majority of those employed in the industry affected throughout Australia. If the award extends over only two States, we want the approval of a majority of those concerned in the two States. If it can be limited to only one State, as is conceivable, though I do not think it will be, we want a majority of those concerned in that State; and if it be limited to specified localities, we want a majority of those concerned in the localities specified.

Mr. FISHER.—The honorable and learned member is asking for more than is asked under the Electoral Act in connexion with the election of members of Parliament. Hardly one member of the House was returned by an actual majority of his constituents.

Mr. McCAY.—I think that there are one or two exceptions; but it must be remembered that the Bill asks for a great deal more in other respects than is asked for by the Electoral Act. The Electoral Act does not directly affect any man's living, nor do most of the laws passed by this Parliament affect the public in the way in which this Bill will affect them.

Mr. WEBSTER.—Why ask impossibilities?

Mr. McCAY.—I am not asking impossibilities. I have pointed to a number of cases in which I think it is obviously possible, and some in which the result has been actually achieved. All that is necessary is to place before the Court the facts already ascertained. My own view of my amendment is that where a common rule is not asked for, the proviso will apply only to employes and employers who are parties to the claim. It will practically apply only to the workshops or industries in which are engaged the actual parties to the dispute, and those concerned in it. It is possible to take the other and wider view which I have mentioned, but the locality to which the award extends is the maximum area to which the amendment will apply, and the area within which the consent of the majority will be required. My own view is that where a common rule is not asked for, it will apply practically only to the shops, factories, and so on, that

are concerned, and the persons connected with them as employers or employes. If my view be wrong, the wider view still leaves the provision practically feasible, and by no means difficult of achievement. We do not desire to make preferences obtainable in a particularly free, easy, and accessible manner—to quote a phrase well known in Victoria a few years ago. We desire to have proper safeguards, though there are some safeguards now. If a common rule be applied for and granted, it will extend over a given area, and undoubtedly the preference granted in that award and over that area should not be allowed unless the majority of those concerned are, in the opinion of the Court, in favour of it. That provision will prevent the giving of a preference to an organization which is in a minority, and has opposed to it an outside majority. That is a case in which a preference should not be given. I have no fear but that the amendment will be found to operate with comparative ease, with reasonable efficacy, and certainly with no more difficulty than the importance of the subject makes inevitable. We have had before occurrences similar to the present state of affairs in connexion with this Bill. I would remind the House that when the common rule was under consideration, I proposed to limit its application to the cases in which I thought the real reason for a common rule exists, the cases in which there is competition. The Government would not accept my amendment, and passed a modification of it. Then there was a further amendment with reference to the political character of unions and organizations. The Government would not accept that, but proposed a modification of it. They had to accept the modification in exactly the words of my proposal, except that they altered the point at which the operation of the sub-section began, and they did that only so that they might carry the Bill in something like its present form. I would also remind the House of the circumstances under which this recommittal is asked for, and of the circumstances which have arisen since the amendment was carried to limit preferences to cases in which a majority of those affected approve. When my amendment was proposed, the Government simply announced that they could not accept it, and said no more; but it was carried by a majority of five votes. Two honorable members were absent, who, so far as I can judge, would, had they been present, have supported the

amendment. The Government then reported progress, and said that they would consider their position. Two or three days later—I think on the following Tuesday—the Prime Minister informed the House that he would ask leave to recommit the clause, in order to permit honorable members to reconsider their determination. Not a word was then said about an alternative proposal. Later came the amendment relating to the political character of unions, which the Government carried in the form they desired by a majority of one vote, with the kind assistance of the “bridge-builders” in this corner of the Chamber. The Prime Minister warned the Committee that that amendment was vital, not only to the Bill, but to the Government; that the Government would resign if it were carried. In answer to the honorable and learned member for Corio, he stated in so many words that if the amendment were carried in the form proposed by me, and not in the form proposed by himself, the Government would resign. That threat had its effect. There was an undoubted cracking of the whip. In my limited parliamentary experience I have never heard the whip cracked more loudly under similar circumstances than it was cracked on that occasion. But the cracking was effective.

Mr. SPEAKER.—Does the honorable and learned member think that this has anything to do with the question?

Mr. McCAY.—Perhaps I may refer to the matter to fix the date of the occurrence. The Prime Minister then, and not until then, announced that this proposal also was vital to the Government. That was announced, I think, on a Saturday, but I do not know the day of the week. At any rate, it was after the division on the clause relating to the political character of unions that the Prime Minister announced this issue to be vital to the existence of the Government.

Mr. WILKS.—The Prime Minister made an announcement at the table in answer to my remarks, when the amendment of the honorable member for Darling Downs was inserted.

Mr. McCAY.—That is so, but it was afterwards that, for the first time, we heard that this particular issue was vital to the existence of the Government. What does that mean under the circumstances? It means that the amendment, which was carried on its merits, apart from all other considerations, is now to be levered through by means of other issues. It may be that

these are issues of importance; I do not know. It is always a matter of considerable importance as to who shall control the administration of a great country like Australia; but that is not a matter of importance, as compared with the much greater interests which I think are involved in such a question as that now before us, in relation to the people of Australia.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—The whole thing is only being used for Opposition purposes.

Mr. McCAY.—I beg, with the utmost respect, to absolutely contradict the Minister of Home Affairs.

Mr. WATSON.—The opposition to the Bill right through has been on that ground.

Mr. McCAY.—It was the Government who threw out the challenge, and I never from first to last, throughout the whole of the debates, have said a single word or done a single thing, except in relation to the Bill itself.

Mr. WATSON.—They have been very careful on the other side.

Mr. McCAY.—I have never discussed these matters, except in relation to their merits and their effect on the Bill and on the community. It was the Government on the date I have mentioned, who forced this issue upon us, so that we had to take it up. Must I, because the Government chose to take up that attitude, be debarred from exercising my judgment as to what I think ought to be done with this measure? The Government have thrown down the glove.

Mr. HUGHES.—Poor little lamb!

Mr. SPENCE.—The honorable and learned member for Corinella is coming out in his true colours.

Mr. McCAY.—I do not know what the honorable member for Darling means by saying that I am “coming out in my true colours.” If the honorable member means that I shall support the clause regardless of what the Government propose to do, he is correct. I do not care what attitude the Government take on the matter. I am going to vote for the clause as it stands, as against the amendment of the Government. I believe the clause to be right, and the amendment now proposed to be wrong.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—The honorable and learned member is going to vote against allowing us to go into Committee to consider the Bill.

Mr. McCAY.—I am not going to do anything of the kind. The honorable member for Hume has made that assertion about six

imes, but it does not gather force by repetition.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I think it does.

Mr. McCAY.—There, again, I differ from the honorable member; I have had to differ from him before, and may have to do so again. I trust, however, that in all our differences of opinion, I, at any rate, shall never be any crosser than he is, or appears to be, on the present occasion.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—The honorable and learned member is always "on the cross."

Mr. McCAY.—I do not in the least degree understand what the honorable member for Hume means. I suppose the honorable member is endeavouring to cast some reflection on me, but what it is I do not understand. However, from some people reflections are more like compliments than injuries.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I always feel like that when reflections are made on me by the honorable and learned member.

Mr. McCAY.—I do not recollect that I have ever passed reflections on the honorable member since I have been in this House.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Only on three or four occasions.

Mr. McCAY.—All I have done is to protest against his interjections. I do not believe that before to-day I have said one word about him personally in this House, and, Mr. Speaker, if I can manage to exercise good sense, I purpose never to say a word about him again. My single sin will, I hope, to some extent be atoned for by my previous comparatively good conduct, and by my subsequent absolutely good conduct. If I have said anything to hurt the feelings of the honorable member for Hume, I am very sorry. The Government, after deliberation, actuated by I do not know what motives—though I have no doubt they were very proper motives—announced through the Prime Minister, outside the House, that they proposed to make this issue vital. The only object I could see for such an announcement was that of influencing the votes of some honorable members who had supported me on a previous occasion. The only object I could see was that of inducing those honorable members to vote against me on the present occasion; there could be no other object to be gained. I have seen it stated in the press that that object has been achieved; that the Government are now

assured of a majority against my amendment, of anything from two upwards. As to that I know nothing; I do not profess to be a master of figures in that particular aspect, or indeed in any aspect. But I do say that the Government, having reported progress and taken four days to consider their attitude, and having deliberately told the House that they would give the Committee an opportunity to reconsider the proposal, without any announcement as to making this matter vital, they have no right now to turn round and take their present stand. We, on this side of the House, whether we belong to the Free-trade or the Protectionist Party, are taunted with using this clause as an engine for attacking the Government. But that taunt comes with the worst of grace from those people who, on second thought, and not on first consideration, make this a vital matter, and who now say, "We will try to force this proposal through by the power and prestige of the Government." What could we do except what we have done? We believed in the clause, as amended, and we do so still. The Government never suggested, in the first place, that they were going to make the carrying of the amendment vital; but now that, on second thoughts, they have done so, what can we do but adhere to the opinion we formed in the first place, and have held all along, namely, that this clause should remain as it is, and not be altered in the direction asked by the Government. If the Government choose to make the issue vital it will be an unfortunate incident.

Mr. GROOM.—The Prime Minister did announce, according to the report in *Hansard*, that they regarded the issue as vital.

Mr. McCAY.—The Prime Minister never said that he regarded the issue as vital to the existence of the Government.

Mr. GROOM.—The Prime Minister said, according to *Hansard*, that the amendment cut right to the heart of the provision.

Mr. McCAY.—The Government said that the amendment would mean a great change in the Bill, but it was never said that it affected the existence of the Government. That is the point I have endeavoured to make clear all along.

Mr. WEBSTER.—Why not allow the Bill to be recommitted?

Mr. McCAY.—What difference would that make? Is not the honorable member, with myself, able to speak with as much freedom now as we should on recommitment? What object can there be in a recommitment?

Mr. WEBSTER.—What is the object of the honorable and learned member?

Mr. McCAY.—My object is to settle the matter as promptly as possible.

Mr. WATSON.—That is "too thin."

Mr. HUGHES.—The honorable and learned member for Corinella is going fishing, and he thinks that a big fish will snap at this bait, whereas it could not be caught by any other.

Mr. McCAY.—The familiarity of the Minister of External Affairs with seafaring matters enables him to indulge in metaphors which we land-lubbers cannot understand. According to *Hansard*, the Prime Minister, before the amendment was put, said—

The Government consider that on agreeing to the amendment suggested by the honorable and learned member for Bendigo, we have gone quite as far as those who favour this clause can be expected to go, and I, therefore, earnestly ask honorable members to reject this amendment.

That is the whole of the Prime Minister's statement, prior to the division.

Mr. HIGGINS.—The honorable and learned member for Corinella asked the Prime Minister not to make a speech on that occasion.

Mr. McCAY.—I did; and that was because I made no speech myself.

Mr. WATSON.—Yet the honorable and learned member claims that this issue has been well discussed.

Mr. McCAY.—So it has been.

Mr. WATSON.—Not this amendment.

Mr. HUGHES.—It has never been discussed at all.

Mr. McCAY.—The principle involved has been discussed.

Mr. WATSON.—The principle of preference only.

Mr. McCAY.—No; the principle of the majority rule.

Mr. SPENCE.—The honorable and learned member is now burking discussion.

Mr. McCAY.—I do not seem to be burking either discussion or interjections.

Mr. SPENCE.—The honorable and learned member moved his amendment without speaking himself.

Mr. McCAY.—I know I did, because my amendment was submitted immediately after a division had been taken. I gave notice of two amendments. The Government accepted one, and we discussed the other, but as soon as one was agreed to by the Government—

Mr. SPENCE.—Because the honorable member slipped it through, he is now frightened to have it discussed again.

Mr. McCAY.—I am not in the least degree frightened. Nothing can be slipped through in the House, any more than in Committee. Undoubtedly there will be a full attendance of honorable members in the House to vote one way or the other. We can decide now, just as we as at any other time, whether majority rule is to be provided for in the Bill. I do not understand the desire that is being evinced by the Government for delay. I always understood that Governments were anxious to get on with the business and not to delay it. What I have previously mentioned was all that the Prime Minister said before the division took place. After the division, he moved that progress be reported, and said—

The Government regard the amendment that has just been carried as of very serious import indeed. I feel that it cuts right into the heart of the provision, and, therefore, it is only proper that the Government should have an opportunity to consider how far it affects the general purposes of the measure.

He did not say how far it cut into the principles of the measure—

and how far they may ask honorable members to reconsider the decision just given.

Mr. SPENCE.—Now they are asking honorable members to reconsider their decision.

Mr. McCAY.—Yes; and, I say, reconsider the decision, by all means, as we are doing at the present moment. Then on the following Tuesday the Prime Minister said—

When the Committee, on the occasion of its last sitting, decided in favour of the amendment of the honorable and learned member for Corinella, I asked that you, sir, should report progress, and thus give the Government an opportunity of considering the effect of the alteration that had just been made in the clause. I stated then that in my opinion—hurriedly arrived at—the proposal cut into the heart of the clause, and affected materially the general purpose of the measure. The Government still hold that view.

They had considered it. He continued—

We think that the clause in its present shape absolutely fails to meet the desires of those who are anxious to see this Bill passed into law in an effective shape. We propose to ask the Committee to reconsider that position so soon as we arrive at the recommittal stage.

Well, we have now arrived at the recommittal stage. The Prime Minister then went on to say that he did not think that the question of majority rule had been argued

Although preference to unionists had been discussed. He concluded—

We shall certainly give honorable members an opportunity when the recommittal stage is reached, of reconsidering the position at which they arrived on Friday last.

There was not one word about the matter being vital to the Government. That is my complaint. Upon further consideration, weeks after the amendment was carried, and after they had made something else vital, and had won in consequence, the Government announce, not to the House, but to the country, that they are going to make this a vital question. Then they turn round and accuse honorable members of using as an engine to defeat the Government, the very thing which they admit must be an engine of destruction if they are defeated upon it. I cannot understand such an attitude on their part.

Mr. POYNTON.—The honorable and learned member does not want to understand it.

Mr. McCAY.—The honorable member is welcome to his opinion. He is endeavouring with some considerable lack of success to act the part of the thought reader.

Mr. WEBSTER.—The amendment of the honorable member was never discussed by honorable members.

Mr. McCAY.—It is being discussed now.

Mr. POYNTON.—It will be discussed by the public outside.

Mr. McCAY.—I trust that it will be, and the more it is discussed outside, the better I shall be pleased. The more the public realize the meaning of this clause without my amendment, the more I shall be satisfied as to the result. The suggestion, "You look out for what is going to happen when you get outside"—

Mr. POYNTON.—The honorable member will be in a minority then.

Mr. McCAY.—Perhaps the honorable member may find himself in a minority. We sometimes think that the views of our constituents are the same as our own, when they are not. It is very unfortunate for the member concerned in such a case, but no one should be induced to change his carefully formed opinions because he thinks that the majority of his constituents may not approve of his conduct, in a matter regarding which he has given no pledge to his electors, or to his caucus, if there is one, but with respect to which he has been

left to use his own judgment. I have expressed over and over again my adhesion to the principles of conciliation and arbitration, and I have acted up to that profession. I have, however, left myself quite free to deal with these important matters of detail to the best of my own judgment. If my constituents do not agree with me, I must bow to the will of the majority; but I am now objecting to bow to the will of the minority.

Mr. SPENCE.—The honorable member has with him all those who are opposed to the Bill.

Mr. McCAY.—I cannot help that.

Mr. WATSON.—It has been so on almost every occasion.

Mr. McCAY.—I have voted for the Government on some occasions. I have voted against them on other occasions, because, according to my view, they have sought to go too far. It may be unfortunate that I cannot always see eye to eye with them; but just as I do not quarrel with them for adhering to their views, they should not quarrel with me for standing to my own. Surely, if they are justified in supporting with all their power the proposals which they have put forward, I am as fully justified in opposing with all the force in my power those with which I cannot agree. If the Government are justified in making this a vital matter, surely I, as a private member, am at least justified in continuing to oppose their proposal, notwithstanding the condition which they add to it. I regard this matter as of far more importance than the consideration whether the Government shall remain in or go out of office. I am not under any tie of allegiance to the Government. I crossed to this side of the House when the Deakin Government were beaten upon a matter in which I voted with them, and in which I think they were right. I crossed to this side because I thought that the members of the Labour Party, who now sit on the Government side, were wrong.

Mr. POYNTON.—And the honorable and learned member has voted against them ever since.

Mr. McCAY.—I have voted against them whenever I thought they were wrong, and I shall continue to do so. In the same way I shall vote with them whenever I think they are right, in regard to any measure they choose to bring forward.

Mr. POYNTON.—The honorable and learned member voted against many of the provisions introduced in the Bill by the Deakin Government.

Mr. McCAY.—Yes, no doubt ; but I have not voted against anything which I had previously supported. I was more concerned about this Bill than about the fate of the Government. It happened that I agreed with the Deakin Government on the question of including railway servants within the scope of the Bill. Just as others voted against them because they did not agree with them, so I voted with them because, for reasons I then gave, I thought they were right. I am much more concerned as to the effect upon Australia of this Bill than as to the effect upon the House of Representatives of the adoption of any particular amendment. The Government think that certain proposals are vital to the Bill, and those who oppose these provisions are charged with being opponents of the measure. This is one of those occasions when the Government are proposing something which should be opposed on principle by honorable members who do not agree with it. Perhaps they hope that the Court will whittle it away to nothing. Some of the friends of the Government are only supporting the proposal as a substitute for my amendment, because they think that it will present a way out of the difficulty in which they find themselves. This is apparently another bridge. I do not know upon what foundations it is built. I am not aware whether political bridges require engineers to build them, just as do bridges of the work-a-day world, nor do I know—if they do require them—whether such engineers are in existence.

Mr. SPENCE.—Is not the honorable and learned member building a bridge himself?

Mr. WEBSTER.—Yes. He is building a bridge to get into office.

Mr. McCAY.—Even from his limited experience of politics, the honorable member must know that even if he thought such a thing, it is not usual to say it. I may add, however, that his assumption is not correct. The honorable member for Hume laughs. I am certainly not as anxious to get into office as some honorable members were reluctant to leave it. My Ministerial experience was not such a happy one that I desire to rush into office. Certainly it would not induce me to accept office at the

sacrifice of any principle. To taunt me that way, especially as the Government have thrown out the challenge, is very extraordinary. Am I expected to support proposal of the Government merely because they choose to make it vital to their existence? Even if they withdrew the statement that they regard it as vital, I should still vote against it.

Mr. SPENCE.—Why all this trouble?

Mr. McCAY.—Because I cannot proceed whilst honorable members persistently interject, and invite me to express opinion upon subjects which are more or less relevant to the question before the House—chiefly less.

Mr. POYNTON.—Who put the honorable and learned member up to this procedure?

Mr. McCAY.—I thought of it all myself. I actually possess sufficient intelligence to induce me to conclude that present is as good a time to decide the question as is any other.

Mr. POYNTON.—Did not the honorable and learned member consult anybody else?

Mr. McCAY.—No ; but I told some honorable members that I intended to adopt the course which I am now following. I did not even consult the honorable member who has interjected. I think I have said all that I desire to say upon this question. Summarizing my views, I regard this matter as one of very grave importance. I look upon the substitute offered to us by the Government for the proviso contained in the clause as it now stands as a ridiculously inefficient one.

Mr. WEBSTER.—It is a very practical substitute nevertheless.

Mr. McCAY.—It is practical provided that it means nothing. If the Government proposal means anything substantial, it would be just as difficult for an industrial union to comply with it as it would be to comply with my amendment. But, inasmuch as it has no definite meaning, it may as well be eliminated. It is no limitation at all.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—It is as definite as the phrase "equity and good conscience."

Mr. McCAY.—Exactly. The proposal offered to us represents a mere husk or shell, whereas my amendment is definite and workable, and should, therefore, be adhered to. I venture to hold that opinion notwithstanding the cracking of any number of whips, and notwithstanding any subsequent announcement which may be made.

the Government concerning their attitude towards the amendment I am about to put before the House. I move—

That clause 48 be omitted from the clauses proposed to be recommended.

Mr. WATSON (Bland—Treasurer).—It seems to me that the honorable and learned member has adopted a rather unusual course in this instance. During the whole of my parliamentary experience I do not recollect a single case in which a proposal on the part of any Government to have a clause of any measure reconsidered in Committee has been resisted. I do not remember one instance in which an attempt has been made to burke the discussion which must ensue in Committee, and to prevent any possibility of a settlement being arrived at. The honorable and learned member has declared that there are two distinct alternatives before the House, and that, therefore, no injury can result from taking a vote upon the Government proposal to recommit the Bill. But he is perfectly aware that those who stand apart from the interests of the Government, and from the interests of honorable members occupying the front Opposition benches, are actuated by a still higher consideration, if they believe in this Bill, namely, a desire to get it out of hand at the earliest possible moment, in a shape which will give effect to its purposes. I know that a number of honorable members opposite do not sympathize with those objects. On every occasion upon which the honorable and learned member for Corinella has submitted amendments he has had behind him the declared and emphatic opponents of the measure. Of course he has received a whole-souled support from those gentlemen, and in some instances to the detriment of the Bill he has succeeded in obtaining a majority in favour of his proposals.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—What is to prevent the matter from being discussed upon the amendment now before the House?

Mr. WATSON.—With his usual innocence, the honorable and learned member asks, "What is to prevent the question from being discussed?" Of course it can be discussed. But the honorable and learned member knows that there is no possibility of putting forward any further amendment unless we get into Committee. I say, not in the interests of the Government, but of the measure itself, that more anxiety might have been exhibited to afford every honorable member an opportunity of stating

his views, and of giving effect to them in a practical way. I repeat that the procedure adopted by the honorable and learned member is a most unusual one. It is true that occasionally Governments, from what they conceive to be the interests of public business, have refused to vote for recommissions. But I reiterate that I do not remember an instance—certainly there has not been one in this Parliament, and I have no recollection of any in the New South Wales Legislature—in which an attempt on the part of the Government to obtain the reconsideration of a proposal in Committee has been resisted in the House. The honorable and learned member spoke of the cracking of the whip. He seemed very much exercised in mind because the Ministry have dared to state that they would regard the carrying of a certain amendment as vital to their existence. I admit that the honorable member was probably disappointed with the attitude of another Ministry which he supported, and which did not regard certain matters as vital to them. One of the criticisms most frequently levelled against the Ministry which he recently supported was that they regarded no proposal as vital until the last moment. Personally, I do not believe in making every question which arises vital to the existence of the Government. But, nevertheless, it must rest with those who are charged with the responsibility of carrying a measure through Parliament to say whether or not they will continue in office if it be altered to such an extent that it does not give effect to the purposes which the electors had in view. If Ministers did not exercise that right they would be unworthy of retaining the positions which they at present hold. The honorable and learned member for Corinella has declared that it was only upon second thoughts that the Government affirmed that his amendment was vital to their existence. In this connexion, I think that the language which I used upon the occasion when that amendment was carried was fairly emphatic. It is true that I did not use the exact phraseology which I afterwards employed. I did not say in so many words that the amendment was a vital one; but I said quite sufficient to indicate how seriously the Government regarded it. I said—

The Government regard the amendment that has just been carried as of very serious import indeed. I feel that it cuts right into the heart of this provision, and therefore it is only proper that the Government should have an opportunity

of considering how far it affects the general purposes of the measure, and how far they may ask honorable members to reconsider the decision just given.

Surely those words were serious enough. So far as the cracking of the whip generally is concerned, I desire to say that it has not been cracked by the Government with a view to influencing the votes of honorable members, so much as with a desire to give a distinct intimation that, if we are to take the responsibility of this Bill, it must be passed in something like the shape that we desire. I now say distinctly, that I am not prepared to remain in office and take the responsibility for a measure which, according to my conception, will not be effective, especially if this provision, which, I contend, would be absolutely unworkable, be agreed to. The honorable and learned member for Corinella claimed that a discussion took place on his amendment; but my reply is that the Committee did not discuss it. In a debate extending over three or four days we discussed the general principle of granting preference to unionists, but in hurriedly glancing over the pages of *Hansard* I have failed to find one reference in that debate to the detailed proposition which the honorable and learned member subsequently moved. Considerable argument took place on the question whether we should be justified in giving the Court power to grant preference to unionists; but there was absolutely no discussion on the point whether, if we gave the Court that power, we should insist on compliance with the terms set forth in the amendment.

Mr. GROOM.—Was the amendment in print when the division took place?

Mr. WATSON. — It was not; and so far as I have been able to ascertain it was not discussed.

Mr. WILSON.—Whose fault was that?

Mr. WATSON.—The fault of honorable members themselves.

Mr. WILSON.—The fault of the Government who were in charge of the business of the Committee.

Mr. WATSON.—We were no more to blame than were other honorable members. The debate had occupied several days, the amendment was submitted at a late hour on the last day of sitting for the week, and there was a general desire to come to a decision. Had I thought that there was the slightest probability of the amendment being carried I should have asked that the matter be further considered, but I gave

honorable members credit for possessing clearer insight into the probable work of such a provision. I do not know whether the honorable member for Corinella was referring to the printing of amendment, but the fact that it was printed was not due to any neglect on part of the Government. The printing of proposed amendments is a matter to which the Clerk attends on behalf of honorable members generally.

Mr. WILSON.—No; that is not the point which I had in mind.

Mr. WATSON.—I contend that the honorable and learned member for Corinella's amendment would be absolutely unworkable. I do not say that it would be unworkable in the sense which the honorable and learned member assumed—that it would be impossible to find a unionist in its ranks a majority of the men engaged in the industry to which it related. In the great majority of cases a majority of the men employed in a trade or calling are within the ranks of unions relating to it; but on ground on which I urge that this proposition would be unworkable, is that, in many instances, it would be impossible to give with mathematical precision that which the amendment demands. It would be impossible to prove, in many instances, that a majority of the men engaged in a particular industry were members of a union. Take the case of the Australian Wool Union, to which the honorable and learned member has referred. So far as we have been able to ascertain, in a rough and ready way, a very large majority of the men usually engaged in shearing belong to that union, but who would be able to tell how many were engaged in shearing might be employed in the industry on any given occasion?

Mr. SPENCE.—That is the difficulty.

Mr. WATSON.—The honorable member for Maranoa has followed, among other callings, that of shearing, and might at any time to resume that occupation. The honorable member for Moira has been a shearer, and he, too, might at any time to take a trip into the back country, to follow once more his old calling. I do not wish to say that, in ascertaining the number of persons engaged in an industry for the purposes of this kind, every man who may have been engaged in shearing at any time, and who, if the fancy seizes him, may at any time become a squatter for an opportunity to earn a

sounds at his old calling, shall be included in the count? The practical difficulty in the way of carrying out this provision would be such as to render it absolutely unworkable. Take the case of the wharf labourers. A fluctuation often occurs in the number of men working as wharf labourers, which is dependent not only on the number of ships that come into port and the quantity of cargo which they carry, but on the state of other trades and industries in and around the various ports. For instance, when I spent more time in Sydney than I do now, men used to flock to the water-side for employment when business was slack in the trade which they usually followed. When there was no work obtainable at their ordinary avocations, quarrymen and other manual labourers used to accept employment on the wharfs, and thus supplement their scanty earnings. How would it be possible under the honorable and learned member's provision to compute whether or not the Wharf Labourers' Union actually represented a majority, not of those engaged in the industry, but of those who would be affected by the proposed award? It would be almost impracticable. Another instance may be cited. In many callings children as well as adults would be affected by an award. Boys and girls—apprentices, in some instances, and in others improvers, or boys and girls casually employed in factories—would be affected, and under the honorable member's amendment the Court would have to be satisfied that the majority of those affected approved of the application. It would be possible for an award to affect children by limiting the number of apprentices to be employed in a particular industry. A limitation of the number of apprentices is one of the usual conditions embodied in the awards of the States Courts. It is therefore quite possible that the interests of all children employed in an industry might be affected by an award, and the Court would have to be satisfied, under the honorable and learned member's amendment, that the application for a preference was approved by a majority of the children as well as of the adults concerned. I take it that "satisfied" means that the Court shall be satisfied in the clearest and most unmistakable way that the majority of those affected have approved of the demand for preference.

Mr. McWILLIAMS.—The honorable member does not object to the provision for a majority?

Mr. WATSON.—No; the practice in nearly every case, in all the Arbitration Courts, has been to grant a preference only when the majority, reasonably ascertained, is in favour of such a preference. I am not so foolish as to anticipate that the practice laid down by the Arbitration Courts of New Zealand and New South Wales will be departed from by the Judge appointed to the Federal tribunal. Any one who imagines that the Judge in the Federal Court would lay down a new line of procedure—that he would grant preferences to unions which manifestly represented only a minority of those employed in the industry or in the district in respect of which the preference was asked—cannot have paid any attention to the general procedure under legislation of this kind. I contend that the objection to the honorable and learned member for Corinella's amendment, as a detail of preference—not as affecting preference as a principle—is that it would be absolutely impossible in a great number of cases to prove that the majority of the industry concerned approved of the application. It does not mean only that a union asks for a preference. It will have to be proved that, allowing for any minority that there may be in the union, a majority of those affected by the award are asking for the preference.

Mr. GROOM.—A majority of both employers and employes.

Mr. WATSON.—Yes, a majority of the persons affected by the award.

Mr. McCAY.—The words used are the same as those used elsewhere in the Bill to signify a side.

Mr. WATSON.—The honorable and learned member's proposal goes further than those engaged in the industry, because there may be others having interests in common.

Mr. McCAY.—That is a phrase of limitation, not of extension.

Mr. WATSON.—I do not know that it is bound to be so interpreted.

Mr. McCAY.—It cannot be interpreted otherwise.

Mr. WATSON.—The intention of the honorable and learned member may be strictly honorable, but we have to consider the phraseology apart from his intention.

Mr. McCAY.—The same phrase occurs elsewhere in the Bill to describe one of two sides.

Mr. WATSON.—Yes; but in quite a different relation. I think that that increases the possibility of the provision proving unworkable. Even assuming that the interpretation of the honorable and learned member is correct, and that the Judges, who occasionally differ, will take the view that he does, we cannot expect the measure to work if, in every case where a preference is applied for, a census of those engaged in the industry must be taken before it can be granted. We might as well take the preference provision out of the Bill altogether, and make that a condition. The Government do not desire that preferences shall be granted to minorities. We have put forward an amendment as an alternative to the proposal of the honorable and learned member for Corinella, in which we ask that, before preference is granted, the Court shall be satisfied that the organization substantially represents the industry affected, in point of the numbers and competence of its members.

Mr. McWILLIAMS.—What is the meaning of "substantially"?

Mr. WATSON.—We have been told by the leader of one of the Oppositions, whose opinion is backed up by the statement of the honorable and learned member for Corinella, that the word "substantially" is vague, and conveys nothing to the legal mind. The right honorable member for East Sydney, in an interview which is published this morning, speaks of the word "substantially" as if it were an innovation, and had not been heard of before in legal circles. My honorable colleague, the Attorney-General, however, has been good enough to put into my hands two or three instances in which the word "substantially" is used in reference to matters concerning, not merely property, but life and death. Section 470 of the New South Wales Crimes Act of 1900 provides that questions of law may, at the instance of the counsel of an accused person, be reserved for the consideration of the Court of Appeal—

Provided that no conviction or judgment thereon shall be reversed, arrested, or avoided on any case so stated, unless for some substantial wrong or other miscarriage of justice.

There the matter is left to the Court, in the belief that the Judges will exercise reasonable common sense in interpreting the Statutes of the country. The interest at stake may be enormous, because where the Judge does not consider that the wrong

done to the accused is substantial, the latter may have to suffer death. Apparently no other course was open to the Legislature than to leave it to the personal discretion of the Court to decide whether a mere technical error had been committed, whether a substantial wrong had been done to the accused. There is a similar provision in section 471 of the same Act. Before writ of error can be ruled out, it is provided that—

No judgment shall be reversed or avoided any error unless some substantial wrong appears to have been done, or some other miscarriage of justice occasioned, by reason of such error.

In the rules of the Supreme Court of England there is another use of the word "substantial." Those rules are drafted and promulgated by the Judges, but the legal members of the House know, by the force of law. Regarding motions for a new trial, the *Annual Practice* for 1901 says—

A new trial shall not be granted on the ground of misdirection, or of the improper admission or rejection of evidence, or because the verdict of the jury was not taken upon a question which the Judge at the trial was not asked to leave them, unless in the opinion of the Court to which the application is made some substantial wrong or miscarriage has been thereby occasioned in the trial.

Mr. McWILLIAMS.—Is there not a wide distinction between substantial wrong and substantial number?

Mr. MCCAY.—The Courts interpret the word "substantial" very liberally. That does not require a great deal.

Mr. WATSON.—We propose that the Court must be satisfied that the persons applying substantially represent those engaged in the industry. One member of a union cannot be taken to substantially represent the whole body, nor could a dozen men be regarded as substantially representing those employed in a large industry. But if anything approaching a majority apply for a preference, the Judge may reasonably hold that they substantially represent all engaged in the industry.

Mr. GROOM.—The amendment contains the words "substantially in numbers."

Mr. WATSON.—In numbers and competence—not numbers or competence. But requirements are insisted on. The Court, if it followed the precedents which have been created in New South Wales and New Zealand, would be bound to interpret the words as implying a majority. In New Zealand it has been insisted that a majority so far as that can be reasonably ascertained

shall be shown to be in favour of the granting of a preference before it can be given. The difference between our proposal and that of the honorable and learned member for Corinella is that, in the one case, the Court might waive the mathematical demonstration of the existence of a majority, while, in the other, it would be bound to insist on it. Under the proposal of the honorable and learned member, the Court could not dispense with rigid proof of the existence of a majority in favour of the granting of a preference, while, under our proposal, if they were reasonably assured of the fact, it would not have to be mathematically demonstrated to them. That is the only difference between the two proposals; but it is of great importance, so far as the practical working of the measure is concerned. The New Zealand Court, early in its existence, was asked, in the case of the Christchurch engineers, to grant a preference to a small union. In delivering judgment the President asked how far the union really represented the great body of men in the trade affected, and, as it was found that the members of the union constituted a minority of those employed in the trade, the preference was refused. I am reminded that the word "really" is practically the same as the word "substantially." The President, in making known the decision of the Court, laid down what, in my opinion, is a very proper rule. He said that each case must stand upon its own merits, and that a claim must, in every case, be carefully scrutinized. He went on further to refer to other conditions which were necessary to safeguard a preference. He said that the union which sought such an advantage must be practically open to every person employed in the trade who desired to join it. That safeguard we have provided for at the instance of the honorable and learned member for Bendigo, and of the honorable and learned members for Ballarat and Indi. We have amplified the safeguards which exist under the New Zealand and New South Wales legislation. The principle proceeded upon in New South Wales in regard to the granting of preferences has been exactly similar to that adopted in New Zealand. So far as I have been able to ascertain, the New South Wales Court has never granted preference to a union which did not appear to have a majority within the district to which it was to apply.

Mr. ROBINSON.—I will quote instances to the contrary.

Mr. WATSON.—The case of the saddlers has been quoted, but that was afterwards extended by means of the common rule. In the first instance the preference was granted, so far as my memory serves me, for a smaller district. It must be remembered, too, that in New South Wales and New Zealand there is no limitation on the power of the Court to grant preferences. Preference to unionists was, on appeal, held by the Supreme Court of New Zealand not to require any specific wording in the Act, but to be the natural corollary of the main purpose of the measure as originally drafted by Mr. Reeves. It was said by Sir Robert Stout that—

In construing this Act, the aim of the Statute cannot be ignored. It does not, as I have said, propose to provide a means of settling disputes between employers and non-associated workmen. It has created a board in every district, and a Court, to settle disputes between associated workmen on the one side, and associated or single employers on the other.

He went on to say—

I am of opinion that the Court, having power to determine the "status of workmen," and the "class of persons" to be employed, has power to declare that trade unionists shall have a preference over workmen not belonging to a trade union.

It seems to me that Sir Robert Stout there recognised the true principle upon which measures of the kind are based. That is, they seek to insure collective bargaining. That was the beginning of the possibility of effective compulsory arbitration—collective bargaining, and some responsible entity in the shape of a union to assist in the enforcement of the award. Preference has existed for years without arbitration laws amongst those trades, or in those callings where the unions were strong enough to enforce it. In my own trade—wherever I have worked, anyhow—the employés have insisted upon preference to unionists, and have always succeeded in obtaining it. I do not say that that state of affairs has existed in the disorganized country districts, but amongst the men employed in the large centres preference has always been insisted upon. In New South Wales at the present time about fifteen agreements giving preference have been arrived at between employers and employés, without the intervention of the Arbitration Court, except so far as their approval is concerned. Some of these agreements have not yet been approved, because they have not reached that stage, but under these agreements between

employer and employé preference has been voluntarily arrived at between the two parties.

Mr. MAUGER.—There was a very important case in England recently.

Mr. WATSON.—Exactly. In all the voluntary Conciliation Courts set up in England preference to unionists is a *sine qua non*. Without that, it is impossible to even approach collective bargaining.

Mr. McWILLIAMS.—That has been achieved without an Arbitration Court.

Mr. WATSON.—Of course, it has. It is no new principle. All we ask is that the Court shall be permitted to grant preference; not that it shall be compelled to allow unionists to debar others from obtaining employment, but that it shall have power, if the circumstances warrant, to grant preference. Now, in New South Wales there is an agreement between the Pastoralists' Union and Machine Shearers' Union.

Mr. ROBINSON.—Is preference granted in that case?

Mr. WATSON.—Yes, and that is a case in which the amendment proposed by the Government would have a very beneficial application.

Mr. SPENCE.—That agreement not only gives the preference, but is compulsory.

Mr. WATSON.—The other agreements, under which preference is given, are those entered into between the Master Hairdressers and their employés, the Master Coopers and their journeymen, the Coastal Steam-ship Owners' Association and the Seamen's Union, the Laundrymen and their employés, the Pastrycooks and their employés, the Inter-State Steam-ship Owners' Association and the seamen, the Monumental Masons and their employés, Mort's Dock and Engineering Company and their workmen, the Fresh Food and Ice Company and their employés, some cigar makers and their employés, the Steam Collier Owners' Association and their seamen, the Tug-boat Owners and their employés, and some of the grocers and their assistants. In each of these cases the agreement, granting preference to unionists, has been voluntarily arrived at. I do not wish, at this stage, to say a great deal further upon this matter. As I have said all along, I regard the power of the Court to grant preference to unionists as essential to the successful working of the Bill. I contend that compulsory arbitration will be impossible unless unions are recognised, and they

cannot be recognised effectively unless preference is allowable, and is, in most cases, granted. I contend that, without encouraging the unions to register and render themselves amenable to the Act, there is no possibility of bringing the measure to a successful issue. We might as well pass a measure with a view to running a rail to the moon, or something of that description, as expect to successfully work Arbitration Bill without preference to unionists. Unless the unions have encouragement they certainly will not give up their right to strike. This measure proposes to deny them the right to use weapons they now possess, and it offers them nothing in exchange.

Mr. KELLY.—Does it not offer them something, even better than the power to strike—the power to compel preference?

Mr. WATSON.—The power to compel preference is not in itself better than the power to strike; but I say that with preference it is impossible to expect unions to take any interest in compelling the observance of the awards. The honorable member must not run away with the idea, as no doubt his impracticalness leads him to do, that this Bill will always mean help for the employés. It will not. In many cases in New South Wales preference to arbitration has resulted in a deduction of wages.

Mr. KELLY.—And a certain percent of strikes in connexion with such reductions.

Mr. WATSON.—I do not catch the honorable member's allusion. In some cases in New South Wales arbitration has worked to the immediate advantage of unionists, so far as the awards are concerned. I admit that even from the workmen's stand-point, it may be better to work although under conditions involving some injustice, than to go on strike and lose a great deal more. I admit that from the point of view, and especially from the stand-point of the general community, it is better to have an Arbitration Act in force than to run the risk of repeated disturbances of trade. Those honorable members who refuse to intrust the Court with the power with which we are seeking to invest it are straining at a gnat and swallowing the proverbial camel. They would allow the Judge of the Arbitration Court to possibly injure the industries of Australia to such an extent that they would be abolutely crippled. The Court, if it like

nder the power the Bill confers, could impose conditions of employment that would cause every employer to shut up his remises and result in every man now employed walking the streets. The Court could do all that, but it is not likely to do it. We do not hear honorable members trying to arouse the country by general references to the excesses which the Judge might commit, by giving decisions which it would be impossible to carry out, but when they think that they can arouse class feeling, when they want to enter upon a class fight, some honorable members are seized with horror and fear at the idea of the enormities that might be perpetrated by a Judge placed in this position. I say, again, that the Judge will have the power, if he is foolish enough to exercise it, to cripple or suspend all the industries of Australia, and yet honorable members strain at giving him the power to grant a preference to unionists where they substantially represent the trade or calling in regard to which a dispute has arisen. That kind of reasoning does not appeal to me, and, as one who has some practical knowledge of the conditions that govern industry, at any rate, in New South Wales, I unhesitatingly say that if the clause is maintained in its present shape, the Bill will prove to be unworkable, and might as well be thrown into the waste-paper basket.

Mr. ROBINSON (Wannon).—I had expected, from the attitude which the Prime Minister first took up in regard to the amendment of the honorable and learned member for Corinella, that when honorable members were asked to reconsider their decision, they would be urged to strike out all limitations upon the power of the Court to grant preference. Judging from the statement the Prime Minister made on 24th June, I certainly anticipated that the principle of preference would be regarded as so vital, that any limitation upon it would be resisted.

Mr. WATSON.—I did not say that.

Mr. ROBINSON.—I know that the Prime Minister did not say that; but I think that it might have been fairly inferred, from what he did say, that any limitation, except with regard to the notice to be given to those affected, would be opposed. If the Government had come forward with a straight-out declaration that the principle of preference was essential to the Bill, and that they must have it in an undiluted form, those who are opposed to the Bill would have been moved to admiration. We are

not, however, met with any proposal of that kind, but with another of those wishy-washy back-down amendments which are designed to get the Government out of a difficulty. I am not willing to water down the amendment which honorable members adopted after the fullest and freest discussion upon the whole principle of preference. According to *Hansard* a debate upon that point was commenced on the 21st June, and was continued on the 22nd, 23rd, and 24th of that month.

Mr. WATSON.—Never a word was uttered with regard to the amendment ultimately adopted during the whole of that time.

Mr. ROBINSON.—Honorable members who took the trouble to attend the sittings of the Committee and to listen to the debate, must know full well that an amendment of this nature was foreshadowed, and that it was circulated two days before it was moved.

Mr. WATSON.—Not the amendment that was adopted.

Mr. ROBINSON.—I say that the amendment was circulated before it was submitted to the Committee.

Mr. WATSON.—That is absolutely incorrect so far as the amendment ultimately adopted was concerned.

Mr. ROBINSON.—If the Government had declared that they would not have any limitation placed upon the power of the Court to grant preference, and that they would insist upon having the tribunal left as free as in the case of the Courts of New Zealand and New South Wales, their attitude would have been a courageous one; but I think that the present proposal shows a great want of backbone. The suggestion made by the Government is one which will largely increase the difficulties of the Arbitration Court. What is the meaning of "substantially represent?" The Prime Minister has been good enough to quote a number of text-books in order to show us the difference between his amendment and that adopted at the instance of the honorable and learned member for Corinella. He states that under the proviso, as it now stands, it will be necessary to demonstrate to the Court with mathematical accuracy the number of employes affected before preference can be obtained, and he states further that that difficulty will be overcome if the Government suggestion is adopted. I do not consider that the proviso in the Bill demands mathematical demonstration on the part of applicants for

preference. It allows the Judge a considerable amount of latitude in arriving at a decision as to whether the applicants represent the majority of those affected. The proviso reads as follows:—

No preference shall be directed to be given unless the application for such preference is in the opinion of the Court approved by a majority of those affected by the award.

That means—if it means anything—that a mathematical demonstration is not required. The Court has merely to be satisfied that the union applying for a preference practically represents a majority of the employés engaged in the industry affected. We have been told that an Arbitration Act will not work satisfactorily in the absence of a provision relating to the granting of a preference. How is it that in the first State in the Commonwealth which adopted legislation of this character—I refer to Western Australia—an Arbitration Act has been operating successfully for a number of years, although it does not contain any such provision?

Mr. CARPENTER.—They are continually agitating for the granting of a preference there.

Mr. ROBINSON.—That may be so. The fact remains that in Western Australia the Act has been operating for five years longer than has kindred legislation in any other State of the Union, without any friction having been engendered.

Mr. CARPENTER.—No.

Mr. ROBINSON.—I am aware that a considerable amount of friction arises when after an award has been given against a union, its members commence to abuse the Court.

Mr. KELLY.—That is what occurred in the case of the Australian Workers' Union.

Mr. ROBINSON.—The Prime Minister asserted that it was the practice of the New South Wales Court before granting a preference to unionists to insist that the union asking for preference comprises a majority of those engaged in the industry affected. I think that I shall be able to prove that his statement is inaccurate. Let me point to the case of the Broken Hill miners as an example. I used the same argument upon a previous occasion, but in view of the declaration of the Prime Minister, I think I am justified in repeating it. In the case to which I refer, a record of which appears in volume 2 of the Reports of the New South Wales Arbitration Court, page 456, I find that the fol-

lowing statement was made by Mr. Cruickshank, and in another part of the same volume Mr. Justice Cohen reiterates it—

There are about 6,000 men employed in or at the Broken Hill mines; 4,000 are non-union and 2,000 are members of the union.

Mr. WATSON.—But they were not miners?

Mr. ROBINSON.—Two thousand miners asked for a preference, which was granted to them by the Court.

Mr. WATSON.—That is not an instance in which a minority were granted a preference. There are not 6,000 miners at Broken Hill.

Mr. ROBINSON.—The Prime Minister has the report before him, and he can verify my statements for himself.

Mr. WATSON.—The Amalgamated Miners' Association asked for a preference on behalf of the miners, and not on behalf of all the employés.

Mr. ROBINSON.—The statement made by Mr. Cruickshank, and repeated by Mr. Justice Cohen, that out of a total of 6,000 employés at the Broken Hill mines, 2,000 asked for a preference, and obtained it.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Does that preference cover the whole of the 6,000 employés? That is the point.

Mr. WATSON.—No.

Mr. ROBINSON.—If the Prime Minister will peruse the report in question, it will come to the same conclusion that I have. The next instance to which I will refer is the honorable gentleman is that of the Saddlers' Union. In that case, the New South Wales Saddlers' and Harness Makers' Society were the claimants, and the Wholesale Saddlers' and Harness Manufacturing Association the respondents. The case came on for hearing upon 3rd March 1903. The Saddlers' Union claimed that a certain award should be made a common rule throughout the whole of New South Wales. The number of employés engaged in that industry has been variously estimated. The secretary of the Saddlers' Union thought that there were about 1,200 saddlers and harness employés in New South Wales, but added that he would not be surprised if they numbered 1,800. On the other hand, the secretary of the Employers' Association affirmed that the employés numbered about 2,000. For the sake of argument, we may fairly adopt the mean between the two estimates, and set down the number of those engaged in the industry at 1,600. This particular

union, I repeat, asked that a preference should be extended to its members. The secretary of the Employés Union was questioned as to how many men constituted it. Under cross-examination by Mr. Garand, he said—

He could not say how many members had paid their weekly subscriptions. There were very few. He had the information in his books. There were 113 altogether, including collar-makers. About 170 had not paid their dues.

In other words, 213 employés asked that a preference should be extended to them in a trade employing 1,600 workers, and of that 213, only about 40 were genuine financial members of the union. This particular union contained only five members outside the metropolitan area, and under the terms of the award, these men received a preference over other workers in that trade in New South Wales. That is an instance of an insignificant minority—a minority comprising only 15 or 16 per cent. of those engaged in the trade—obtaining a preference over the bulk of the workers affected. The amendment of the honorable and learned member for Corinella is designed to correct that state of affairs. Doubtless, the members of the organization to which I have referred were competent, reliable, and trustworthy in every way. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that a minority obtained a distinct preference over a majority. In the case of the Bread Carters' Union, it was never claimed that its members constituted a majority of those employed in the trade. It was urged that they represented about half of the total number of employés. I have now given three instances—collected at a moment's notice—which serve to show that it is not a fact that a preference has been granted by the New South Wales Arbitration Court only in cases where the industrial organization concerned contained a majority, or about a majority, of those engaged in the particular trade affected. In actual practice, a similar provision has operated in the direction of a preference being granted to organizations demanding it. The reason for that was made very clear by the Prime Minister himself. The New South Wales Arbitration Act was designed to accomplish a number of objects. One of these was to facilitate and encourage the organization of representative bodies of employers and employés. If the provision in that Act, which relates to the granting of a preference to unionists, is not limited in some specific way it must be

read in conjunction with section 2. In that State the Court has decided that the provision means that a preference must be granted to organizations demanding it, unless there is some urgent reason why it should not be granted. In the cases to which I have referred, the employés, who represented only a small minority of the trades affected, obtained the preference which they desired. The Prime Minister's statement that the New South Wales Arbitration Court has not extended a preference to unionists, except in trades in which their members constituted a majority, or very nearly a majority, of the employés, is, therefore, not in accord with the reports of the cases heard before that tribunal.

Mr. HUGHES.—Does the honorable and learned member say that that is so in the majority of cases?

Mr. ROBINSON.—I do not. I wish to guard against injustice being done to a minority as well as to a majority. The Minister of External Affairs is familiar with the old saying that "hard cases make bad law." I do not wish hard cases to exist. For these reasons I think that the amendment of the honorable and learned member for Corinella should not be departed from, and that there shall be no preference, unless the union which desires that it shall be granted to its members can show that they constitute a majority of those who will be affected by any award of the Court.

Mr. HUGHES.—A majority of the persons affected by the award? What does affected mean?

Mr. ROBINSON.—The honorable and learned member for Corinella merely supports the principle of majority rule, which honorable members opposite are supposed to favour. He wishes to insure that, when a preference is granted to a particular union, the members of that organization shall constitute a majority of those engaged in the trade affected. He desires to prevent a minority having the power to demand a preference over a majority in any industrial calling. We were told in one breath that if the Bill does not contain a provision conferring preference upon unionists it will be practically useless. In the next breath we were assured that awards are frequently made in which a preference is not granted. To my mind, those two statements are entirely contradictory. If the Bill is valueless in the absence of a preference clause, how is it that a similar Act has operated successfully in Western Australia? It has

also been argued that under this Bill the employes will surrender the only effective weapon which they have hitherto retained, namely, the power to strike. I do not think that statement is altogether accurate. So far as I am able to judge from the cases decided by the New South Wales Arbitration Court, this legislation will merely involve the surrender, on the part of members of industrial organizations, of the power to cease work without giving their employers notice. Upon giving due notice they will be at perfect liberty to discontinue work. The Teralba case proved that up to the hilt. All that is taken from the workers under this Bill is the power to leave their employment without giving their employers due notice. They will still have the power to refuse to work. Under no enactment can we compel men to work against their will.

Mr. SPENCE.—Notice is not required in connexion with a number of industries.

Mr. ROBINSON.—All that the Bill provides is that unionists cannot discontinue their work without giving notice of their intention to do so.

Mr. SPENCE.—They cannot leave at all collectively.

Mr. ROBINSON.—But they can leave individually, and they can all leave upon the same day.

Mr. SPENCE.—No.

Mr. ROBINSON.—In the Teralba case did not the New South Wales Arbitration Court decide that it was powerless to interfere with the strikers, because under the award which had been given no provision had been made that notice should be given by the men before they were at liberty to quit their employment?

Mr. WEBSTER.—That was an omission upon the part of the employers.

Mr. ROBINSON.—It might have been. That decision shows conclusively that the power of the employes to discontinue work is not in the slightest degree infringed by the provisions of this Bill. Consequently unionists have not had struck out of their hands an effective weapon for hampering their employers. They can still refuse to work.

Mr. HUGHES.—The honorable and learned member knows that they cannot do anything of the sort, because under the Bill the funds of their unions would be liable.

Mr. ROBINSON.—Does the Minister contend that the individual members of a union cannot cease work after giving their employers due notice?

Mr. HUGHES.—I mean to say that when a preference has been granted they must continue to supply the requisite labour.

Mr. ROBINSON.—I am not dealing with that point, but with the question whether the power to strike has been taken away from the workers. The Government say that if we pass this Bill without making provision for a preference to unionists, the privilege to strike will be taken away from the workers, without their being given *quid pro quo*. That which will be taken away from unionists will be practically the power to leave their employment with notice. This Bill does not pretend—no Parliament could pretend—to force a man to work if he did not desire to do so.

Mr. HUGHES.—A union may not take any action calculated to deprive an employer of his labour.

Mr. ROBINSON.—No; but exactly the same result might be secured without the passing of any formal resolution by the union. The honorable and learned member knows that in the case of a lock-out by an employer the position would be totally different. If he closed his factory, or if he shut down his mine, or if he shut down his mill, he would be guilty of an offence.

Mr. WATKINS.—Would he not be able to give notice?

Mr. ROBINSON.—He would; but in shutting down his factory he would at once wreck his industry. An employer can carry his mine or his factory from place to place, just as a worker is able to remove his labour from one district to another. It is not true to say that unionists will be robbed of something which they now possess unless they are given the right to apply for a preference which has therefore no force. The Government have shown that it has not, because they have proved that in some cases a preference is not granted, and admit that it should be granted unless the union claiming it substantially represents the trade affected. Whilst we also see that it has no foundation in fact. I trust that the House will be satisfied by the decision of the Committee, which was arrived at after one of the most vigorous debates to which I have ever listened. Every phase of the preference question has then threshed out. If the Government have decided to make this question a permanent one, it is to be regretted that they do not stand up for their principles in a straightforward and courageous way, instead of attempting another wishy-washy amendment, to er-

edge over which weak-kneed members slide from this side of the House to the other.

Mr. KELLY (Wentworth).—Although I listened to the Prime Minister's explanation with that attention which I always give to his utterances, I fail to understand what is meant by the term "substantially represents." The Prime Minister of a democratic country should surely be prepared to regard a majority as the one substantial representation in such a community. If "substantially represents" means practically the same as that which the honorable and learned member for Corinella desires, why should not that honorable and learned member have the credit—if any credit be due—if having put before the House such an acceptable amendment as was carried by a very fair majority about a month ago? If on the other hand, "substantially represents" does not mean representation by majority, it is about time that the Prime Minister of Democratic Australia told Parliament and the country that he desires, in delegating the powers of the Legislature—because we are proposing to delegate our legislative power in regard to industrial matters to an outside tribunal—to take care that the industrial affairs of Australia shall be controlled by a minority of those engaged in each industry. The Government are either seeking to avoid the very awkward fix in which they find themselves, as the result of the statement which they made that they would resign office rather than accept what is already in the Bill—they did not think the amendment of the honorable and learned member for Corinella would be carried, and therefore considered that they would be safe in making a bold declaration of that kind—or else they are endeavouring to secure the government of the industrial affairs of Australia by minorities. I do not think that the people of Australia are quite prepared for anything of the kind. I trust that the House will bear with me while I briefly deal with the reasons underlying the principle of one adult one vote. It is held that the liberty of every person in the community is equally precious to him; and for the reason that a minority might otherwise interfere with the individual liberty of the people, it is considered that every adult should have a vote, or, in other words, a voice in the selection of men to make the laws which are to govern him. In industrial matters we are delegating our authority to the Con-

ciliation and Arbitration Court. We are proposing to place the industrial forces of Australia under the control of a new tribunal; we are proposing to place powers which this House has not attempted, and could not attempt, to exercise, in the hands of an omniscient Court. We are engaged at the same time in framing certain regulations for the guidance of that Court; and in dealing with them we should, as democrats, be very careful to safeguard the individual liberty of persons engaged in all the industrial enterprises of Australia. What is the exact position? We find that the Court will have power to interfere with the liberty of a man employed in a trade by compelling him to join a union of which he has no inclination to become a member. The Court will be able to compel that man, at the peril of his livelihood, under the preference clause, to contribute to the benefit funds of that union, to the upkeep of its secretary and other officers, and to the maintenance of all its machinery. In so far as the Court will have power to interfere with the individual liberty of every worker in Australia, we should for that reason be very careful to see that it shall not be able to impose such a condition, except where those applying for a preference are prepared to show that they represent an absolute majority of the persons who will be affected by the award. That is the position. Either, then, the Government, seeking to avoid an awkward position are asking the House on this slight pretext of an immaterially altered phraseology to, so to speak, "let them off," or they are seeking to impose minority rule in the regulation of all the industrial affairs of the Commonwealth.

Mr. SPENCE.—How can the honorable member say that? In what way will minority rule come in?

Mr. KELLY.—I think that it is fairly clear. The proviso to the clause, as it now stands, reads—

And provided further that no such preference shall be directed to be given unless the application for such preference is in the opinion of the Court approved by a majority of those affected by the award who have interests in common with the applicants.

In other words, in framing rules for the guidance of the Court, we have provided that it shall take care, before acceding an application by an organization for a preference, to ascertain that it represents a majority of those who will be "affected by the award." Let me cite as an illustration the union of domestic servants, which

is yet in prospect, and in which the honorable member for Darling will most likely be interested. The honorable member has told us of the power which he holds over that section of society. He has told us that if a union of domestic servants were formed he would be able to work up such an alarming domestic squabble in Melbourne that it would soon become a most serious matter for all Australia, and even develop into an Inter-State dispute. If the honorable member had his choice, that union would be very soon in process of formation. It would commence, I presume, with a membership consisting of the honorable member, and perhaps four or five others.

Mr. LONSDALE.—Is the honorable member a domestic servant?

Mr. KELLY.—No; but his philanthropic spirit would naturally lead him to see that they secured the great benefits of this measure. I hope that I am not hurting the honorable member's feelings.

Mr. SPENCE.—I have none.

Mr. KELLY.—I had often suspected that the honorable member had none, but was not certain about the matter until I received his assurance. The union of domestic servants, consisting, perhaps, of ten or twelve persons, might apply to the Court for a preference.

Mr. SPENCE.—It could not be registered unless it had at least 100 members.

Mr. KELLY.—Then, say that it had a membership of 100. I am sure that the honorable member's personal charms would quickly induce 100 domestic servants to join the union.

Mr. POYNTER.—The honorable member does not say much for the intelligence of the Court, when he suggests that an application for a preference by a union of domestics, consisting of only 100 members, would be granted.

Mr. KELLY.—I am arguing the question simply *ad absurdum*. The honorable member will have an opportunity later on to deal with it, and will perhaps argue in the same way.

Mr. SPENCE.—I wish to know on what ground the honorable member urges that the Government are attempting to secure minority control.

Mr. KELLY.—I am endeavouring to put before the honorable member my reasons for that belief. I am pointing out that if he were at the head of a union of domestic servants, consisting of 100 members, he would probably go to the Court, and urge that it substantially represented

those engaged in the industry, because there was no one else to represent it. Who better could represent the industry than the honorable member himself? I could say that the union did not substantially represent it, when there was one else to speak on its behalf, but with whom the honorable member was associated? He would be able to apply on behalf of the union for a preference.

Mr. SPENCE.—But the Judge would be bound to grant the application, because of what the applicant said.

Mr. KELLY.—I should be very sorry to hear of a Judge doing so; but I am merely putting a supposititious case before the Committee. If under this Bill a union were to go before the Court, and urge that it substantially represented the industry affected, because it was the only representative of it, that would be a very dangerous step towards minority rule.

Mr. SPENCE.—But a Judge would be compelled to grant the application.

Mr. KELLY.—When we come to compare unions, having greater power than the domestic servants' union, with which the honorable member is going to form a union, we find that we are treading on very dangerous ground. A union consisting of 4,000 out of 10,000 persons employed in a particular industry, might apply to the Court, and say, through its representatives, "We are the only union in this industry, and desire a preference." In that case, the Court might grant the request, with the result that 6,000 persons—a majority of the persons employed in the industry—who had no wish to become members of that union, or they would have since have done so, would be compelled to join its ranks, to subscribe to its fund to keep its benevolent account out of the Bankruptcy Court, and to keep the machinery well greased, and in good working order.

Mr. SPENCE.—In what way would they be compelled to join the union?

Mr. KELLY.—I think that I have put my view clearly before the Committee. Although I have no desire to be discourteous, I do not wish to answer the honorable member again and again.

Mr. SPENCE.—There would be no power to compel them to join the union.

Mr. KELLY.—The honorable member says that we should trust the Court. If he desires to trust the Court, let him do so. But let him first enact that the Court, with

finds that there is a majority of those connected with an industry in favour of the granting of a preference, shall then, but not until then, grant preference. Honorable members opposite seem to think that it could be almost impossible to carry into effect that proposal.

Mr. POYNTON.—There is no doubt that I would. I have had over twenty years' experience in organizing, so I ought to know something about the matter.

Mr. KELLY.—In my opinion, the proposal is not unworkable. All that the honorable and learned member for Corinella requires is that no preference shall be directed to be given unless its application is approved by a majority of those "affected by the award." It is not a majority of those engaged in the industry that is required. That, I concede, would be a very different matter.

Mr. SPENCE.—Is not the whole community affected by any award?

Mr. KELLY.—Surely the honorable member can "trust the Court" to exercise a certain degree of common sense in a matter of this kind?

Mr. POYNTON.—Cannot the honorable member for Wentworth trust the Court?

Mr. KELLY.—I believe in trusting the Court throughout, after we have framed rules for its guidance, but my honorable friends opposite will not back me up. I come now to the main objection to the granting of an indiscriminate preference to unionists. In my opinion, trades unions will best achieve the noble objects which they have in view as purely voluntary associations. A trades union which is formed to maintain and increase the standard of efficiency in the trade to which its members belong, to give sick pay and other benefits to its members, and to secure the best exercise of its powers for good, must be purely voluntary. At the present time they are voluntary. No one joins them unless he wishes to do so; and they have grown in strength and usefulness on the voluntary basis. But the moment that that basis is taken from them, they will cease to have as much power for good as they have now, because a union can maintain its standard of efficiency only so long as its members are desirous of assisting in the maintenance of that standard, and can carry out its beneficial projects to advantage only so long as its members desire to make use of them. If men are compelled to join unions, however, they will

not have at heart their standards of efficiency, nor will they care about their beneficial projects. In short, if unionism—I speak of trades unionism as opposed to militant unionism—is to remain efficient, and of benefit to the community, as it has been in the past, it should not seek to use the Legislature as a recruiting agency. It seems to me that when it does that, it strikes at the root of its usefulness. It may gain temporary strength thereby, but in the end it must suffer. Quite apart from the question of minority legislation in industrial matters, I hold that compulsory preference to trades unions will strike at the very root of their usefulness.

Mr. WATKINS.—The honorable member has asserted that unions are voluntary concerns; but the decision in the Taff Vale case brought them under the law.

Mr. KELLY.—If the honorable member asks me to express an opinion on that case, I would remind him that I cannot do so without breaking the Standing Order requiring relevance in debate. I hope that some honorable member will follow me who will inform us what "substantially represents" really means. We have yet had no clue to the purpose of the Government in asking us to recommit this particular clause. We have been told that what the Government propose to substitute for it is practically of the same effect.

Mr. WILKS.—If so, I am opposed to it.

Mr. KELLY.—On the other hand, we are told that what the Government propose is something quite different, and that the effect of it would be to initiate minority rule in industrial legislation. I should like to know which contention is right.

Mr. TUDOR.—The honorable member and others will not allow the matter to be discussed.

Mr. KELLY.—We are discussing it now. Honorable members opposite would have allowed the recommitment of the clause to go by default.

Mr. HIGGINS.—In supporting the amendment, honorable members are trying to prevent any change being made in the phraseology of the provision.

Mr. KELLY.—We are trying to compel the Government to show cause for the recommitment of the clause. I do not think that they should be allowed to recommit it, if they propose to substitute for it vague expressions which might mean anything. What does the phrase "substantially represents" mean?

Mr. WILKS.—The Government say that their proposal is “substantially” the same as that of the honorable and learned member for Corinella.

Mr. KELLY.—Yes. Therefore, we wish to know why they are so desirous of recommitting the clause. I hold that it is our duty to prevent them from wasting time by a recommittal, unless they can show good reason for asking us to reconsider the clause. There must be some motive underlying their proposal to recommit beyond the desire to substitute for the proposal of the honorable and learned member for Corinella one that is substantially the same. Indeed, I cannot conceive that all they wish to do is to filch from him the credit of it. Until the Government tell us conclusively what they intend to propose, and put before us phraseology which is clear and distinct, we should prevent them from wasting time by the reconsideration of this clause in Committee.

Mr. SPENCE (Darling).—I do not know whether the action of the honorable and learned member for Corinella and others is approved of by the two leaders of the Opposition; but, in reference to the complaint that the recommittal of the clause would lead to a waste of time, I would say that the real waste of time is being committed in discussing twice over a question which need be discussed only once. It must be admitted that every honorable member can, in Committee, address himself to the question which is now being debated, and, if the amendment is rejected, as I think it should be, the present discussion will have to be repeated in Committee. It must not be forgotten that the proposed Court will be very different from the ordinary Courts, and that its methods must be more elastic. The President of the Court will be practically the arbitrator in all industrial disputes which can constitutionally be brought before the tribunal over which he presides. What we have therefore to do is to equip him with ample power, and then to trust him to exercise it properly. The constant changes and evolution in all industrial enterprises are such as no Parliament could effectively deal with. Parliament has not the necessary machinery to overtake these changes, nor the material evidence necessary to provide for them. What is now being proposed is to lay down a hard and fast rule limiting the power of the Judge in regard to a particular set of details. Those who would impose this limitation do not contend that the President of the

Court will be destitute of common sense, but, on the other hand, profess to believe that he will do justice, as far as possible.

Mr. McWILLIAMS.—But all Acts of Parliament limit the powers of the Judge.

Mr. SPENCE.—Arguments based on the experience gained in ordinary Courts are of little avail in this connexion, because the limitation of the power of the Judge presiding over the Arbitration Court would be contrary to the principle upon which legislation of this kind must be based. The fullest power must be given to settle all disputes, and to deal with all matters of detail. The Judge may very well be left to decide as to whether preference should be granted to those who are applying for it. The Government have practically adopted the Bill brought down by their predecessor. That was generally admitted to be a well-drafted measure, but it contained no provision as that introduced at the instance of the honorable and learned member for Corinella. The Government now make a proposal which is intended to clear up a matter dealt with in the amendment referred to. The principle of their proposal is similar to that of the present proviso. I am surprised that honorable members do not recognise the utter impracticability of the proviso as it stands. The honorable and learned member for Corinella has had experience of the working of trades organizations, and he may not be able to forecast the effects of his proposal. That is one of the difficulties with which we have had to deal throughout this measure. Honorable members who have had no experience of the working of trades organizations have proposed amendments which many of us have at once recognised as utterly impracticable. There is no dispute as to the principle embodied in the proviso; the Government proposal is intended solely to render it workable, and I see no reason why the motion to recommit the clause should be rejected to. I am altogether opposed to the proviso as it stands, and I also regard the proposal which the Government propose to submit to the Committee as unnecessary. I take it that the amendment is being brought forward in reference to the opinion expressed by the Committee, and by way of compromise. I hold, however, that such a provision is unnecessary. This is proved by the experience gained in every Arbitration Court which we have had experience. No limitation as that suggested has been proposed.

pon the States' Courts, which have to deal with a very much larger number of organizations than will come within the purview of the Federal tribunal. The federated organizations may be larger than those whose affairs come within the jurisdiction of the States' Courts, but they will be fewer. No limitation, so far as preference is concerned, is placed upon the power of the judges in the States' Courts. Honorable members have frequently urged that we should be guided by experience in all these matters, and I confidently refer them to the records of the States' Arbitration Courts for proof that no evil has arisen from vesting those tribunals with full power to give preference to unionists. I defy honorable members to quote a case in which harm has resulted from vesting the Court with unramelled authority.

Mr. McWILLIAMS.—The amendment proposed by the Government would limit the power of the Judge very materially.

Mr. SPENCE.—The Government have recognised, as all Governments must, the feeling of the Committee, and they are attempting to put into working form a provision which the Committee passed hastily and without fully understanding it. The proposal was not discussed by the mover or any one else. I should not have allowed such a proposal to pass without debate if I had for one moment supposed that it would be adopted. I thought that it would have been rejected. If it had been discussed, its weakness would have been recognised. Now, the Government desire that we should recommit the Bill, in order that we may insert a workable provision in lieu of the impracticable proviso contained in the Bill. It would be impossible to satisfy the Court that the request for preference was approved by the majority of those who would be affected by the award. The honorable and learned member for Corinella, and other honorable members, have had a great deal to say with regard to the difficulty of interpreting the words "substantially represent," but they have been silent as to the difficulty of deciding as to the number of persons who would be affected by an award. I contend that the words "affected by" are capable of a very wide interpretation. The meaning of the word "substantial" is clear, whereas it will be difficult to interpret the phrase used in the clause as it now stands. Many of the objections raised by honorable members have been based upon the assumption that the awards of

the Court will have a very far-reaching effect—that they will affect not only those who are immediately engaged in a dispute, but the community generally. It is possible, therefore, that the Judge may place a very wide interpretation upon the words "affected by." It will be necessary for the unionists who are applying for preference to show the Judge that the majority of those affected are in favour of their claim being granted. If, however, I were asked to present a case for the union, of which I happen to be President, I should not be able to prove that we had the approval of the majority of those affected.

Mr. HUTCHISON.—We might believe that we had the approval of a majority, but we were unable to prove it.

Mr. SPENCE.—We might be able to satisfy the Judge that we represented the majority of those engaged in the industry; but how could we prove that we represented the majority of those affected? Shearing work is intermittent in character. The majority of the men work only for about three months of every season; for the rest of the year they are engaged in other occupations. They do not go out shearing every season, and no complete list of those who follow that calling is available. It would be necessary to take a census and to ask every man whether or not he could be classed as a shearer.

Mr. HIGGINS.—How long does a shearer remain a shearer?

Mr. SPENCE.—No one can say. As has been pointed out, the honorable member for Maranoa is a shearer, although probably he has not followed that occupation for many years. I describe myself as a miner, but I have not followed that calling for many years past. The honorable member for Grey is a shearer.

Mr. HUTCHISON.—I am a member of the Shearers' Union, and I suppose that I should be classified as a shearer.

Mr. SPENCE.—It would be utterly impracticable to prove that the applicants for preference represented the majority of those affected by the award, because the majority could only be arrived at after the total of those affected had been ascertained. No one could say how many wharf labourers, or how many shearers, there were, and the same thing would apply to many other callings.

Mr. HIGGINS.—It would be necessary to have a roll, and to hold a revision court.

Mr. SPENCE.—Exactly. We should require to compile a list somewhat similar to an electoral roll, and we can understand what trouble would be involved in such a case. It is extraordinary that the honorable and learned member for Corinella should have failed to recognise that his proviso is utterly impracticable. It may be that he knows what the effect would be, namely, that it would be impossible to comply with the condition he has imposed, and that the Court would thus be prevented from giving preference to unionists. The sooner honorable members realize this, and vote straight out against any preference being given to unionists, the better. I should have no hesitation in telling the Judge that the organization to which I belong represented the majority of those who work at shearing, but I could not say that it represented the majority of those who would be affected by his award. When men go out shearing, they pay their union fees for the season during which they are engaged at that class of work, but when they do not go out they become unfinancial, and no further record of them is kept. Similarly, miners pay their union fees when they are working, but not when they are unemployed. If a miner goes away, and engages in some other occupation, he ceases to be a financial member of his union. If the honorable and learned member for Corinella, and those who support him, wish the Court to be prohibited from giving preference, let them say so. I dislike underhand methods of achieving an object. Let honorable members say straight out what they mean. As I still had a certain degree of faith in the honorable and learned member for Corinella, I fully expected that he would have accepted the proposal of the Government, and I am surprised that he should persist in retaining a proviso which would render the Bill entirely inoperative. I think that I can claim to speak with some knowledge of trades unions. I can assure honorable members that a perfect storm of indignation has been aroused by some of the amendments which have already been made in the Bill, and particularly by that which was inserted at the instance of the honorable and learned member for Corinella. Although the union with which I am associated has not yet dealt with the matter officially, I know that the feeling which is generally expressed by prominent officers of that and other organizations is opposed to registering under

this Bill, and on the ground that in its present form it is utterly useless. Honorable members who have supported these amendments must accept the responsibility of their handiwork. Those who honestly desire to obtain a workable measure must attach some weight to the opinions of experts, who can speak from personal knowledge, and who do not treat the Bill in flippant manner adopted by the honorable member for Wentworth and those who occupy a different station in life. That is a very serious matter to the working man.

Mr. McWILLIAMS.—It will be a serious matter to the working man who will find himself unable to obtain employment, because unionists have been awarded preference.

Mr. SPENCE.—Some honorable members who have had no experience of trades unions claim to represent the working man. How can they sustain their claim? They may represent individuals, but they cannot speak for collective bodies of workers. In a matter of this kind, I hold that the opinions of those connected with unions should carry some weight. I know the question of granting a preference to unionists means a very great deal to millions of thousands of employes who are connected with one industry alone.

Mr. McWILLIAMS.—Does not the proviso apply to which the honorable member belongs, which presents thousands of workers who are members of trades unions?

Mr. SPENCE.—Most certainly it does, simply because the non-members of unions tacitly consent to the proposals of their fellows who can speak collectively. Those who carelessly hold aloof from trades unions are in reality consenting parties to their own class organizations. In connexion I need scarcely remind honorable members that a very large number of those who do not belong to trades organizations are not necessarily non-unionists. There is one point which I desire to impress upon honorable members. The granting of a preference to unionists is not only necessary because it is essential to the work of this measure—a most important consideration in itself—but also because it is desirable to give the workers something like an equal opportunity in the matter of earning their livelihood. So far I have not heard any honorable member object to trades unions as such. It is most extraordinary

that the opponents of the preference proposal should attempt to justify their attitude upon the ground that the adoption of that provision would operate unfairly in the case of those who do not choose to join trades unions. We ask that a preference shall be extended to unionists in order that they may be given an equal opportunity to obtain work. In the absence of such a preference they have not an equal opportunity with the non-members of unions of securing employment.

Mr. McWILLIAMS.—If the honorable member holds that view, how can he support the proposal of the Government?

Mr. SPENCE.—I can only discuss one question at a time. The proposal of the Government is not before us. The opportunity to discuss it has been denied to us by honorable members opposite. I would point out that a considerable percentage of employers prefer to engage unionists to any other workmen. A large percentage merely seek to obtain the services of men who are able to perform the work for which they are engaged. They do not concern themselves with the question of whether their employes are unionists or otherwise. There is, however, a still larger percentage of employers who will not engage a unionist if they can secure the services of a non-unionist, and who are prepared to offer the latter improved conditions to prevent him from joining a trades organization. Upon the whole, therefore, I maintain that the non-member of a union has an advantage over the unionist in the matter of obtaining employment. The honorable member for Parramatta knows that what I am saying is correct. It is the practice of a number of employers to boycott unionists. To defeat that practice we must offer a preference to them. I need scarcely point out that the non-member of a union makes no sacrifice for the maintenance of fair conditions under which he may earn his livelihood. He leaves the entire burden to be borne by the unionists. The latter not only have to risk their employment, to contribute to the maintenance of trades organizations, which secure for them improved conditions, but, as a matter of fact, they have less chance of obtaining work than have non-members of unions. Consequently, I say that if collective bargaining is to be the basis of this Bill it is necessary that we should extend a preference to unionists. I take it that this legislation has been introduced to

provide a remedy for industrial disputes, and to maintain fair conditions between employers and employes. Nothing can be done in the absence of collective bargaining. It is only through industrial organizations that we can promote industrial peace. To my mind the honorable and learned member for Wannon made a most extraordinary statement this afternoon. Seeing that it emanated from a legal luminary, it fairly staggered me. He declared that this Bill contains no provision which will prevent men from leaving their employment, despite the fact that we have all along been assured that under it employes cannot collectively discontinue work. I think that if, under its operation, the honorable and learned member advised a body of men to quit their employment without giving due notice to their employers he would find that he had made a mistake.

Mr. HUTCHISON.—Any person can break a law, but the point is that he is liable to punishment for so doing.

Mr. SPENCE.—There is no doubt in my mind that this Bill will prevent strikes by depriving the workmen of power to leave their employment collectively.

Mr. McWILLIAMS.—Nothing of the kind.

Mr. SPENCE.—Every authority upon the subject entertains a different view from that expressed by the honorable member. As a matter of fact, several of the clauses in this measure declare that when an industrial dispute occurs, the work in the particular industry affected must continue. The men cannot discontinue their employment as a body, because that is a punishable offence. If a dispute arises, they are compelled under the provisions of this Bill to carry on the industry affected until that dispute has been settled.

Mr. McWILLIAMS.—When it has been settled, cannot a man leave his employment after having given due notice?

Mr. SPENCE.—I am dealing with the statement of the honorable and learned member for Wannon, who declared that the employes could leave their work in a body. That statement is pure nonsense. In support of his contention he quoted the Teralba case, which has been previously mentioned. I hold that it is necessary to extend a preference to unionists, for the reasons which I have advanced. The amendment which was carried at the instance of the honorable and learned member for Corinella, provides that before any such preference shall be granted the consent of a majority of the employes

affected by the award of the Court shall be obtained. What does that mean? The furniture trade in Melbourne is practically monopolized by the Chinese. Under the amendment of the honorable and learned member, before a preference could be granted to unionists, it would be necessary to obtain the consent of a large number of the Chinese engaged in that industry, because the European employés constitute a minority. I do not know whether the honorable and learned member for Corinella desires to place the furniture trade exclusively in the hands of Chinese, but that would be the effect of his amendment.

Mr. BAMFORD.—The Chinese engaged in that trade out-number the Europeans by six to one.

Mr. SPENCE.—I believe it is a fact that they immensely out-number the European furniture makers.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—How could a dispute affecting Melbourne alone, be brought under the operation of this Bill?

Mr. SPENCE.—I am surprised that the honorable member for Parramatta should favour such a proposal. He is an old trades unionist, who received his training amongst the staunchest unionists in the world—I refer to the coal miners. He understands something about this matter, and I did not include him in the category of those who voted upon the amendment in ignorance of what its effect would be. Unions relating to the furniture trade are, like most other bodies of a similar kind, rapidly federating, and as soon as that work has been completed Inter-State disputes may readily arise. In that event, if an organization applied to the Court to grant a preference to unionists, it would have to show that it represented a majority of all persons likely to be affected by the award, including the Chinese cabinet-makers of Melbourne and other cities. Then, again, let us consider for a moment what would be the position in regard to seamen. It is admitted that the rejection of certain clauses may render it impossible for certain seamen to come under this Bill; but, upon the passing of the Navigation Bill, vessels on which lascars are employed will be brought under the control of the Court. Consequently, under the clause as it stands, it would be necessary for the Federated Seamen's Union, in applying for a preference, to show that it represented a majority of those to be affected by the award, including lascar seamen. Every one knows that one European

sailor can do as much work as can two even three, lascars, yet the latter would have equal voting power. Although they receive only 15s. per month, as against £6 and a month paid to European sailors, they would have equal voting powers under the honorable and learned member's amendment.

Mr. BAMFORD.—As a matter of fact physical weakness of the lascar would lead to an increase in his voting strength, because three lascars are employed to do the work of one ordinary European seaman.

Mr. SPENCE.—Exactly. How would it be possible to obtain their consent to an application? There is no machinery provided in the Bill, nor is any proposal enable effect to be given to the honorable and learned member's amendment. We expect much from the lawyers; but not a legal member of the House has framed a proposal that would enable the opinion of lascar seamen to be ascertained, although such machinery would be necessary to make the provision workable. It would be necessary to prepare a list of the seamen, to put before the Court something which might reasonably be regarded as evidence that the union had the approval of the men. What evidence would the Court require in regard to the position taken up by Chinese cabinet-workers on an application by the furniture trades unions for a preference? The Chinese are most astute, and evade the law to a greater extent than any other section of the community. So with the lascars. The Court would be justified in accepting a mere statement on the part of an officer or an organization, that the lascars had consented to an application for a preference to unionist seamen. It would have to present a statement, compiled from ships' books, showing that a certain number of these men were employed, and that a vote had been taken to ascertain their opinions on the subject. The amendment, which was carried on the motion of the honorable and learned member for Corinella, was an attempt to introduce something entirely foreign to the main principle of the Bill, and would be absolutely unworkable. If honorable members desire to wreck the Bill, they will do well to vote for the retention of the clause as it stands; but if, on the other hand, they are honest in their pretensions, that they favour the principle of conciliation and arbitration, they will support the Government proposal. If we provide that an organization, applying for

preference, shall show that it substantially represents the majority of persons likely to be affected by the award, the Judge will have a discretionary power. There is a limit to the length to which we, as a party, may go, and I contend that it would be positively wicked for us to accept an amendment which is calculated to seriously impair the working of a clause of the greatest importance to unionists. It is obvious that the Government are endeavouring to meet the wishes of those who say that some limitation to the power to grant a preference is necessary. They have prepared an amendment providing that an organization when applying for a preference shall show that it substantially represents a majority of those to be affected by the award, because they recognise that it would be exceedingly difficult to obtain proof that an application was supported by an absolute majority. They have gone as far as they can be reasonably expected to go, and it is remarkable that honorable members are not prepared at once to accept their proposal. The Government proposition would really carry out the object which the honorable and learned member for Corinella and those who support his amendment have in view. It would go a step further than the arbitration laws of Australia and New Zealand. How much further are we to go? I think that I shall be justified in referring at this stage to incidents associated with an industry in which I am interested, even if it be only to show the need for a measure of this kind. An organization which was characterized by the right honorable member for East Sydney as one that is run in the interests of the employers—I refer to the Machine Shearers' Union—has lately been rather conspicuous. A man whom I know was recently engaged in Melbourne, and was given a list of places in which he would be able to secure employment as a shearer. He was told, however, that before that employment would be forthcoming it would be necessary for him to pay a subscription of 7s. 6d. to the Machine Shearers' Union, and also to lodge a deposit of £1. He complied with these conditions, but after being kept waiting for some time, was told that he could not be given work. At first his demand for a refund of his money was refused, and it was only when he threatened to take legal proceedings that he secured the return of his deposit. The subscription fee of 7s. 6d. has not yet been refunded. This shows that men are compelled to join a certain union, in the interests of employers,

in order to obtain employment, and that they are requested to pay a membership fee even before work is obtained for them. The Workers' Union does not lay down any such stipulation. A man is invited to join the Union, but is not asked to at once pay his contribution to it. He is allowed practically to work his shed out before being called on to pay his subscriptions, the desire of the Union being that he shall first have an opportunity to send some money to his family. In the case of the Machine Shearers' Union, however, a man is required to pay his subscription even before work is found for him. The incident to which I have referred shows the necessity for some such Bill as this. By resorting to such a system, the employers may create intolerable conditions. Under the Bill, as it stands, men will be prohibited from organizing a strike; they will be placed in an almost helpless position, and compelled, it may be, to live practically under conditions of slavery. The situation is a very serious one, and no consideration should intervene to prevent us from passing a law which is so urgently required. The Bill is not as perfect as I should like it to be; but, so far as the question of preference is concerned, I am prepared to strain a point, and to accept the Government amendment, because I think it will be workable. It is in keeping with what has been the general practice. On a previous occasion I mentioned that, in granting preferences to unionists, the New Zealand Conciliation and Arbitration Court was guided by the membership of the applicant unions, and that in most cases the unions fairly represented a majority of those engaged in the industry. The honorable and learned member for Wannon was able to cite only three cases dealt with by the New South Wales Arbitration Court in which that was not the position. Much has been said about the case of the Broken Hill miners. One may be easily misled by the figures, however, because the Broken Hill mines employ a number of men who are not actually working underground. I have not before me the details of the application for an award, but I know that the underground miners always play a prominent part in such matters, and when we separate the number actually concerned in the award from those who were not, we find that the union represented a very large proportion of those employed in the mines. I hope that the proposal to

limit the discussion of this measure to the House will be rejected. We have reached the final stages, and should have regard to the fact that many thousands of men having families dependent upon them are hoping to secure by the passing of this Bill a certain degree of social justice. That fact should over-ride all other considerations. Whatever may be our view as to who is best fitted to carry on the Government of the Commonwealth, I hold that we should not sacrifice this measure merely because of any party feeling.

Mr. McWILLIAMS.—Why make a party question of this amendment?

Mr. SPENCE. — Because we have reached a certain stage at which it is necessary to do so. It appears to me that the honorable and learned member for Corinella has made out no case against the Government proposal; he has certainly failed to show that we should refrain from recommitting the clause. It can be better discussed in Committee.

Mr. McWILLIAMS.—Why?

Mr. SPENCE.—Because in Committee we can make such alterations as may be necessary. When we are in Committee an honorable member is at liberty to bring forward any proposal that specially commends itself to him, and to move that it be carried into effect; but in the House he can make only one speech.

Mr. McWILLIAMS. — That is quite enough.

Mr. SPENCE.—It may be too much for some honorable members, but the practice of dealing with a Bill in Committee is a time-honoured one, which we have copied from the mother of Parliaments. We are able to thresh out all the details of a Bill much more readily in Committee than in the House. The objection has been taken to the provision which the Government wish to substitute for that of the honorable and learned member for Corinella, that its language is not clear; but that defect might be remedied in Committee. I am losing my faith in the honorable and learned member. At the start, I thought he was a friend of the Bill, and I hope that he is not even now entirely an enemy to the measure; but if the clause as amended by him is passed into law, it will ruin the Bill.

Mr. McCAY.—That is a matter of opinion.

Mr. WATSON.—Honorable members opposite know that it will do so, and I hope that the country will know it, too.

Mr. SPENCE.—The Government have been charged with desiring to retain it, but if that charge were true, would I declare this to be a vital issue, suppose that they did not firmly believe that provision would make the measure operative? Can a Labour Ministry ask to place upon the statute-book a measure which they know would be unworkable from the fact that the unions would decline to register under it? The Government are really going further, in suggesting the compromise which has been put forward, than I should feel inclined to go if I were in power. They are trying to meet the objection of the honorable and learned member for Corinella, that evidence should be placed before the Court which would guide it as to the real facts of the case. I know that over and over again unions have come to terms with employers, under which it has been arranged that preference shall be given to their members. I was once secretary to a union which had an arrangement with the employers in a district that no one who was not a member of the union, and had not paid his dues, should be allowed to work in it; and similar arrangements are quite common in American agreements. No one can show that this has caused any harm. The Government are going a long way to meet honorable members opposite in agreeing that a majority of those concerned must be given a preference before it can be granted by the Court; but whereas they are of opinion that the Judge should be satisfied that those applying for the preference substantially represent the majority—and evidence could be given to sustain that position—honorable members opposite wish the existence of the majority to be absolutely proved. I could show that the Austral Workers' Union substantially represents those connected with the shearing and pastoral industry of New South Wales, but could not mathematically prove that it presents a majority of the persons connected with that industry. I appeal to those who wish to see this Bill passed to accept the offer of the Government, and to vote against the amendment to the motion to go into Committee. We cannot hide from ourselves the fact that the Government came into power because of a stand made on one of the clauses of this Bill. A majority supported the position which the members of the Labour Party then took up. Since then, we have navigated the Bill through its Committee stages. Will honorable members

ers, therefore, be honest in voting against the proposed recommitment? If they do so, will they not be actuated by the desire to place some other party in power?

Mr. MCWILLIAMS.—Who threw out the challenge?

Mr. SPENCE.—No challenge has been thrown out; but the Government would be recreant to their duty, and unworthy of support, if they agreed to the passing of a measure which they knew would be worthless. It may be a new feature in the administration of the affairs of the Commonwealth to have a Government which has the courage to take this stand. The Government are prepared to go further than their supporters would like to go, and further than those outside who take an active interest in these matters wish to go. Under the circumstances, it looks as if honorable members opposite were trying to put the Government out of office because they think they will gain popularity for opposing the giving of preference to unionists. Those who honestly desire to make the clause perfect will not vote against the motion for a recommitment. The honorable and learned member for Corinella and others know that the clause could be discussed more freely in Committee than in the House. Does he take up the position that its drafting is absolutely perfect, so that not a letter or word in it should be altered? Either the honorable and learned member and those who support him are afraid of the result of going into Committee, or there is something behind his amendment. It has already been insinuated that the object in view is not that which is ostensible. If so, let it be stated. The Government are open and above-board, and the party which supports them say what they want. Will honorable members opposite sacrifice the interests of the masses outside merely to obtain possession of the Treasury benches? Those who are taking advantage of this opportunity to displace the Government are the enemies of the unions.

Mr. MCWILLIAMS.—The party to which the honorable member belongs did not hesitate to oust the Deakin Government under similar circumstances.

Mr. SPENCE.—I do not know how many leaders of the Opposition there may be now; but it is a somewhat suspicious circumstance that neither of the two principal leaders have yet spoken on the amendment. Do honorable gentlemen oppose the motion to go into Committee because they think that they can obtain an extra vote if the

division is taken with Mr. Speaker in the chair? That has been suggested. It will be a discredit to the Parliament if a measure of this kind, which means so much to thousands of persons outside, is defeated merely to secure the downfall of the Government. I am certain that the present Administration are not afraid to take the chances of defeat, but surely the Bill should not be used as a weapon against them. If we are to have a party fight, let it be an open one. Does the right honorable member for East Sydney think that he can obtain possession of the Treasury benches without moving a motion of censure?

Mr. SPEAKER.—The honorable member is not now in order.

Mr. SPENCE.—Perhaps I am not, but I think it best to speak plainly, and I cannot help saying that the position is very peculiar. I beseech honorable members to allow this Bill to be got out of the way before the decks are cleared for action. The amendment carried by the honorable and learned member for Corinella was moved immediately after a division had been taken, and very few honorable members really understood it. I believe that copies of it had not been distributed.

Mr. MCCAY.—Yes; it was printed and distributed.

Mr. SPENCE.—I, for one, would certainly have opposed it, for the reason which I have urged against it this afternoon, that it would make the Bill ineffective, had I had an opportunity to do so.

Mr. MCCAY.—The honorable member said that he would accept it.

Mr. SPENCE.—I am willing to go a long way to arrive at a compromise in this matter; but the honorable and learned member appears not to recognise that the Government are trying to make an unworkable and impossible provision capable of application. If he were sincere in his desire to improve the Bill, he would accept the compromise they offer, instead of stirring up a fight under very suspicious circumstances. I challenge the leaders of the Opposition and their lieutenants to say what is meant by their action. The Government have been outspoken. Let us first of all get rid of this Bill, which will give relief to thousands who are in difficulties which are daily becoming worse. Do not let us have a fight over what is merely a paltry lawyers' quibble about words. The clause, as it stands, is unworkable, and the unions would decline to register under it, and thus the securing of industrial peace

would be impossible. Let us first pass this measure, and then, if we are to have a fight, let it be on a plain issue.

Mr. MCWILLIAMS (Franklin).—The honorable member for Darling has made a rather unfair charge against the honorable and learned member for Corinella—one which, I think, any honorable member should be very slow to make. He has also stated that those who are voting against the proposal to go into Committee have some ulterior object.

Mr. POYNTON.—Is there any doubt about that?

Mr. MCWILLIAMS.—Let us consider the exact position.

Mr. HUME COOK.—The object is either to wreck the Bill or to wreck the Government.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—It is to do both.

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—The honorable member for Bourke voted for one of the amendments of the honorable and learned member for Corinella.

Mr. HUME COOK.—I shall vote to keep out of office the right honorable member for East Sydney.

Mr. MCWILLIAMS.—It is only necessary for us to cast our minds back to another stage in the history of this Bill, when the Deakin Government took a stand upon a principle which they regarded as vital, and told the House that if they were defeated they would resign. Did honorable members opposite then sav to the Deakin Government, "You should not make this a vital question."

Mr. SPENCE.—Yes, certainly we did.

Mr. MCWILLIAMS.—Which did they put first, the fate of the Government, or their own principles?

Mr. SPENCE.—There is no principle involved in the present case.

Mr. MCWILLIAMS.—There is a great principle.

AN HONORABLE MEMBER.—The principle of killing the Arbitration Bill is all the honorable member sees in it.

Mr. MCWILLIAMS.—There is the principle that we, the true representatives of majority rule—

Mr. TUDOR.—Who are the true representatives of majority rule? The honorable member was returned by a smaller vote than any representative in this House.

AN HONORABLE MEMBER.—The honorable member only got in by accident.

Mr. MCWILLIAMS.—I am quite prepared to face the electors at any time, and

I think my chances would be quite as good as those of honorable members who are not making such a great fuss, and who are not more afraid than I am to face their constituents.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—The honorable member will see.

Mr. MCWILLIAMS.—The late Government took their stand upon one of the principles of the Bill, and regarded it as vital, and the members of the Labour Party voted for their principles and left the Government to take their chance. That is exactly the position which I take up on the present occasion.

Mr. SPENCE.—There is no principle involved as between the Government proposal and the proviso now in the Bill.

Mr. MCWILLIAMS.—Yes, there is. I say that there should be no preference given to unionists unless they represent the majority of those interested in the particular calling affected.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—So do we.

Mr. MCWILLIAMS.—It has been stated that the amendment of the honorable and learned member for Corinella was printed and distributed. That is not correct, because it was printed and was in the hands of honorable members two days before the vote was taken. I have a copy of the amendment, which is dated 23rd June.

Mr. HUTCHISON.—The matter was discussed.

Mr. MCWILLIAMS.—The whole matter was discussed for nearly a week.

Mr. WATSON.—Not the amendment that was adopted.

Mr. MCWILLIAMS.—What is the result of our quibbling over this small point? The debate ranged over the question as to whether preference should be given absolutely, or only when the applicant represented a majority of those engaged in the industry affected. We are now called upon to consider first the proper method of procedure to be adopted, and, second, the conditions under which preference should be given to unionists. It has been urged that we should go into Committee to reconsider clause 48, but I think that the arguments which have been adduced point to the desirability of our fighting the matter out in the House. The proviso inserted in the Bill was discussed for nearly a week—not perhaps exactly in its present form.

Mr. WATSON.—Not even the principle of it.

Mr. McWILLIAMS. — The principle discussed was whether preference should be given to unionists, unless they represented the majority of those affected by the award.

Mr. WATSON.—Not a word was said with regard to that during the debate. The honorable member is utterly mistaken.

Mr. McWILLIAMS.—The question we discussed was whether preference should be given to unionists.

Mr. WATSON.—The debate took place upon the question whether or not any preference should be given.

Mr. McWILLIAMS.—The Prime Minister was present, and agreed to the procedure adopted when the proviso was inserted. The House was thoroughly tired out by the discussion that had taken place, and honorable members deliberately agreed to go to a division upon the amendment of the honorable and learned member for Corinella. Now a straight issue is before the House.

Mr. WATSON.—To take the business out of the hands of the Government—that is the only issue there is.

Mr. McWILLIAMS.—Who made this a vital issue? Honorable members on this side of the chamber did not do so.

Mr. HUTCHISON.—Then why should they seek to take the business out of the hands of the Government?

Mr. McWILLIAMS.—As I have already pointed out, an exactly similar set of circumstances was presented to us when the Deakin Ministry stated that they would resign if a certain amendment were carried against them. That amendment was moved by an honorable member who is now a member of the Ministry. Now the Prime Minister takes up a precisely similar attitude, and has made a vital question of the matter once before us. Is that any reason why those who supported the amendment of the honorable and learned member for Corinella should now change their attitude?

Mr. BATCHELOR.—We can discuss that in Committee.

Mr. McWILLIAMS.—But why should we go into Committee?

Mr. HUTCHISON.—Why not?

Mr. McWILLIAMS.—Ministers know as well as any one else that when a Government make a matter one of vital importance it is infinitely better that the issue should be fought out in the House, rather than in Committee. What is the object of going into Committee? The honorable member or Darling has stated that some of us do

not desire to hear other honorable members speak. I am always glad to hear the honorable member for Darling speak on the subject of trades unionism, because that is a subject with which he is thoroughly acquainted. On questions of principle we may differ from the honorable member, but upon matters which can be thoroughly understood only by those who have had practical experience, we must attach great weight to his views.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—The honorable member takes good care not to follow him.

Mr. McWILLIAMS.—I shall certainly not follow him on this occasion. If the honorable member votes as he speaks he cannot support the amendment suggested by the Government. There is no necessity to go into Committee, because it will be perfectly in order for honorable members, to discuss, upon the motion now before us, the merits of the alternative proposals of the Government and of the honorable and learned member for Corinella.

Mr. TUDOR.—But we cannot vary either proposal. We cannot even debate the amendment of the Government.

Mr. SPEAKER.—I may inform honorable members that the question now before the House is whether clause 48 should be recommitted, in order that the proviso which it now contains may be replaced by another which is to be proposed by the Government. Therefore, the two matters may be debated.

Mr. McWILLIAMS.—No fairer issue could be placed before honorable members, and there is no reason why a full discussion should not take place at this stage. If the majority of honorable members are in favour of the Government proposal, they can show their preference by voting for the motion for the recommitment of the Bill.

Mr. THOMAS.—It would be better to go to the country and have it out at once.

Mr. McWILLIAMS.—I agree with the honorable member. The threat of a dissolution frightens me no more than it does my honorable friend. A full discussion at this stage, instead of in Committee, will probably result in a saving of time. We have been here for upwards of five months, and during nearly the whole of that time we have been occupied with this Bill. Therefore, it cannot be said that the measure has not received sufficient consideration, or that any attempt has been made to restrict discussion. If we went into Committee the debate would become very

much more irregular than would be possible if it were conducted in the House. Surely there is no honorable member who desires to speak three times upon the subject, or who wishes to listen to others speaking three times upon it! It is idle to affirm that we should deal with the proposal of the Government in Committee on the ground that we may wish to amend it. The issue before us is, whether we shall deliberately reverse the vote which was previously arrived at in Committee by substituting the Government proposal for the amendment which was then carried at the instance of the honorable and learned member for Corinella. No clearer cut issue could be placed before the House. Ministers have declared that there is another object behind our action—that we wish to defeat the Government.

Mr. FISHER.—The honorable member does not believe that, does he?

Mr. McWILLIAMS.—If a straight-out division had been taken upon this matter I think that the majority of honorable members know how my vote would have been cast. If Ministers had not made it a test question I should still have voted precisely as I intend to do. I am sure that it is not for the Minister of Trade and Customs to say that we should alter our decision because the Government have chosen to make the amendment of the honorable and learned member for Corinella vital to their existence, seeing that it was upon his initiative that the Deakin Government were defeated, under precisely similar conditions. Upon the question of procedure, therefore, no stable complaint can be made that we are taking up a position which is either unfair or untenable. If this is to be regarded as a vital question by the Ministry—if they stake their existence upon the proposal which they have framed—

Mr. WATSON.—I should think that we ought to stake our existence upon a matter which involves taking the business of the House out of our hands.

Mr. McWILLIAMS.—In reality the amendment of the honorable and learned member for Corinella is responsible for the fate of the Government being in the balance. When that amendment was carried it was generally understood that Ministers could not accept it in its present form. Nobody can blame them for that determination. I think that they have adopted a very proper and straightforward course. Nevertheless, they have no right to ask any honorable

member who supported that amendment to reverse his vote for no other reason than that they have chosen to stake their Minister's existence upon it.

Mr. FISHER.—The honorable member has overlooked the fact that on the previous occasion there was no time to discuss the matter.

Mr. McWILLIAMS.—I remarked just now, in the absence of the Minister of Trade and Customs, that, with the consent of the Government, a division was taken upon the amendment because every honorable member was heartily sick of the subject which we had been so long debating. The real question which is involved is whether a preference should be granted to unionists unless it can be shown that they represent a majority of those interested in the particular trade affected by any award of the Court. In this matter I claim that honorable members upon this side of the House represent a majority rule to a greater extent than do those who support the watered amendment that has been drafted by the Government. Even if that proposal had been contained in the Bill as it was originally introduced, it should not have been accepted. There are few words in the English language which have a more indefinite meaning than the word "substantial." During the course of this debate we have heard various constructions placed upon it by honorable members. What does it mean in the way in which it is proposed to apply it?

Mr. PAGE.—What does the honorable member think that it means?

Mr. McWILLIAMS.—I believe that it is a ladder which has been placed against a tree for the purpose of allowing Ministers to gracefully climb down.

Mr. PAGE.—Fancy that.

Mr. McWILLIAMS.—I am prepared to admit that Ministers believe that a very material difference exists between their proposal and the amendment of the honorable and learned member for Corinella. If the two proposals were placed side by side the difference between them would be found to consist in the substitution of the word "majority" for the words "substantially represents." Is the House prepared to grant a preference to unionists where the latter do not constitute a majority of those interested in the particular trade affected by the award of the Court? I gathered from the Prime Minister's speech, and from an interjection which he made, that he does not desire a preference to be

extended to unionists if a majority of those engaged in the industry affected are not in favour of such a preference. If that be so, what is his objection to the amendment of the honorable and learned member for Corinella? It has been argued that it will be impossible to prove to the Court that a union represents a majority of those interested in any industry affected by an award of the Court. To my mind, the onus of proof should rest upon those who claim this preference, and not upon those against whom it is to be used. The Prime Minister declared that the word "substantial" is used in more important measures than this. Upon the present occasion there are two issues at stake, which are of far greater importance than that to which the word "substantial" is intended to be applied. Under existing conditions, to the man who has no money, no influence, and very few friends, the question of whether or not every door of industry shall be open to him may be one not only of importance to himself, but may even involve the necessities of life in the case of his wife and his children.

Mr. WEBSTER.—Nobody wishes to close the door of industry against him.

Mr. McWILLIAMS.—Then, why do the supporters of the Government wish to compel men to join trades unions?

Mr. WEBSTER.—That is what honorable members upon the Opposition side of the House proposed.

Mr. McWILLIAMS.—I am not in favour of compelling any man to join a trades union, or to relinquish his connexion with one. I claim that the question of whether or not a man should belong to any particular church or political party should be one for himself to determine, and the same consideration should apply to trades unions. I have no sympathy whatever with the new radicalism which seeks to coerce men. The honorable member for Darling assured us this afternoon that the provisions of this Bill would prevent men from leaving their employment after an award had been made by the Court.

Mr. SPENCE.—I said that it would prevent them from collectively leaving their employment.

Mr. McWILLIAMS.—I think that the honorable member is in error, because I do not believe that a majority of this House or of any British Parliament would sanction a proposal to reduce the workers to a condition of slavery. If we say to a man, "Un-

less you join a trades union you may or may not be able to obtain work, but if you join one you must comply with the conditions which are laid down by the Arbitration Court, even to the extent of accepting the rate of wages awarded by it, although you may be worth more," I claim that we are reducing him to a condition of absolute slavery.

Mr. McDONALD.—In the district which is represented by the honorable member there are no unions, and the workers there receive the lowest wages paid in any part of Australia. I had a letter upon the subject no later than yesterday.

Mr. McWILLIAMS.—I can quite understand that the right honorable member may receive a number of letters from any part of Australia. When he declares that the wages paid in the district which I have the honour to represent, are the lowest received in any part of Australia, he is making a statement which is absolutely unwarrantable, and which lacks even the slightest foundation. It is, indeed, extraordinary that certain honorable members are never so emphatic as when they are speaking upon a matter of which they know absolutely nothing. If the honorable member for Kennedy would visit the district which I represent, he would discover that a great number of the residents there—a majority, indeed—own their little homes, which they have purchased out of their savings.

Mr. HUTCHISON.—What wages are paid in the printing trade there?

Mr. McWILLIAMS.—I do not know.

Mr. HUTCHISON.—What do they pay in the apple trade?

Mr. McWILLIAMS.—I have not the slightest idea of what they would pay the honorable member, but, really good men can earn really good wages. I repeat that if the new Radicalism means that men before being at liberty to work, shall join unions, and that, having joined them, they shall absolutely accept the rate fixed by an Arbitration Court, and abstain from leaving their employ, it is really nothing but absolute slavery.

Mr. McDONALD.—Then, why does the honorable member support anything of the kind?

Mr. McWILLIAMS.—I have done my utmost to oppose the Bill, by voting against it on every division.

Mr. FISHER.—Hear, hear; that is an honest position to take up.

Mr. McWILLIAMS.—Whatever others may have done, I have never hidden my

views from the House, and I claim that the attitude which I take up in regard to the question of granting a preference to unionists represents the truest democratic principle that has ever been applied—the principle of majority rule. What is the effect of the proposal of the honorable and learned member for Corinella? It says to unionists applying for a preference, "If you can show that the majority approve of your application, your request will be complied with." I clearly put my position before the House, and should like some of those who have been interjecting, and particularly the honorable member for Kennedy, and the honorable member for Hindmarsh, to say whether they desire that a preference shall be granted to unionists, whether they represent a majority of those engaged in an industry or not.

Mr. HUTCHISON.—We shall put our views before the House in due time.

Mr. McWILLIAMS.—There is a very straight issue before us. Honorable members opposite may hide it as they like; they may flog the dissolution horse as long as they please, and Ministers make stake their existence on the proposition which they put before us, but the real issue before the House is whether a preference shall be granted, independently of whether the trades union concerned is able to show that the majority of those to be affected by the award are in favour of the granting of that preference.

Mr. FISHER.—Does the honorable member contend that the honorable and learned member for Corinella's amendment provides a practical scheme to ascertain whether an application is supported by a majority?

Mr. McWILLIAMS.—Can any one seriously say that the Government proposal is a practical scheme?

Mr. FISHER.—Yes.

Mr. McWILLIAMS.—The Government are delegating the power of this Parliament to make certain laws to a Judge of the Conciliation and Arbitration Court. What would be the definition of "substantially represents"? Three Judges of equal intelligence might place a different interpretation upon the term.

Mr. WEBSTER.—The same may be said of provisions in various Acts of Parliament.

Mr. McWILLIAMS.—On questions of absolute law we may get Judges to agree; but the word "substantially" is one of the vaguest to be found in the English language. I gather from the Prime Minister's

speech that he considers that the term "substantially represents" means that the applicants must show that they represent a majority. The honorable member for Darling on the other hand, said that five-sixths of the cabinet-makers of Australia are Chinese, and that as they would out-vote the remaining one-sixth it would be wrong to insist upon a majority vote. He referred to the position in regard to Chinese cabinet makers and to lascar seamen as showing how unwise it would be to insist upon the consequence of an absolute majority being obtained.

Mr. WEBSTER.—For which class of cabinet-makers is the honorable gentleman fighting?

Mr. McWILLIAMS.—I am not fighting for either cabinet-makers or Capitalist breakers. I am fighting in the interest of the whole community. The honorable member for Darling instanced the case of the Chinese furniture makers, and said it would be impossible to induce them to vote for the granting of a preference.

Mr. WEBSTER.—He said that we should not be able to ascertain their number.

Mr. McWILLIAMS.—The honorable member for Darling is now present, and feel satisfied that he will bear out my statement. He also pointed out that lascar seamen would be able to out-vote the white competitors, and that it would be not only unfair, but impossible, to take the vote on the question of preference as against that of their white competitors.

Mr. McDONALD.—Would the honorable member take it?

Mr. McWILLIAMS.—No; I should not give them the right to vote. If I had no way not one of them would be in the country. We have had as many definitions of the words "substantially represents" as there have been speakers in support of the Government amendment. The Prime Minister claims that they mean that the vote shall be a majority, and says that he would not allow the provision to apply to a union which had not a majority of those employed in the industry; while other speakers who support the Government amendment have pointed out that it would be unfair to compel an organization to endeavour to secure a majority. I, therefore, think that nothing has been adduced that would warrant the House in deliberately altering the vote at which we arrived some days ago. I think I have fairly shown that it is very much better for us to fight the straight issue before us—one amendment against another—in the House itself. The

can be no suggestion of the application of the gag, because it is open to every honorable member to carefully compare the two amendments, and for the House to determine the question, after we have thoroughly discussed the subject. If we go into Committee, I shall take it that honorable members are prepared to accept the Government amendment. If honorable members are prepared to support the amendment carried on the motion of the honorable and learned member for Corinella, I take it that they will vote that the Bill be not recommitted. The issue is so clear that honorable members opposite have certainly no right to complain that we propose to vote against the motion merely because we desire to put them out of office.

Mr. FISHER.—We say that honorable members opposite are adopting a course that must prevent the proper discussion of our proposal.

Mr. McWILLIAMS.—The honorable member will be at liberty to discuss it in the House for two or three hours, and I shall have much pleasure in listening to him. But that is not the point. We have had the Bill under consideration for something like five months, and I think that it has been sufficiently discussed. The Government have now made this question a vital one. They were beaten on a fair-and-square fight.

Mr. McDONALD.—No.

Mr. McWILLIAMS.—I trust that honorable members opposite will not say that there was anything unfair associated with their defeat.

Mr. FISHER.—Honorable members did not understand the true purport of the amendment moved by the honorable and learned member for Corinella.

Mr. McWILLIAMS.—If the Minister of Customs thought that the Committee did not understand it, I fail to see why he should have consented to a division being taken before the matter had been thoroughly discussed. I think, however, that the House now thoroughly understands that amendment, as well as the Government proposal, and that no good purpose would be served by allowing the Bill to be once more considered in Committee, where the debate would necessarily be more protracted, and where the issue would not be so clearly defined as it would in the House itself.

Mr. HUTCHISON (Hindmarsh).—It is useless to beat about the bush. The honor-

able and learned member for Corinella is plainly averse to the granting of a preference to unionists, but feels that he dare not openly say so. He would not have moved the amendment which is now under discussion if that were not the case. Being afraid to vote against granting a preference to unionists, what did he do? He said—"I shall move an amendment which will have the effect of rendering it impossible for a preference to be given to unionists." The fact of the matter is, that the honorable member's desire is to give a preference to the right honorable member for East Sydney in regard to the Treasury benches. I do not like the Government amendment, and I feel sure that the shearers of Australia will not regard it favorably.

Mr. WILKS.—If the honorable member were on this side he would vote against it.

Mr. HUTCHISON.—No. While I do not care for the Government proposal, I certainly care very much less for the honorable and learned member for Corinella's amendment. The Government proposal is an endeavour to induce the House to arrive at a decision that will enable a preference to be given in certain circumstances to unionists. It would be open to the Court to grant a preference, even if there were no reference to the matter in the Bill. The Conciliation and Arbitration Court of New Zealand granted a preference to unionists, although that matter at first was not dealt with in the Act on which it is based, and it required nothing but very ordinary data to satisfy it that applicants for a preference represented a substantial majority of those to whom the award would apply. Unless a majority were substantially represented by the organization making the application for a preference, I am sure that the Judge would not grant it, and that the House does not desire that he should have power to do so, in the absence of that condition. The honorable member for Franklin says that if we do not agree to the honorable and learned member for Corinella's amendment — if we do not agree to the clause as it stands — non-unionists will not be able to obtain work. Has a more ridiculous suggestion ever been made? The passing of this Bill will not lead to one individual being employed in excess of the number at present at work. But the honorable member for Franklin and those who think with him are asking the unionists to give up the only

power they possess to secure fair wages and fair conditions, in order that non-unionists may in future have a preference.

Mr. McWILLIAMS.—I have never asked for that.

Mr. HUTCHISON.—But it is that for which the honorable member intends to vote. The shearers, as well as the water-side workers and seamen, would not, I am sure, be favorable to an amendment such as that which was recently carried. It was only another means to destroy the Bill. Let the Bill be destroyed, and we shall know at once that the honorable and learned member for Corinella's amendment was designed to turn out the Government, and to wreck the measure at the same time. The right honorable member for East Sydney says that he would not destroy the Bill. Of course he would not. He wishes to hoodwink the public by making them believe that he is in favour of the principle of arbitration. That is the attitude which has always been taken up by those opposed to industrial legislation, whether in this House or in the States Parliaments. They are always anxious to make the public believe that they are in favour of something with which they really have no sympathy. What care they for the conditions of the workers as long as they can have the Government of the country in their own hands? What earnestness of purpose is shown by honorable members who merely seek to secure seats on the Treasury benches? The right honorable member for East Sydney, who is anxious to become the leader of this House, held office as Premier of New South Wales for five or six years, but I am not aware of even one industrial measure that was passed by him during that period.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—That remark shows how fair the honorable member is.

Mr. HUTCHISON.—I ask the honorable member to mention one industrial measure that was passed by the New South Wales Parliament while the right honorable member for East Sydney was Premier of that State.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I would not pretend to enlighten the honorable member's absolute ignorance.

Mr. HUTCHISON.—I challenge the honorable member, who was a member of the right honorable member for East Sydney's Ministry, to name a single industrial measure which was carried by it.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Members of the honorable member's party have enumerated them time after time.

Mr. HUTCHISON.—I shall ask honorable members to look at the amendment which was submitted by the honorable and learned member for Corinella. The honorable and learned member for Corinella has pretended that he is in favor of giving preference to unionists, and yet he has carried an amendment which will prevent the giving of effect to that principle. Why did he not tell us how the views of all those engaged in an industry could be obtained? I have been a member and an officer of the Shearers' Union for many years, though I am not a shearer by occupation. I should like to know how I would be classed under the honorable and learned member's provision. Should I be allowed to vote? Will the question have to go before the Court, and be thrashed out there, before it can be ascertained who should and who should not vote? At the present time it takes many months to get a ballot of the members of the union.

Mr. JOHNSON.—The honorable member would feel aggrieved if his vote did not count.

Mr. HUTCHISON.—Yes; but I would feel more aggrieved if a unionist did not get a preference against a non-unionist who was sacrificing nothing. The Bill was introduced, not because non-unionists have stood up for fair conditions and good wages, and have been the cause of strikes, but because the unionists have demanded what they believe to be just and reasonable. It is the unionists to whom preference should be given, because it is they alone who are making concessions. There has been no greater opponent of strikes than I have been. I had something to do with the prevention of a strike in the shearing industry two years ago. That strike was settled voluntarily, but the result was that next year a dispute was inevitable, through the refusal of the pastoralists to negotiate, and then we won all along the line. I am sure the honorable members think that I would counsel the unionists to give up the only weapon they possess, in the power to strike, if they are to get nothing in return?

Mr. JOHNSON.—Does the honorable member suggest that the non-unionists should starve?

Mr. HUTCHISON.—No one who is not now starving will starve under the Bill. If the Bill is amended, as the Government wish to amend it, some of the

who are being badly treated now will receive what a properly constituted Court will decide are fair conditions and fair wages. Every one who opposes the Bill opposes the granting of fair conditions to a large number of workers. The unionists have never asked for advantages in which the non-unionists have not shared. I, myself, have been boycotted for standing up for my just rights. It is the unionists who suffer in every case; but hundreds and thousands of non-unionists have benefited by their action in standing up for their rights. Throughout the world the worst paid labour is that of the unorganized workers. This is not a Bill for them. Who are fighting for the unorganized workers? Is it those who are opposing the Bill? No. What are they doing for them? The unionists however, are working as hard in the interests of the non-unionists as in their own interests. The honorable member for Franklin asked what is the object of going into Committee. It has been said that we can discuss the matter in the House; but what is the use of discussing it if a majority is ready to prevent the clause from being recommitted, and a vote taken on the Government's amendment? The issue is not the improvement of the clause, but the wrecking of the measure. Free-traders and protectionists are combined to defeat the Labour Party.

Mr. McCAY.—And other free-traders and protectionists are combined in the Labour Party.

Mr. HUTCHISON.—We are not afraid to face the country under present conditions. It is always recognised that the Government in power have the right to conduct the business of the country, and I have never seen a more shameful attempt to take the business out of the hands of Ministers than that which is being made to-night. If honorable members think that they have a majority against a reasonable amendment—an amendment with which I have very little sympathy—why do not they consent to the recommitment, and vote against it in Committee? The Government are going as far as they can in order that the Bill may have a trial. They are prepared to allow the Court to decide what is a substantial number. Why should it be necessary to have the consent of a majority of all concerned? If the majority of workers in a trade are suffering from bad conditions, why should a minority be debarred from going to the Court, and asking for what is fair and just, both for themselves and for every other

member of their industry? That is the question which we could discuss if honorable members would allow the Bill to be re-committed. Those who oppose the motion for recommitment are not considering the workers at all.

Mr. CONROY.—The unionists only represent one out of every seven of the workers.

Mr. HUTCHISON.—The honorable and learned member is quite wrong. But even if the unionists did represent only one out of every seven of the workers, the Court would not give a unionist anything which would not benefit the six non-unionists. The honorable member for Franklin either did not know, or was afraid to quote, the wages paid in many trades in Tasmania. He spoke of the clause as an attempt to reduce the workers to slavery; but does he know how some of them live? If he does not, let him read such works as the *People of the Abyss*, by Jack London, or Charles Booth's work on London, and Rowntree's work on York. The statements therein contained are unchallengeable, and, unfortunately, they are fast becoming applicable to the Commonwealth. Two years ago it was found necessary in Adelaide for the unionists to collect funds for distribution, not only amongst those out of employment, but amongst those in employment, who were being sweated. That sweating still continues.

Mr. SPEAKER.—The question before the Chair is whether particular clauses should be recommitted.

Mr. HUTCHISON.—I am trying to give general reasons for the recommitment. There is intense suffering among the workers in every State which does not possess arbitration laws. It has never been shown that preference has done harm. In this connexion I would like to read an opinion expressed by Mr. Justice Cohen, of the New South Wales Arbitration Court, who has had experience on the subject which we have not had, and is, therefore, able to speak with authority in regard to it. No one will question his impartiality. He is reported to have said—

He had no leaning one way or the other, but in the public interest it would be far better, if the preference clause was being unduly used as a means of oppressing or harassing employers, that the Court should be assisted by evidence of that. From the general statements he saw in the press this preference clause was stated to be a means of harassing the employer and placing him in an unfair position of working his business. It would be much better if the Court were

enlightened by evidence of these things they read of. General assertions were made with regard to what the Court had done which would not bear any test. They were absolutely without any foundation.

Mr. Justice Cohen has had more experience of legislation of this kind than any one else in the Commonwealth has had.

Mr. KELLY.—If his remarks had been directed against the Bill the honorable gentleman would have called him a political Judge.

Mr. HUTCHISON.—I should have said that he was lacking in experience, or was prejudiced. No Judge who had had experience of the working of legislation of this kind would be guilty of such statements.

Mr. CONROY.—No doubt the honorable member thinks that he would cease to be a Judge if he made such statements.

Mr. HUTCHISON.—He would cease to be a Judge, and would have become a partisan. I am sorry to say that one of the Judges in the Commonwealth has shown himself to be a partisan in this matter. The honorable member for Franklin says that we are trying to reduce the workers to a condition of slavery, by compelling them to join unions. I have belonged to more than one union, but no one has been compelled to join those unions. Men join unions only when they choose to do so, and all the Bill says is that a man must join a union if he wishes to take advantage of the provisions of the measure. Honorable members opposite profess to agree to that. The honorable member for North Sydney said that he would compel every worker to join a union for the special purposes of this Bill. That is more than we on this side of the Chamber asked for. The workers cannot be reduced to a worse state of slavery than that in which some of the non-unionists exist. Those who know anything about the clothing trade will support that statement.

Mr. CONROY.—Is it just to compel a man to join a union, whether he wishes to do so or not?

Mr. HUTCHISON.—I object to compelling men to join unions whether they wish to do so or not. But it is quite fair for the unionists to say that the man who will not join a union should be above taking the advantages which are gained by the exertions of unionists. The hollowness of the proposal of the honorable and learned member for Corinella is shown by the fact that it would be impossible to ascertain under it who are the members of an industry.

Under the conditions he proposes it would be impossible to find out who followed a particular calling, and no one knows better than does the honorable and learned member that his proposal is merely a subterfuge.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—Some men would have to belong to a dozen unions in order to obtain work.

Mr. HUTCHISON.—It is not necessary to belong to a union in order to obtain work at present, but if there were unions the workmen of the Commonwealth would be very much dissatisfied with the pay they were receiving. The most intelligent workmen connected with every trade are banded together in unions. Is it to be supposed that these men do not know what operates to their advantage? I should leave my union to-morrow if I did not think it conferred benefit upon those associated with it. The unionists are now called upon to surrender all their present rights of resistance to oppression, and to place in the power of the Judge to determine by their means of livelihood shall be regulated. Therefore, they should get something in return for that which they are giving up. In conclusion, I would point out that not only honorable members on this side of the Chamber, but the electors of the Commonwealth generally, will see what is behind the amendment of the honorable and learned member for Corinella, and will support the Labour Party when an appeal is made to the country.

Mr. WILKS (Dalley).—Another crisis stage has been reached in connexion with this Bill. It has produced a series of crises. One Minister resigned his position in the Cabinet because he could not agree with his colleagues upon a matter of principle. The Deakin Ministry was defeated because it would not depart from a certain principle, and now another Ministry is threatened with ejection from office because of its want of principle. I have given the strongest support to many of the most radical features of the Bill. The honorable member for Darling and the honorable member for Hindmarsh have expressed their objections to the Government proposal, and I do not believe that one honorable member sitting on the Government benches could take the Bill embracing the amendment proposed by the Government and present it to his constituents as a perfect measure.

Mr. HIGGINS.—We shall obtain something better after the elections.

Mr. WILKS.—I am prepared to take my stand now, and do not propose to wait until the next elections. The Attorney-General's statement that we shall get something better after a general election is tantamount to an admission that the measure is far from perfect. If the honorable member for Hindmarsh and the honorable member for Darling had been speaking from this side of the House they would probably not only have objected to the Government proposal, but would have resisted it.

Mr. HUTCHISON.—We should certainly have tried to obtain something better.

Mr. FRAZER.—The honorable member will soon be in peculiar company.

Mr. WILKS.—That is my concern, and not that of the honorable member. It must be conceded that I fought as hard as any one for the preference to unionists, but I now regard the measure as having been emasculated beyond usefulness. It would have been far better if the Government had either abandoned it, or resigned their positions.

Mr. HUGHES.—The honorable and learned member for Corinella says that his proviso will not prevent the Court from giving preference to unionists.

Mr. WILKS.—I differ from the honorable and learned member.

Mr. HUGHES.—The honorable member should look at those who are ranged behind him.

Mr. WILKS.—I am not concerned about them. I have to consider whether the measure realizes my ideal, and whether I can take the responsibility of recommending it to my constituents. I find that I cannot go that length. I have gained nothing politically from my ardent support of this measure, because it has not strengthened my claims upon my principal political supporters. I have acted rather in the interests of the party which would oppose and defeat me to-morrow if it could. I do not belong to the Labour Party, and do not intend to be dragged at its heels. I am prepared even now to support the Government if they will attempt to restore the Bill to its original form and do away with the limitations now imposed with regard to preference to unionists. The Government proposal as been referred to by the honorable member for Darling as a compromise.

Mr. HUGHES.—It proposes to adopt the practice which has been inaugurated and carried out in New South Wales. For some

months past no union has received a preference unless it has substantially fulfilled these conditions.

Mr. WILKS.—I fought for the clause which distinctly and unreservedly gave preference to unionists, and that is the provision by which Ministers should have stood. I regard the Bill in its present form with disfavour because of the amendments made in clause 48 and in clause 62. The Minister of Home Affairs knows that when the amendment proposed by the honorable and learned member for Darling Downs was accepted I felt that I could no longer give the Bill my support. I regarded it as having been so emasculated that it had better be abandoned. I am not proposing to vote against the Government to-night because of any advantage that may accrue to the party to which I belong.

Mr. HIGGINS.—Does the honorable member think that we have gone too far in making concessions to meet the other side?

Mr. WILKS.—Why should the Government have gone as far as they have done? Have we not a right to look to a democratic Ministry to furnish us with measures which shall be perfected in accordance with democratic ideas? I thought that we should do away with the old system when the new Ministry came into power, that instead of deferring time and time again to the wishes of the House, and proving, disregarding of their principles, the Government would carry out their principles or retire from office.

Mr. HUGHES.—That is what we propose to do, and the honorable member is proposing to stand behind those who desire to bring about our defeat. He is playing their game.

Mr. WILKS.—I do not care what game other honorable members are playing.

Mr. HUTCHISON.—Does the honorable member expect to obtain a better Bill from the next Government?

Mr. WILKS.—It will be my duty, and that of the honorable member, to attempt to obtain a better Bill.

Mr. HIGGINS.—If we go into Committee it will be open for the honorable member to move to strike out even the proviso that the Government propose.

Mr. WILKS.—It is not necessary to tell me that. I am thoroughly disgusted with the way this Bill has been treated. I am heartily tired of ingenious devices, such as those adopted by the honorable and learned member for Darling Downs, acting und-

the advice of the honorable and learned member for Indi and others. If I am asked to accept compromises of all kinds, I say that I prefer to see the Bill thrown on one side.

Mr. FISHER.—Does not the honorable member admit that it is the duty of the Government to try to pass the Bill?

Mr. WILKS.—No; I think it is their duty to abandon the Bill, because it has been emasculated.

Mr. HUGHES.—By the honorable member's friends.

Mr. WILKS.—The Prime Minister would have been in a much stronger position if he had gone to the country, and advocated the preference to unionists provided for in the original clause. Although the clause originated with the Deakin Government, many members of that Ministry are opposing it now. Even the Prime Minister is opposing the original proposal.

Mr. HUGHES.—But not our own Bill.

Mr. WILKS.—The Prime Minister has admitted that the words "substantially represents" are equivalent to the word "majority," and therefore there is no more difference between the Government proposal and that of the honorable and learned member for Corinella than between tweedle-dum and tweedle-dee. Both provisions trifle with the question, and deal with it in a haphazard manner. Under the Government amendment the Judge would have the power of interpretation, whereas under the provision adopted at the instance of the honorable and learned member for Corinella, the conditions would be prescribed by statute law. I do not like the amendment of the honorable and learned member for Corinella, but at least any one can easily see what it means.

Mr. HUGHES.—Quite so. It means the destruction of the measure.

Mr. WILKS.—The Government proposal would have the same effect, because the Judge would be left to interpret the law.

Mr. WATSON.—That must be so in all arbitration cases.

Mr. WILKS.—It would be impossible to predict what view the Judge would take with regard to the interpretation of the words "substantially represents," and therefore I think that we should not be upon safe ground, so far as unionists are concerned. If the Bill be carried in its present form, the large unions will not register under it. They will not surrender

their right to strike in return for shadow. I can understand honorable members opposite supporting the Government, because they are in a tight fix. They can see that an attempt is being made to take the business of the House out of the hands of Ministers. I admit that an attempt of that kind is equivalent to a vote of censure, and if it comes to a question between the honorable member for Bland, and the right honorable member for East Sydney, as Prime Minister, do not know that I shall be called upon to stand by the former. I am under obligation to sink my individual opinion in order to support the Prime Minister, and if my vote upon this occasion rests in placing the right honorable member for East Sydney in his position, I do not think that the country will be any the worse, and, personally, I will not regret. I shall not gain personally by a change of Ministry. I have defended this throughout my own electorate. I had to defend the clause in which it is proposed to grant a preference to unionists as if I had been championing the Government of the country, instead of a principle in a Bill. I tell the Government now that if they will fall back upon their original proposal to confer a preference upon unionists I shall vote with them. But I do not support a proposal which is apparently intended as a sop to four or five honorable members who did not vote with them upon the previous occasion.

Mr. HUGHES.—The proposal of the Government to which the honorable member refers, defines in so many words the attitude which has been taken up by the New South Wales Arbitration Court—an attitude which has the approval of this Ministry and of the unions throughout the mother State.

Mr. WILKS.—That is another interpretation of it by the Minister of External Affairs. This afternoon the Prime Minister informed us that the Government proposal would practically achieve the same result as would the amendment of the honorable and learned member for Corinella. Then, I claim that there are other provisions which should have been recommended by the Ministry—notably, clause 62, which they consented to rob the trade unions of all their political power. In the instance they were content to accept the amendment the effect of which was that though the unions could register under the provisions of the Bill they could

under certain conditions ask for a reference award. If that is the sort of measure which they desire to give to their friends I can raise no enthusiasm in regard to it. My views of trades unions are the result of a life-long experience of them. I do not belong to any of these organizations, but if I followed a trade should certainly join one of them. I think that the existence of trades unions—withstanding all their abuses—has been of the social advantage of Australia. In this Bill the provision relating to the extension of a preference to unionists represents only so much blank paper. I am astonished that the Prime Minister and the Minister of External Affairs, who have been connected with trades unions for so long, should offer us a clause which they admit to be almost equivalent to the amendment of the honorable and learned member for Corinella.

Mr. HUGHES.—There is nothing wrong with our proposal, so far as the unions of Australia are concerned.

Mr. WILKS.—No sane man can appreciate the difference which exists between the amendment submitted by the honorable and learned member for Corinella, in reference to registration and preference awards, and that which was proposed by the honorable and learned member for Darling Downs. It may be news to some honorable members to learn that the unionists of New South Wales are not very much enamoured of the Arbitration Act which is operative in that State. As a matter of fact, some of the most powerful unions were had to be coaxed into registering under its provisions. I hold that all the taxing in the world will not induce a trades union to register under this Bill if its members are to be deprived of preference awards. Three weeks ago when the Government were defeated upon vital portions of this measure, they should either have abandoned it or resigned their positions. We should then have had a democratic Ministry occupying the same position as that of the right honorable member for Adelaide. He stands in the cold just now, but, nevertheless, he appears before Australia as a man who surrendered the emoluments of office in defence of a principle. I believe that honorable members opposite occupy a very uncomfortable position in regard to this matter. If they were not supporters of the Government, I venture to say that they would condemn this Bill more severely

than I am doing. Their caustic language would be employed to riddle the arguments of those who are seeking to fasten such a measure upon the country.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—We shall do that.

Mr. WILKS.—But honorable members will do it when it is too late. The honorable member for Darling has declared that the adoption of the Government proposal will solve a difficulty. To my mind, it will simply cover up an industrial sore, and sooner or later the people of Australia will demand that a more democratic measure shall be brought into operation. Under that Bill, in its present form, the Shearers' and the Seamen's Unions will be compelled to abandon their political objects and political rules. To say to a body of men that politics shall be tabooed from their association, is tantamount to slavery of the worst description. It is almost impossible to have a union without political objects. To suggest that employes, who incur no risk whatever, should participate in an award of the Court, which has been obtained by personal sacrifice on the part of members of trades unions, is absolutely unjust. If the opponents of the proposal to grant a preference to unionists were engaged in ordinary litigation, and obtained a judgment in their favour, would they not take prompt steps to enforce it? The real reason why we should extend a preference to unionists is to prevent them from being black-listed. They are well aware that if they were to bring their employer before the Arbitration Court, in the absence of some such provision, they would inevitably be black-listed. They might gain their case, but they would lose their employment. I know of one establishment in Sydney which has employed fully 2,500 hands. Its unionist employes have always successfully resisted any attempt to decrease their wages or to alter their conditions, but every endeavour to decrease the wages of that section of its employes which does not belong to these organizations has been successful. I believe it is indispensable that preference should be granted to unionists. It is asserted by those who are opposed to the principle that it is a proposal to prevent non-unionists from obtaining employment. It is nothing of the kind. The object which we have in view in seeking a preference to unionists is that those who have fought, on behalf of unionists and non-unionists alike, the battle for better conditions, and who have exposed the funds of

their unions to serious risk in their efforts to improve the lot of the workers, shall not be black-listed. The Prime Minister's own experience teaches him that the school of unionists who believe that a union should be a close corporation is a very small one, and it is provided in the Bill itself that a man who desires to join a union shall not be prevented from doing so. I know that there are some men who honestly object, on conscientious grounds, to join a union, but in the majority of cases a refusal to become a unionist is generally due to a regard for the purse. We are now confronted with a mangled Bill which I cannot accept. If I were to agree to the Bill as it stands, I should clearly show that I was a straight-out supporter of the Government. But I am not, and it is not for me to take a certificate of exemption from opposition. If I decided to support the Government, it would be my duty not to accept such a certificate, but to resign my seat in this House and to go before the electors as a labour candidate.

Mr. BAMFORD.—Is this a motion of censure?

Mr. WILKS.—Honorable members opposite say that it is.

Mr. HIGGINS.—The honorable member knows that it is.

Mr. WILKS.—Then I welcome it. I cannot defend the Bill.

Mr. THOMAS.—Is this another "Yes-no" speech.

Mr. WILKS.—It is "Yes" for the Bill and "No" for the Government. It is not like some of the "Yes-no" speeches that I have known the honorable member to make. As a matter of fact, not one honorable member opposite is able to say "Yes" to the Bill from first to last.

Mr. MALONEY.—Another House, and a better one, has yet to deal with it.

Mr. THOMAS.—Did the honorable member say "Yes" to the Land Tax Bill, introduced in the New South Wales Parliament by the right honorable member for East Sydney?

Mr. WILKS.—I did not. The honorable member is referring to matters which took place in the New South Wales Parliament six or seven years ago, and I am sure that he then did many things which he now regrets.

Mr. THOMAS.—I am sorry that I supported the right honorable member for East Sydney's Government for five or six years.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—He is as good a man as is the honorable member.

Mr. THOMAS.—I do not say that he is not.

Mr. WILKS.—The honorable member for Hindmarsh said that if the Minister were displaced, the right honorable member for East Sydney would become Prime Minister.

Mr. SPEAKER.—I must ask the honorable member not to discuss that matter.

Mr. WILKS.—I wish to refer to it, only in defence of the right honorable member.

Mr. SPEAKER.—It is just as well that the House should thoroughly understand that an irrelevant interjection in wise justifies an irrelevant speech. Honorable members must recognise that if it were to be held that it did, it would be an easy matter to secure the making of irrelevant interjection at any time to justify any number of irrelevant speeches. I must ask the honorable members not to make irrelevant interjections, but even if such interjections were made, I cannot permit irrelevant speeches.

Mr. WILKS.—I shall merely ask the honorable member for Hindmarsh to read the report of a speech made, not by a Minister, but by Mr. McGowan, the leader of the Labour Party in New South Wales. I do not intend to make an elaborate defence of the action of the right honorable member for East Sydney.

Mr. SPEAKER.—I must again ask the honorable member not to discuss that matter.

Mr. WILKS.—I bow to your ruling. I do not favour the honorable and learned member for Corinella's amendment, nor do I approve of that which the Prime Minister desires to submit. If clause 48 were to be restored to its original form the position would be different. If, as the result of the amendment of this motion, the Government be displaced, it will be purely a matter of their own concern.

Mr. TUDOR.—But the honorable member should vote for the motion in order that the clause may be recommitted.

Mr. HUGHES.—If the honorable member votes against the motion he will really vote for the honorable and learned member for Corinella's amendment.

Mr. WILKS.—I shall do so, in common sense; but the Government proposal is substantially the same.

Mr. HIGGINS.—Substantially is "very ambiguous."

Mr. WILKS.—And yet the honorable and learned gentleman asks me to support an amendment which contains that word.

Mr. HIGGINS.—I am referring to what Artemus Ward says.

Mr. WILKS.—I am asked to vote for an ambiguous amendment which has substantially the same object in view as that which the honorable and learned member for Corinella has sought to achieve. I voted in favour of the amendment moved by the honorable and learned member for Darling Downs, and I think it is just as well to read to the House an extract from a speech which I delivered on the 6th ult., in which I clearly stated the attitude that I took up. I then said—

The members of one Ministry have already resigned over this Bill, and the present Ministry, if they value the opinions of the workers and of the masses of the community, will adhere firmly to its provisions, and even resign rather than accept undue interference. I am pleased that the Prime Minister has intimated that he will do that. If he resigns, he will have to stand before those to whom alone he can look for support. I care not for the mouthings we have heard about the beauties of trades unionism and its elevating influence. Now is the occasion to test belief in trades unionism. Those who believe in it will vote to give preference to unionists, while those who fear that this new force will put down the class to which they belong, and destroy their political power, will vote against it. I am prepared to take my stand with the unionists, though it would be easier and simpler for me to fight with my party against them, because I expect no advantage from supporting the Labour Party. I have fought that party for years, and will continue to do so, because I am a strong individualist, and they have in their platform planks on which I cannot subscribe.

That was my position then, and it indicates the position which I still take up.

I told one of the members of the Ministry on the day following that on which the amendment, moved by the honorable and learned member for Darling Downs, was carried that the Bill was so mangled that I could not approve of it. No honorable member opposite could honestly tell its constituents that the principle of preference to unionists is preserved in the Bill as it stands, or that it would be secured if the Government proposal were carried. The honorable member for Hindmarsh said that he objected to the Government proposal.

Mr. HUTCHISON.—I did not say that I objected to it; but that I did not like it.

Mr. WILKS.—The honorable member, though a Government supporter, does not like it; if he were on this side of the House he would hate it. I strongly object to it,

and consider that it is really a sham and a delusion.

Mr. TUDOR.—Yet the honorable member proposes to vote for something worse.

Mr. WILKS.—The Government will not accept the amendment moved by the honorable and learned member for Corinella with the result that the Bill will be destroyed, and they will be displaced. If the Government were on this side of the House, and were fighting for preference to unionists, they would not have a stronger supporter than they would find in me.

Mr. HIGGINS.—If a new Government comes in, and submits a Bill that does not provide for preference to unionists, will the honorable member support them?

Mr. WILKS.—If honorable members opposite, as members of the Opposition, fought for preference for unionists, I should support them in that fight.

Mr. HUGHES.—The honorable member knows that the next Government will not bring in a Bill providing for preference to unionists. He is prepared to vote for the creation of a Government that will not bring in such a Bill. The members of the future Government sit opposite with faces like the rising sun.

Mr. WILKS.—I am concerned only with the Bill itself. It has already been destroyed, and unless the attractions of office have very great charms for them—and I do not believe that they have—the Government should welcome this easy way out of the difficulty. The Government which succeeds them will have to bring in another Bill, and if they do not the members of the Opposition will be in a position to attack them. The failure of the Government to submit a motion for the recommitment of clause 62 is in itself almost worthy of a vote of censure.

Mr. TUDOR.—Why does not the honorable member move to recommit that clause?

Mr. WILKS.—If I did, what support should I receive from the honorable member and other honorable members opposite?

Mr. HUTCHISON.—I should support the honorable member.

Mr. WILKS.—Of course the honorable member would. He said at the time that he did not approve of clause 48 as amended, while the honorable member for Grey said that the Bill was "no good."

Mr. POYNTON.—The Government are now seeking to amend it.

Mr. WILKS.—The amendment which they propose is so well watered that it

will not obtain my support. I shall be pleased if, as the result of the amendment of this motion, the right honorable member for East Sydney gains a seat on the Treasury benches. I have been a member of his party for many years, and, although I have recently been dissociated from it, so far as the question of preference is concerned I intend to adopt that course which commends itself to my judgment, and to vote against the proposal of the Government.

Mr. WEBSTER (Gwydir).—I have listened very attentively to the remarks of the honorable member for Dalley, who has made what is practically an electioneering speech. It seems to me that the workers to whom he is appealing as the only man who desires to secure a measure that will really give the benefits which we are seeking to confer upon them, may well cry, "Save us from our friends." The honorable member maintains that, because this Bill does not provide for absolute preference to unionists quite irrespective of other considerations, it should be rejected. But, having regard to the foundation upon which this legislation is built, he is asking for something that is really impracticable. He knows that in order that the clause in question may be effective, unionism must be organized. Unless we draw some line between unionists and non-unionists we cannot achieve the end which we have in view in passing a Bill of this character. The honorable member for Dalley says that without the clause as it stood before it was amended on the motion of the honorable and learned member for Corinella, the Bill will be a failure, because it will practically offer a stone to those who are crying for bread. He said that if the Government had stood by the original clause he would have been with them, because he believes that without preference no encouragement can be given to men to become unionists. But no one knows better than he does that the Government did stand by that clause, and that the Committee would not allow it to remain as originally drafted. No Government can get its legislation through exactly as it introduces it. The Government in New South Wales which the honorable member supported for many years had to submit to the amendment of its legislation, and he did not fall out with it when a certain Bill was thrown under the table. Now, however, he takes the stand that the attempt of the Government to improve the impracticable provision inserted by the hon-

orable and learned member for Corinella is merely substituting for it a provision which is substantially the same. It would be ridiculous to require preference to be given without regard to the circumstances of every case. The Court will hear evidence of witnesses, and will adjudicate according to the testimony put before it. What the Government propose is that preference shall be given where it is clear that a substantial majority is represented by applicants for it. But can the honorable member for Dalley tell us how the position of the honorable and learned member for Corinella could be worked? He alludes to the clause the following provision—

And provided further that no such preference shall be directed to be given unless the application for such preference is in the opinion of the Court approved by a majority of those who are affected by the award who have interests common with the applicant.

None of those who are opposing the proposal to recommit the clause have shown that absolute majority can be made known. Five hundred men enrolled in a union might apply to the Court for an award, in addition to them there might be 100 others engaged in the same industry scattered all over the two States to which the dispute had extended, or, perhaps, all the Commonwealth. As they would not be organized, their names would not be on the roll, and there would be no source from which any information could be obtained respecting them. Honorable members opposite are trying to impose upon the intelligence of the House when they support an amendment which requires the existence of such a majority to be ascertained before granting of a preference by the Court. The proposal is palpably absurd. But where are those who, when the matter was before the Committee, made such talented addresses on the subject, and so ably championed the cause of the non-unionists? Why are they absent from the Chamber now? The amendment of the honorable and learned member for Corinella is absolutely impracticable, and the Government wish to substitute for it a reasonable and practical alternative. Without organization the measure cannot be put into operation. Only organization of 100 men or more could bring a case before the Arbitration Court. Those who support the provision which requires that before granting a preference the Court shall ascertain that a majority of the persons employed in the industry concerned are in favour of it are the absolute enemies of compulsory industrial arbitration. There are two v

Killing a Bill—by absolutely voting against it, and by rendering it impracticable and ineffective by subtly-worded amendments. Honorable members opposite are hoping the latter course. But never before in the history of the Commonwealth is the step been taken which is being taken by the Opposition to-night. Honorable members opposite will not fight on the direct issue. They cannot defeat the Government by a general criticism of their actions, so they stand behind the hedge and fire their little gun. Instead of giving a direct vote of censure, they refuse to allow the Government to recommit the Bill to make the clause effective and acceptable to the people. Where are the friends of arbitration now? I know by the beaming face of the honorable member for Macquarie that he thinks that things are looking well for his party. Whenever the lion is away, we find his substitute here.

Mr. SPEAKER.—The honorable member must confine himself to the question before the Chair.

Mr. WEBSTER.—I repeat what I may have to repeat a hundred times more within the next three months, that those who are trying to bring about the defeat of the Government indirectly by voting against the recommitment of the clause, are stabbing in the back legislation which they have professed to support. Can either of the leaders of the Opposition show that they are acting in good faith on this occasion?

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—The honorable member tried to prevent the leader of the Opposition from making an explanation on this occasion.

Mr. WEBSTER.—With regard to that incident, I can say—

Mr. SPEAKER.—The honorable member will not be in order in referring to an irrelevant matter.

Mr. WEBSTER.—The proposal which the Government wish to substitute for the amendment carried by the honorable and learned member for Corinella reads as follows:—

The Court, before directing that preference shall be given to the members of an organization, shall be satisfied that the organization substantially represents the industry affected in point of the numbers and competence of its members.

The amendment would be a perfectly workable one. The condition which it is sought to impose is suggested by the experience gained in New South Wales, and the honorable member for Dalley is practically refusing to extend to the workers, under the Federal

Bill, the advantages which they enjoy and recognise as such under the State law. It is all very well for honorable members to shelter themselves behind the fact that the Bill does not entirely meet with their approval, and, on that ground, to refuse to give to their constituents the relief which they seek. I am perfectly sure that the unionists in the electorate represented by the honorable member for Dalley will not regard his conduct in a favorable light. He is prepared to throw on one side a measure which they would be glad to have even in an imperfect form. It was pointed out when the Bill was previously under discussion, that, if preference were not given to unionists, no incentive would be offered to workmen to join the unions. If the non-unionists are to share in the benefits which have been obtained through the exertions of the unionists in the past, without being called upon to pay anything for them, the unions will gradually dwindle away for want of support. The honorable member for North Sydney proposed that the present unions should be done away with, and that organizations should be formed which would embrace all workers. In other words, the aim of that member and those associated with him is to entirely destroy the present unions, and at the same time to break down the Bill. If they had their way they would give the members of the unions the benefit of the provisions of the Bill only at the sacrifice of their political rights. The attitude assumed by honorable members opposite in connexion with this matter is most cowardly. The tactics adopted do not reflect credit upon those who have engaged in them, and I am sure that in the end they will operate to their disadvantage. I believe that some honorable members opposite have a high appreciation of justice and honour, and that they would prefer to see a straight-out fight rather than an insidious attempt such as is now being made to eject the Ministry from office. Those who are opposing the recommitment of the Bill are practically depriving the Government of the power to defend themselves. I regard the absence of the leaders of the Opposition as very significant. If I were on the opposite side of the House I should scorn to sit behind leaders who had not the courage to come forward and openly attack the Ministry. What is to be thought of those gallant fighters for liberty who are not bold enough to face the situation openly, and declare their real object. They are

practically attacking the Government from behind a hedge. They are sheltering themselves behind the proviso inserted at the instance of the honorable and learned member for Corinella, and are content in this way to bring about results which they are not prepared to secure by more legitimate means. The right honorable member for Swan has always been prepared to engage in a straight-out fight, and surely he cannot approve of the questionable methods now being adopted. He would cover himself with glory if he were to put to shame the leaders of the Opposition, who are taking up so unworthy a position. The honorable member for Dalley and other honorable members, who are opposing the proposal of the Government, will find it very difficult to justify their actions to their constituents. I say, without hesitation, that the workers of Australia, who are particularly interested in this Bill, would be pleased in six months' time to have the Bill even with the condition suggested by the Government. Honorable members seem to think that the Government have no supporters in the Senate. They appear to forget that the Ministry are represented very strongly elsewhere, and that the representatives of the people in the other Chamber have a right to express their opinions, and to put their stamp upon this measure. Are not honorable members opposite rather afraid to afford honorable members of the Senate that opportunity, and is not their present action due to that fear? If so, they are adopting a cowardly attitude, and also an unpatriotic one. Those who are taking the leading part in the present attack upon the Government are pursuing a most unusual course, a course unparalleled in our political history.

An HONORABLE MEMBER.—It is sandbagging.

Mr. WEBSTER.—Undoubtedly it is sandbagging. They are attempting to sandbag the Government from behind a hedge. When I look into this matter closely, I cannot repress a feeling bordering upon contempt for the methods which are being adopted by honorable members opposite. This is the most cowardly attack that I have ever witnessed during my political experience.

Mr. KENNEDY.—Take it quietly.

Mr. WEBSTER.—Does not the honorable member know that I am here to represent the people, that they expect me to do my duty towards them, that I am anxious

to discharge that duty, and that it is possible for a man who is earnest in work to witness without protest what is being perpetrated by honorable members opposite?

Mr. KENNEDY.—Apparently they hide the numbers. That is why they do "yabber."

Mr. WEBSTER.—Judging by the behaviour of the honorable member for Macquarie, I fancy that the numbers are up or there is a likelihood of them going up.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—The numbers will be upon our side before it is all over.

Mr. WEBSTER.—Why do not honorable members opposite allow this Bill to get into Committee? Why do you object to the adoption of the ordinary Parliamentary procedure? Why do you take such a cowardly course upon the present occasion?

Mr. SPEAKER.—I can assure the honorable member that I am taking no such course. The honorable member must address the Chair.

Mr. WEBSTER.—I did not say that you, sir, were adopting a cowardly course of action. I am satisfied that you would not do so. If I had to deal with gentlemen of your status I should have no reason to complain.

Mr. SPEAKER.—It is disorderly to address the House in the second person, and again and again the honorable member has said "you!" If he will address the House in the third person, or address the Chair he will be in order.

Mr. WEBSTER.—I shall endeavour to do so. The present, however, is an exceptional occasion, and if I do not comply with the rules of parliamentary procedure it is a fault of the head and not of the heart. I again ask honorable members opposite why they will not allow this Bill to go into Committee? The answer is that they are afraid of doing so lest the work should obtain an Arbitration Act to remedy their wrongs. The members of the Government, who supported this Bill, professed to favour the principle of compulsory arbitration, but only one interpretation can be placed upon their action tonight. They are evidently determined to prevent the workers of Australia from securing a measure of this kind. Where is the right honorable member for Swan, the father of this character of legislation in Western Australia?

REST.—The Western Australian Bill does not contain a clause granting a preference to unionists.

ER.—It would have worked had it contained such a clause. I am satisfied that if the supposition were that the Government occupied the position which they would refuse to occupy without a hedge. They would not deny it not a fact that to-day the labour unions are anxiously desiring the passing of this measure? If some law within the next few months is it not probable that we shall have a repetition of a terrible strike? The honorable member has referred to this Bill as a measure which is sound. I maintain that it is unsound. It is a measure which is not workable as possible, a sacrifice of principle. Honorable members opposite have not the courage to make a direct no-confidence motion in order to attain their end, which are neither honorable nor sound. The honorable member opposite has had a good deal to say in the question of majority. He would point out that the Government have a preference to unionists. He would consider the considerations of majority. He would say that an individual who glibly declares that a unionist has an equal right to a preference to the unionist under the Arbitration Bill is under the Arbitration Bill. The honorable member opposite has announced that the Government because of the following trades unions to be refused political rights. It appears that because he cannot obtain a majority he deems to be perfect—a practically impossible—he is proposing this measure. He has refused to extend a preference to unionists. We have done so. The fact is that the Government opposite seek to prevent us from giving to unionists that preference which is the experience of the New South Wales Bill proved to be desirable. The Government opposite opposing this motion in order to defeat the Bill. Honorable members of the Opposition are seeking, as the Prime Minister said, to tear the very heart out of the Bill. If we accepted what they propose, we should have but a Bill. In the absence of a Bill as the Government de-

sire to insert, this measure would be of no practical value in solving the difficulties which it is designed to remove. If we strike out a vital principle underlying the Bill, it can be of no use to those whom we are anxious to benefit. I am proud to think that the leader of the Labour Party—the Prime Minister of Australia—has sufficient backbone to say that he will not accept that which would be a mere delusion. I am glad to think that he has the courage to stand up boldly for that which he believes to be right, and that those who support him are prepared to throw upon the opponents of this motion the responsibility for the loss of the Bill. I realize that the Prime Minister and those associated with him will be in a position to go before the workers for whose benefit this measure is designed, and to point out that those who voted against this motion voted really to defeat the Bill. We shall be able to appeal to the electors in New South Wales, Western Australia, and Victoria who have just been appealed to by members of the States Parliaments, as well as to those to whom an appeal is now being made in Queensland. The people of Victoria have shown that they have confidence in a party which is prepared to take up a certain stand, and why should we be afraid to face the electors, after the experiences of the last twelve months, as long as we fight for that which must be of advantage to the people, and give security to the industrial workers of the Commonwealth? I emphatically assert that the hostility to this motion is not creditable to those who pose as leading members of the Opposition. They are certainly not taking a courageous course, or one that would have commended itself to any Premier or leader of the Opposition who figures in the history of Australian Parliaments. It is now proposed in the Parliament of Australia to create the precedent of taking advantage of the procedure of the House to achieve an object which can be honorably secured only by the manly course of proposing a direct motion of want of confidence. It seems to be a case of "win, tie, or wrangle" with the Opposition. They are determined to win by unfair means if they cannot succeed by fair methods; but, come what may, we should prefer to leave the Treasury benches rather than resort to such tactics. We shall meet those who have been guilty of these tactics by-and-by, and I have no doubt that when we consult those

who sent them here, they will find themselves in a far worse position than that which they occupy to-day.

Mr. LONSDALE (New England).—I had no intention to speak to this motion, but feel constrained to reply to some of the remarks made by the honorable member for Gwydir, who has urged that a fair and manly course should be adopted to secure the defeat of the Ministry. Personally it matters not to me which party occupies the Treasury benches. Even if the Government be defeated, I am not likely to secure office in the new Ministry. In speaking of the honorable way in which the present Government obtained office, the honorable member apparently overlooked the fact that the late Government introduced this Bill, and that they were defeated because of the stand they took up when a certain amendment was proposed. He has apparently forgotten that when the present Government took office they failed to stand by the proposal which was responsible for their gaining the Treasury benches.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—That is not correct.

Mr. LONSDALE.—It is well known that they did not stand by that amendment.

Mr. SPEAKER.—That is not the question which is before the House.

Mr. LONSDALE.—Honorable members opposite are strongly in favour of the Government proposal, but it seems to me that it practically differs but slightly from the amendment which was carried on the motion of the honorable and learned member for Corinella. If the Prime Minister were seeking to recommit the Bill, in order to propose that a straight-out preference to unionists should be given, one could admire his courage, but he is not doing anything of the kind. He simply wishes to give his supporters an opportunity to back down, and to be able to say to the worker, "We tried to get the Bill recommitted, and did all we could to secure what you desired." He would give the Court power to say whether an organization applying for a preference substantially represents a majority of those affected by the award.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—If the Government proposal is practically the same as the amendment moved by the honorable and learned member for Corinella, why is not the honorable member prepared to support it?

Mr. LONSDALE.—The Government proposal is simply that the Court shall be satisfied that a majority of those engaged in the industry ask for a preference.

Mr. SPENCE.—That is not the Government proposal.

Mr. LONSDALE.—The proviso inserted on the motion of the honorable and learned member for Corinella, is as follows:—

And provided further, that no such preference shall be directed to be given unless the application for such preference is in the opinion of the Court approved by a majority of those affected by the award who have interests in common with the applicants.

The Prime Minister's amendment is very similar. I am opposed to an injustice being done by law, and I am opposed to the recommitment of the Bill, because there is a very little difference between the two proposals.

Mr. POYNTON.—The honorable member is supporting the amendment, because he knows that if the matter be dealt with in the House the Opposition will have more vote.

Mr. LONSDALE.—The honorable member knows what is my attitude on this question. I am opposed to the granting of a preference to unionists. When unions vote their funds—as we have known them to do—to political purposes, men should not be compelled to join them. If the Labour Party had agreed that the provision as to the granting of preference should apply solely to an organization, as we proposed, free from all political influence, very little objection could have been taken to it. But what right have we to compel a man to join a union in order that he may be able to earn a livelihood?

Mr. POYNTON.—No such provision is in the Bill.

Mr. LONSDALE.—The honorable member calls himself a democrat, and yet desires to give special privileges to a section of workers. That is rank Toryism, and honorable members opposite, who pose as democrats, are really the Tories of the day. The Government do not now propose that a preference shall be given in the case of any restrictions. If they did they would take up a manly course; but they simply wish to boast of their action to their supporters, in whose eyes they have been from the first throwing dust. I am for the interests of the workers at heart just as much as have honorable members opposite.

shown my sympathy with here to take certain rights et of workers and to give

From the outset I have opponent of the Bill, and o maintain that attitude. red to take the responsi- or the amendment.

. POYNTON) proposed—

be adjourned.

OOK.—How is it that we early?

-If the honorable member he can do so.

to; debate adjourned.

NT TRADE MARKS BILL.

from the Senate, and (on BATCHELOR) read a first

URNMENT.

POSTAL EMPLOYEES.

. HUGHES) proposed—

do now adjourn.

COOK (Bourke).—I wish tion of the Government to y work that is being done me in the Post Office in publication which is called am told that the men are k for an extra period, for e no pay, in order to put p,000 copies of a publica- *Grip*, or *The Grit*, or some at. It is nothing but a isements, but it has been the provisions of the Post Act as a newspaper. I ent to look into the matter ee whether unfair advan- g taken of the Act; and er the men, when engaged onger period than would case, should not receive on for it.

S (West Sydney—Minister rs).—I will bring the mat- tice of my colleague, the al, and request him to look

ed in the affirmative.

ourned at 10.14 p.m.

Senate.

Thursday, 11 August, 1904.

The PRESIDENT took the chair at 2.30 p.m., and read prayers.

CAIRNS POST OFFICE.

Senator GIVENS.—I desire to ask the Vice-President of the Executive Council, without notice, if he has any objection to lay on the table of the Senate copies of papers and correspondence connected with the proposal to build a new post-office at Cairns?

Senator MCGREGOR.—I shall consult the Postmaster-General, and if he has no objection, I shall see that these papers are laid on the table of the Library. I may remind honorable senators that in some instances the papers called for are of a bulky nature, and take some time to copy. If Senator Givens is satisfied with this answer, what I have stated will be done.

PAPERS.

MINISTERS laid upon the table the following papers—

Regulation under the Post and Telegraph Act, Statutory rule No. 45.

Classification of the Public Service.

First annual report of the Public Service Commissioner.

Addition to financial and allowance regulations, Statutory rules, 1904, No. 43, and amendment of regulations, Statutory rules, 1904, No. 42.

The CLERK laid upon the table the following paper—

Return to an order of the Senate, of 14th July, 1904, giving the quantity and value of imports and exports.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

Motion (by Senator CLEMONS) agreed to—

That one month's leave of absence be granted to Senator Sir J. H. Symon, on account of urgent private affairs.

EVIDENCE BILL.

Motion (by Senator MCGREGOR) agreed to—

That leave be given to introduce a Bill for an Act relating to the law of evidence.

Bill presented and read a first time.

NEW HEBRIDES: REBATE OF DUTIES.

Debate resumed from 28th July (*vide* page 3654), on motion by Senator STANFORTH SMITH—

That, in the opinion of the Senate, a Bill should be introduced by the Government to provide for a

rebate of the duties paid on all natural products of the soil imported into the Commonwealth which have been grown in the islands of the New Hebrides, on land owned and occupied by British subjects.

Senator PEARCE (Western Australia).—I think that Senator Smith is to be congratulated on bringing this question forward. It does not savour much of fireworks, and does not attract much attention; but though it may be to some extent outside the ken of the people of Australia generally, it is one which, according to the way in which it is settled, may have important results, affecting the people of the Commonwealth, if not at present, certainly in the time to come. We cannot lose sight of the fact that though we are living in a continent separated from other parts of the world, and are self-contained, there are other nations whose possessions are in close proximity to us, and with whom we shall hereafter have dealings, we hope of a friendly character, but it may be of an unfriendly character. It is the province and duty of this Parliament, so far as within it lies, to see that these questions are not made difficult of solution, by reason of carelessness on our part, or of inability to foresee the situations which may arise in the future. It is on this account that I think Senator Smith is to be congratulated on bringing forward the question at this juncture. The relations of the Empire with other nations at present can be said to be distinctly friendly. No other nation has so far shown a disposition to acquire the New Hebrides by an act of aggression. Senator Smith has, therefore, taken time by the forelock in submitting his motion. In a pacific manner, by means of trade, the honorable senator proposes to prevent other nations having better facilities for acts of aggression in the future, or by reason of trade, putting themselves in a better position to act aggressively towards Australia. It will be noticed that the motion contemplates a rebate of duties only in the case of the natural products of the soil. I take it that the honorable senator does not propose that the rebate should extend to goods manufactured in the New Hebrides. That puts out of the question all possibility of any person establishing manufactures in those islands, and being allowed to land his manufactured goods in Australia at a lower rate than goods of the same kind imported to the Commonwealth from any other part of the world. The articles on which it is proposed to allow a rebate of the duties are also largely

articles which are not produced in Australia, or, at all events, not in very great quantities. The object aimed at is, of course, a practical application of the Monroe doctrine to the Pacific. I remind honorable senators that the Monroe doctrine as applied to America by the United States people has two phases. They laid down the principle that no other country should acquire further territory in America. They also laid down the principle that the United States would not themselves acquire further territory in America. They agreed to maintain the *status quo* so far as America was concerned. It seems to me that this is a very safe doctrine for Australia to apply to the Pacific. I do not think the time has arrived when Australia should seek to acquire territory in the Pacific. I do not think that we should at this time seek to acquire the New Hebrides as a Territory of the Commonwealth. With Senator Smith, I am inclined to think that we are somewhat premature in acquiring New Guinea as a Territory of the Commonwealth. I think, however, that we can well apply the Monroe doctrine to the New Hebrides in that respect. But we should not lose sight of the fact that the second phase of the Monroe doctrine is equally valuable in this connexion. That is to say, that while we do not desire to acquire the New Hebrides as a Territory of the Commonwealth, we should see that no other nation acquires those islands, because we wish to interfere with the plans of foreign nations, but simply because we wish to put it beyond their power to effectually interfere with us. Our policy for Australia is to mind her own business, and, as far as possible to prevent other nations interfering with her business. Senator Smith has pointed out that there is a real danger of the acquisition of the New Hebrides by one of the European nations. That danger, as the honorable senator has said, does not arise from any aggressiveness towards the British Empire on the part of that nation, but from the perfunctory and legitimate attitude adopted by that nation towards the people of this island. While this nation has no claim upon these islands, and they are not its property, it has gone out of its way to make a special provision to cater for the trade of the islands. The object of the action is to encourage French settlement on the islands, and to encourage settlers already there to become Frenchmen by naturalization, in order that eventually such a

may be established by reason of the fact that they will drop as to the hands of the French people. It is a very admirable way of action; far better than the old system. I point out, however, to any other nation to adopt a legitimate method of trade. If the method adopted by the French leads to the permanent advantage of the French people, I blame them in the least, but I blame ourselves for not making use of the same opportunities to prevent the islands from being the property of the French people. The motion, as it is stated, is the bringing into competition of Australia with the islands of the South Sea Islands. Therefore, no danger that the White Australia will be prejudiced upon by its acceptance of whom it is proposed we are not coloured, but the object aimed at is to settle permanently in

LARGIE.—How shall we have commodities sent here have by white or black labour?

PEARCE.—That can be very easily arranged. We have Captain Rason as the Government Resident, and there is no reason why we should not adopt the same method of Government employ in order to produce on which they give produce grown by French subjects. With each consignment a certificate from the French Lands Commissioner in the New Hebrides that the produce is grown by French or by French subjects.

CAHY.—But they employ

PEARCE.—They may employ with each consignment of produce accompanied by a certificate of produce of French subjects or French subjects.

LARGIE.—We should need a person to watch these things.

PEARCE.—Not necessarily. Officials go round the islands, and work in the ordinary performance of duty. We have already a

British Resident in the islands, carrying out precisely the same duties, with the exception that these trade regulations have not been established. All that is necessary is that arrangements should be made with the British Government requiring Captain Rason to give certificates for the produce of British subjects in the islands.

Senator DE LARGIE.—Who would supply the information to Captain Rason?

Senator PEARCE.—He would get the information himself.

Senator DE LARGIE.—From the people who grow the produce?

Senator PEARCE.—He would be able to get it for himself. He will be living on the spot, and will be practically an inspector.

Senator STANFORTH SMITH.—If British subjects in the islands are allowed to land their produce free in Australia they may be trusted to take good care that no one who is not entitled to do so shall be allowed to compete with them.

Senator PEARCE.—I propose to read to the Senate some statements which will show how unfairly the present competition is operating so far as British residents on the islands are concerned. In the *Sydney Morning Herald* of 21st July last there are the following notes from the New Hebrides group:—

On the other hand, the British settlers are being handicapped in every possible way, instead of receiving some amount of encouragement in their pioneering work. The maize and other products grown by the British in the group are heavily taxed; indeed, the same duty is imposed upon British-grown maize in the New Hebrides as upon the products of foreign labour in foreign lands. The British settlers complain that they are being treated by their own people as outsiders, while their French competitors are being assisted in every way possible. The British Resident Commissioner in the New Hebrides group, Captain Rason, R.N., has done his utmost in the interests of the settlers, but the opinion is very emphatically expressed that, unless the Commonwealth Government can see its way to encourage them, French interests will ultimately predominate. The startling report that some of the British settlers in the New Hebrides propose to "change their flag" by becoming naturalized French subjects, in order to secure a market for their products, has been brought to Sydney by the *Tambo*. Other settlers, it is stated, who object to swearing allegiance to France, contemplate disposing of their selections to their French competitors. The prospects for the British are reported to be very gloomy, and general disappointment is expressed at the apathy and want of sympathy on the part of the Australian people.

Senator O'KEEFE.—Do you think it likely that that report is accurate?

Senator PEARCE.—I have no reason to believe that the report is not an accurate statement of the facts. It cannot be disputed that the French Government are allowing the products of the islands into New Caledonia free of duty, while the Australian Government, along with the French Government, place a duty on all the products of the British settlers. On the one hand, the Frenchman has a free market in New Caledonia, while the British settler finds both the Australian market and the French market closed against him. Any unprejudiced person will admit that this places the British settler in unfair competition.

Senator O'KEEFE.—On general lines, the honorable senator does not take that newspaper as correct.

Senator PEARCE.—If it were a leading article, or an expression of opinion on the part of the newspaper, I should not quote the extract.

Senator STANFORTH SMITH.—The returns show that the number of British subjects in the New Hebrides is decreasing.

Senator PEARCE.—Senator Smith applied to Mr. Wollaston, the Comptroller-General of Customs, for a return showing the exports of products from the New Hebrides to New South Wales for the year 1903. From that report we find that the exports were as follow:—Raw coffee, £287; copra, £9,252; maize, £8,434—there is a duty of 20 per cent. on maize—crude indiarubber, £125; logs of timber, £246; tortoise-shell, £146; and other articles, £170; or total exports, £18,660.

Senator WALKER.—Did the honorable member mention bananas?

Senator PEARCE.—There are no bananas mentioned in the list, and I suppose that none were imported in that year. It will be noticed that one of the main items is copra.

Senator PLAYFORD.—There is no duty on copra.

Senator PEARCE.—That is so; and another main item is maize, the duty paid on which amounted to about £1,800. It seems to me, therefore, that the only item which is of importance in the present connexion is that of maize, which is grown to some extent in the Commonwealth. So far as I can judge, maize is a very profitable crop in the States where it is produced; but we have to import a large quantity, the Australian output being not nearly sufficient to meet local demands. This is not a case of bringing a product into an over-

stocked market; and if the maize from New Hebrides is shut out, the article have to be imported from some other of the world. Under the circumstances we might seriously consider whether could not make a rebate of the duty this one item. As to the other items, copra and indiarubber is not produced here at all, while the timber logs imported are not as come into competition with those grown on the mainland. Tortoise-shell is not produced in any quantity in Australia; so that, as I said before, the principal item we have to take into consideration is that of maize. The motion contemplates only the natural products of the soil: the products of the New Hebrides are those which are suited to tropical climates.

Senator DE LARGIE.—What does Queensland say to that?

Senator PEARCE.—I think it could easily be shown that in the motion there is no danger to Queensland.

Senator MULCAHY.—Is there not a danger to any maize-producing State?

Senator PEARCE.—There are dangers. There is the very limited demand for maize from the New Hebrides coming into competition when the maize grown on the mainland is sufficient to supply the market, and there is the other danger of the New Hebrides becoming a French possession. In looking at one danger we must not shut our eyes to the other. If the means proposed we can do something to encourage British settlement in the Hebrides, and prevent those islands becoming a French possession, we are justified in making some concession on the one to avoid a great danger on the other. It is a part of an empire with a foreign policy, in the shaping of which we have no share. That foreign policy may at some time involve a rupture with France; if in the meantime the New Hebrides become a French possession and naval station, the French Government will not take into consideration the fact that Australia had no hand in bringing about the rupture or the war, but will use that station as a means of aggressive action against Australia. We must not shut our eyes to the possibilities. While I regard the acquisition of the New Hebrides as unnecessary, still, if we can, without inflicting damage on the Commonwealth, prevent the French getting such a hold as to amount to occupation, I think we shall be doing only our duty. The motion is limited

not, I believe, inflict any
fers the only method by
revent the New Hebrides
French settlement. We
the opening of the Panama
years, and in view of the
a as a naval power, the
the scene of great naval
uture—the centre of dis-
be shifted from the
the Pacific. In all naval
ight there occur, the New
lay a great part; and we
to the best interests of
did not take whatever ac-
can in order to keep the
neutral, or, at all events,
p from becoming a naval
ver which may at any time
country.

MACFARLANE (Tasmania).—
public attention was drawn to
airs in the New Hebrides,
clear our interests are los-
fifty years ago the Presby-
began operations in the
and since that time that
a large amount of money,
eat exertions, at all events,
of civilization. I do not
to give a Customs rebate to
Such a course would open
ich might cause a great deal
ter. But we might do some-
e commercial communica-
islands. At the present
r year is paid as a subsidy
steam-ship service in the
is that sum compared with
annum paid by the French
subsidy in connexion with
des alone? In addition
something like £16,000 is
French Government to the
company, in order to assist
nationality. Those settlers
ket in New Caledonia, and,
rcumstances, it is no won-
ilian and British interests

GREGOR.—Does the honor-
think that that is a matter
in and not for Australia?

MACFARLANE.—Apparently
quires to be pressed by us.
ch is paying these subsidies,
think that Great Britain
re than she has done in the
e circumstances make it all

the more important for us, in our geographi-
cal position, to strain a point in endeavour-
ing to encourage British settlement in these
beautiful islands. Port Sandwich and
Havannah Harbor are two of the finest
ports in the Pacific; and it is only natural
that foreign countries should cast envious
eyes upon them. We can well see what a
menace the foreign occupation of these ports
would be to Australia. We here cannot do
very much; but I understand that there is a
proposal to increase the postal and commer-
cial facilities at New Hebrides and else-
where in the Pacific by a slightly increased
subsidy.

Senator STANFORTH SMITH.—The best
subsidy to steam-ships is freights, and these
cannot be got at the present time.

Senator MACFARLANE.—If steam-
ships could be encouraged, by means of a
subsidy, to reduce their freight charges, we
might thus help both the settlers and our-
selves. I understand that the Government
are at present in treaty with a company to
supply an increased steam-ship service;
and this matter is well worthy of considera-
tion. I am not one who supports the
spending of more money than is absolutely
necessary, but I consider that money
would be well spent in endeavouring to
increase our influence and advantages in
the New Hebrides. If it be true that the
advantages offered by the French Govern-
ment are such as to induce British settlers
to change their nationality, our interests
would appear to be in great jeopardy; be-
cause, if it comes to a question of the num-
ber of inhabitants who owe allegiance to
Great Britain, we may find ourselves seri-
ously outnumbered. The fact that British
interests in the islands have been carefully
looked after for the last fifty years, as they
were even before that time, ought to have
some weight with us at the present time.

Senator HIGGS (Queensland).—I beg
to move as an amendment—

That the following words be added :—" Pro-
vided that all such products be grown by white
labour."

Senator MACFARLANE.—It is a black
man's country.

Senator WALKER.—There are only a few
white people there.

Senator HIGGS.—I do not fall in with
the idea that we should encourage settle-
ment in any country but Australia. We
have on the mainland sufficient territory
on which to settle thousands of people
without seeking for fresh lands outside.

Senator WALKER.—Not much encouragement is offered to people to come to Australia at present.

Senator HIGGS.—What is the object of the motion? We are told that the idea is not to annex the New Hebrides, but to encourage British settlers to make permanent homes there. In the same breath, however, we are told that France is settling people on the land, with a view to the ultimate annexation of the islands; and it is contended that we shall be very wrong if we do not give our settlers the same facilities as are afforded by France. Some speakers contend that for strategic reasons we should encourage settlement, because at some future stage a nation may there establish a naval and military base with a view to attacking Australia. I venture the opinion that if ever Australia is in any trouble, and has settlements thousands of miles away, such as the New Hebrides, those settlements will prove a serious source of danger and inconvenience, rather than an assistance. In practice it seems to me that we should have to do with those islands, what I venture to think Great Britain would do with Australia if ever there was war with some great naval power—namely, let the islands look after themselves. Therefore, I think we may dismiss from our minds the idea of any strategic advantage accruing from the acquisition of the New Hebrides.

Senator STANFORTH SMITH.—What we want to do is not to acquire the New Hebrides, but to prevent any other nation from acquiring the islands.

Senator HIGGS.—I know that that is the desire of the honorable member, who, with the very best of intentions, is like those individuals who have been described as desiring to acquire the whole earth. There are some people who would not rest satisfied if they possessed half of the whole habitable globe. I cannot understand why it is that members of the Commonwealth Parliament and of the States Legislatures do not see how ridiculous they must appear in the eyes of other nations of the world. Australia is a nation of some 4,000,000 people, with a territory 3,107,000 square miles in extent. Our territory is larger than that of the United Kingdom with 121,000 square miles; of France, with 201,000 square miles; of Germany, with 212,000 square miles; of Russia, with 2,262,000 square miles; and of Austria, with 269,000 square miles. Yet we are to endeavour to annex the islands

of the Pacific. Senator Smith says we have no desire to annex the island but the whole object of the motion is to encourage British settlement in order that permanent settlers there may be able to appeal to us and to Great Britain for protection, with a view to annexation later.

Senator STANFORTH SMITH.—We want to keep an industrial garrison there in order to prevent any other nation from annexing the group.

Senator HIGGS.—The honorable senator will find that if international events develop as they are doing, it will take Australia its time to maintain its own garrisons. It was said prior to the war in Japan? Japanese were looking for new territories and complaining of the selfishness and greed of Australians in wishing to keep the continent for themselves. They look upon it as a piece of consummate ingratitude that 4,000,000 persons should desire to keep this great territory for themselves. I think that we made a great mistake in annexing the territory of British Guinea.

Senator PEARCE.—Does the honorable senator think that Germany should have got the whole of that island?

Senator HIGGS.—If other nations were satisfied with the territory that they occupy and the German nation, which has a territory of only 212,000 square miles, were to settle on it, it is quite entitled to take those islands.

Senator CLEMONS.—Will the honorable senator add to the security of Australia by allowing Germans to settle there?

Senator HIGGS.—The Germans have settled that question for us, because they possess a portion of the island. We are to be thoroughly satisfied with the territory that we have. I also view this question from the protectionist standpoint and apprehend that the object of Senator Smith is to give the free-trade coach a lift it can.

Senator STANFORTH SMITH.—This is not a fiscal question, but a national question.

Senator HIGGS.—I view the motion as a protectionist who is extremely anxious to see Australia maintain its present position. I believe that the standard of comfort in Australia is higher than in any other part of the world. I am anxious to maintain that position, so that the conditions of existence for the working classes shall be immensely superior to the conditions prevailing in any other part of the globe. We

ur establishing a Factories wage laws, and other properes, if we are to allow the black labour in the New Hebrides into the Commonwealth at duty?

STANIFORTH SMITH.—The more products of the soil only.

DE LARGIE.—Does the honorable member ask if the maize? Is he able to tell me if the maize is grown absolutely in the New Hebrides? He told me in March last the New Hebrides one of the recruiting grounds for the coloured labour plantations. I ask the honorable member if he is not introducing the wedge, so as to permit of the coloured labour product in other parts of the New Hebrides? If we give effect to the motion, how can we reasonably exclude the products of the New Hebrides in other parts of the British Empire?

STANIFORTH SMITH.—How did we deal with its islands? Mr. De Largie, protectionist, and, as the head of the Ministry, he carried a proposition to this one.

DE LARGIE.—I intend, whenever a proposition of this kind is made, to ask the honorable member to provide that the products of the New Hebrides go only by white labour.

STANIFORTH SMITH.—Is there any white labour in the New Hebrides?

DE LARGIE.—Negative the motion.

DE LARGIE.—I think it would be reasonable to give effect to the motion, but I propose a verbal amendment, and if it is carried, the motion, as amended, can be put to the vote. It is a national view for the Senate of Australia ought to endeavour to develop settlement in its own territory to the extent in its power; and that can be achieved if it is to spend its money in subsidizing a line of settlement in these islands, and in other parts of the Empire. Senator De Largie, whether there is any white labour in the New Hebrides? The probability is that the only persons there are the overseers, in Johannesburg some years ago, simply inviting capitalists, alarmed, according to some reports, to invest their money in Australia, to invest their money in the New Hebrides, put the land and employ hundreds,

perhaps thousands, of kanakas. We are taxing the people of the Commonwealth to pay a bonus to sugar-growers, who will employ only white labour. This is an absurd paradox.

Senator DE LARGIE (Western Australia).—From time to time, Senator Smith provides very interesting topics for discussion in the Senate, and the latest is quite as interesting as any of those which preceded it. I admire the tactful and skilful way in which he has brought forward this question at the present time. No doubt he has made a very considerable study of the Pacific Islands, and might very well be dubbed the member for Oceania. He has stated that this proposal is brought forward with a view to ultimately securing this territory. I should think that Australia has already quite sufficient territory. I consider that by the time it is populated in an effective way, there will be very little need for us to go to the islands for further territory. This talk of acquiring more territory for the Empire than it has, reminds me of the statement by Mark Twain that the Britishers were about the only modern people who were mentioned in the Scriptures, for to them he took the following passage in the Scriptures to apply directly—

Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth.

Senator Smith wishes the Britishers to inhabit every imaginable dry place in the earth. Therefore, he uses the argument about acquiring fresh territory as a reason why his motion should be adopted. The real purpose of this motion is not to acquire fresh territory, but to sneak in free-trade. At the last general election the honorable senator, in common with other free-traders, attempted to fight the battle of free-trade, but they went down very badly. Senator Smith issued in Western Australia a paper known as *Federal Facts*—a wild, hysterical screed that nobody heeded; and, notwithstanding all his journalistic efforts, he went down so badly that not one free-trader was returned for that State.

Senator STANIFORTH SMITH.—That is not correct. What about Senators Croft and Henderson?

Senator DE LARGIE.—They are labour men to the backbone.

Senator STANIFORTH SMITH.—Are they not free-traders?

Senator DE LARGIE.—We put fiscalism outside our policy.

Senator CLEMONS.—Why does the honorable senator talk about it if the party has nothing to do with the fiscal question?

Senator DE LARGIE.—As a party, we have nothing to do with the fiscal question. There are many questions that we debate, and which we do not make part of our policy.

Senator TRENWITH.—Surely, if they are free-traders it is part of their policy.

Senator DE LARGIE.—I do not know exactly what policy they are advocating at the present time, because we have their leader in another place, trying from time to time to get the protectionists to sink the fiscal question. Has Senator Smith considered that aspect of the subject? Has he considered the awkward position in which he will place his leader? Supposing that the intended coalition should come about, how would this attempt to raise the fiscal question operate? The honorable senator is very ill-advised in submitting his motion, unless he wishes to defeat the intended combination of the fiscal parties. I can only regard the motion as an attempt to bring in free-trade after having been beaten at the late elections. I intend to prevent any sneaking in of a fiscal belief which we fought and defeated in the country.

Senator MILLEN.—I hope that the honorable senator will also be opposed to the Manufactures Encouragement Bill.

Senator DE LARGIE.—I am quite as much opposed to that measure as the honorable senator is.

Senator O'KEEFE.—Not on the same ground.

Senator DE LARGIE.—I do not know the grounds for the opposition of Senator Millen, but I shall oppose the passage of the Bill in almost any shape or form. In the interests of fiscal peace this motion should be withdrawn. We need fiscal peace, and if the Tariff question is to be raised, I shall insist upon our getting more protection. We are not going to have more free-trade. After the late disastrous results to the free-traders, Senator Smith should be the last in the Senate to raise the fiscal question, after the ignominious way in which his efforts at that time were defeated.

Senator STANFORTH SMITH.—A majority of free-traders were returned for Western Australia at the last election, as the honorable senator knows.

Senator DE LARGIE.—If the fiscal question is to be discussed, I hope that will not be submitted in a piece-meal way but in a comprehensive way, which will allow the Tariff to be adjusted in accordance with the public wish.

Senator WALKER (New South Wales).—Senator Higgs has made a palpable mistake in supposing that the idea of fiscalism entered into the mind of Senator Smith. This is purely an attempt to secure a strategic position. Who objects to Great Britain, big as it is, having little Gibraltar? That is a strategic position which we would not give up for any consideration.

Senator MCGREGOR.—We do not object to Great Britain having the New Hebrides.

Senator WALKER.—I am not saying that the honorable senator does. The Panama Canal, when it is opened, will completely alter the state of affairs in regard to the New Hebrides; it will be the main route between Europe and Australia. We must be prepared for eventualities. Whoever heard of a nation which until certain things occurred before prepared to meet them? We must be prepared for emergencies. In my opinion Senator Smith has been actuated by patriotic motives, irrespective of fiscalism. Two honorable senators who have talked about fiscalism are both protectionists. It is they who are raising the fiscal question and not the free-traders. They are trying to draw a red herring across the track to divert attention from the patriotic sentiment which Senator Smith is taking. For the last fifty years British missionaries have been civilizing these islands. Probably some honorable senators are not aware of the many martyrs who have lost their lives in trying to civilize the aborigines. When Senator Higgs proposes that we should only sanction the introduction of articles grown by white labour, we might well negative the motion at once. The white labour in the islands is infinitesimal in proportion to the native labour.

Senator STANFORTH SMITH.—We cannot prohibit the islanders from working in their own islands.

Senator TRENWITH.—The object of Senator Smith is to establish a white British settlement there, and therefore the proposition is not so illogical as it appears to be.

Senator WALKER.—We hope to do so, but how are they to live there if they are to be that the French producers can get ad-

mea which they cannot get? ent this is a counter-move to ial tariff of New Caledonia. farlane has informed us that o magnificent harbors in the s. We know the importance ed to Port Arthur and Vladi- he war between Russia and here are equally good harbors Hebrides, what power will prevent some opponent in days occupying them, and raiding efrom? I do not propose to uestion of mail subsidies. I enator Smith has shown how re handicapped in that re- e, and, if I mistake not, Ger- sidizing the mail boats in the Western Pacific far more our Government does.

LARGIE.—What have the do with this question.

ALKER.—The mail boats ntal in maintaining inter- en the New Hebrides and

GGS.—There are about three ear, and they are for Burns, O.

ALKER.—To my mind that thousands of pounds. Within days I heard Mr. James Burns firm had lost £15,000 by service from patriotic mo-

McGREGOR.—How do they ividends?

ALKER.—They have other aking dividends. They took w Hebrides Company, which from purely philanthropic lost thousands of pounds. s doubt the existence of such patriotism and philanthropy; her men by themselves, I pre- not a believer in preferential had my will I should not fference between British and rts. This is not a matter of a matter of possible national

RENWITH.—For defence pur- norable senator would allow o have the same advantages as

ALKER.—I am not afraid chman alongside a Britisher, who would come out best in . Senator Pearce has given

us some information with regard to the Customs duties there. I suppose that Senator Higgs would object to the free admission of bananas. There is actually a duty of 1s. per cental imposed on bananas coming from the New Hebrides to Australia. It has absolutely ruined that portion of the trade from the islands, if that is any satisfaction to the honorable senator.

Senator HIGGS.—Banana growing is a thriving industry in Queensland at present.

Senator WALKER.—But it is in the hands of Chinamen.

Senator O'KEEFE.—The Chinese will not live for ever.

Senator WALKER.—We can leave the Chinese alone, and they will probably be more numerous than ourselves in the future, if honorable senators opposite go on as they are going.

Senator CLEMONS.—Not here.

Senator WALKER.—In the Cairns district, almost all cultivation is in the hands of Chinese. At the present time, the French own nearly twice as much land in the New Hebrides as do British subjects. In days gone by we were handicapped, and I suppose we are still handicapped in our trade with those islands. Our traders cannot deal in certain commodities in which French and Americans are dealing. We cannot send firearms or spirits to those islands; not that I am in favour of sending spirits, but I point out that in this way we are handicapped pretty severely already.

Senator McGREGOR.—I thought the honorable senator was a free-trader.

Senator WALKER.—Senator McGregor knows what I refer to. We do not allow our merchants to send firearms or spirits to the islands, whilst the French and Germans do. We are handicapped to that extent already, and we are now apparently to be handicapped still further by the refusal of honorable senators to allow the same facilities to our own people in those islands to bring their produce to this country as are afforded to French residents to encourage them to bring their produce to New Caledonia. I hope that Senator Higgs' amendment will be negatived, and that the motion will be agreed to.

Senator MATHESON (Western Australia).—This debate is particularly interesting from the fact that the speeches delivered by Senators Higgs and de Largie have illustrated how thoroughly those honorable senators failed to understand the drift of the agreement made with Burns, Philp, and Co., and submitted by the

Government they were supporting in 1902. It is necessary to go back to the date of that agreement to understand the present condition of affairs, because it is clear that several honorable senators do not in the least understand how the present position has arisen. Sir Edmund Barton's Government was inspired by the Monroe doctrine, or, perhaps we should rather say by the Jingo doctrine, as applied to Australia, to lay as many fingers as they could on as many of the islands of the Pacific as possible, by encouraging the settlement of British subjects on those islands. The method they adopted was to propose an agreement with Burns, Philp, and Co., subsidizing them to the extent of £6,000 a year for a mail service with the New Hebrides, the Santa Cruz group, the Gilbert Islands, and the Ellice Islands. These groups of islands are scattered over perhaps a third of the Pacific Ocean, and the Gilbert and Ellice Islands are really so far away from this continent that the mail service provided for them could only be arranged for three times a year. However, the protectionist Government, supported by Senators de Largie and Higgs, arranged to contribute £6,000 from the funds provided by the taxpayers of the Commonwealth, in order to foster the national sentiment, and to prevent the people of other nations settling upon the islands of the Pacific.

Senator HIGGS.—I spoke against the proposal, but the honorable senator's argument does not prove anything, anyway.

Senator MATHESON.—My argument proves that it is perfectly futile for Senators Higgs and de Largie to suggest that this is a fiscal question. Here we have the very Government which those honorable senators supported, pledged from the first to the Maitland policy and protection—

Senator TRENWITH.—Is the subsidizing of mail steamers analogous to the giving of a trade preference?

Senator MATHESON.—I shall show exactly how it works out, if the honorable senator will but wait.

Senator PEARCE.—They did it for the purpose of trade.

Senator TRENWITH.—Of trade both ways.

Senator MATHESON.—They did it to encourage trade between those islands and Sydney, in order to make it perfectly clear that the influence of Australia extended to those islands. That was the object.

It was to extend the influence of Australia in the eyes of Europe. Honorable senator can read that from the *Hansard* report. I have a vivid recollection of the reason, because I was one of those who questioned the wisdom of the Government action at that occasion. I opposed the proposal strongly, and it was only after a very long and deal of explanation from my honorable and learned friend, Senator Drake, that I was reluctantly compelled to withdraw my opposition.

Senator DE LARGIE.—The two honorable senators to whom the honorable senator referred, did exactly as he did himself. I opposed the proposal.

Senator MATHESON.—They may have opposed it, but they are now opposing the motion submitted by Senator Smith, which simply carries on the line of policy inaugurated by the Government they supported.

Senator HIGGS.—Is this not a free trade motion?

Senator MATHESON.—It is not a free trade motion in any sense. I hope it has made that absolutely clear.

Senator DE LARGIE.—The whole question has a fiscal tendency.

Senator MATHESON.—The honorable senator has a bee in his bonnet. Honorable King Charles' head in everything. The question cannot be dismissed as easily as Senator Smith evidently thinks it can. I am afraid that the weak point in his argument is that it deals with the question of the New Hebrides only, and it is quite possible to limit any measure admitting the products of British settlers in the New Hebrides free to Australia to the settlement of the New Hebrides. I say this for the best of reasons, because we are content to pay this subsidy, and it is only in the justification of the subsidy that it is possible to argue that the products of these settlements should be admitted free to Australia. I am not in favour of Australia interfering with these islands; but if we are to justify the policy logically, if we are to continue the payment of this yearly subsidy, and that money is not to be absolutely wasted, we must adopt some such measure as Senator Smith has proposed, but it must be applicable to the produce of all the settlers on the islands to which the subsidized mail service goes. What Senator Walker has said is perfectly true. I have looked into this question in Sydney, and the result of the duty which we have

the soil has made it ab-
 sible for white settlers on the
 Pacific to ship anything they
 Sydney with profit to them-
 ey used to send produce
 before the establishment of the
 because it was then admitted
 free. Now that duties are im-
 possible for settlers in those
 make any profit on the ship-
 produce to Australia and they
 use to send their produce here.
 TRENWITH.—And therefore Aus-
 tralians in Queensland give us our
 head of Fijians and New Hebrides

MATHESON.—Senator Tren-
 with out Australian citizens, but I
 have the greatest objection to calling Chi-
 nese citizens. They may have
 been naturalized, and I can quite under-
 stand the readiness of the honorable senator
 to call them Australian citizens, because
 they are in Melbourne; but I am not
 at any time to recognise even a
 Chinaman as an Australian

TRENWITH.—The honorable
 senator is an unnaturalized one some-

MATHESON.—I should like
 to see one of them out of the country.

TRENWITH.—I should rather
 like to see if we must deal with them.

MATHESON.—The honorable
 senator has not been in Queensland,
 and I take into the question he will
 not take into the whole of the banana
 trade in Queensland is in the hands
 of Chinese. The fact remains that
 the majority of Australian citizens of whom
 we now made are Chinese pure and
 I do not consider that it is worth
 the sacrifice of £6,000 a year, and,
 in my opinion, it would be much
 better the subsidy should be dropped
 and we should go on in the way in
 which we have been going.

MR. GIBBS.—It was only proposed
 by the Philp party in Queensland.

MATHESON.—Produce im-
 ported from Fiji must be taken into ac-
 count in connexion with the
 trade. It would be a most illogi-
 cal thing to shut out the products of Fiji.
 I do not consider the question as ap-
 propriate to the importation of produce from
 Fiji. I should like to ask hon-
 orable senators how they propose to treat

the natural products of the soil of New
 Guinea?

Senator STANFORTH SMITH.—This is
 not a fiscal question, and the honorable
 senator is discussing it on fiscal lines.

Senator MATHESON.—The honorable
 senator desires to limit the scope of the
 discussion. He desires that we should
 discuss the question as applied only to the
 New Hebrides.

Senator STANFORTH SMITH.—The ob-
 ject is to prevent the French obtaining pos-
 session of the New Hebrides.

Senator PEARCE.—The difference be-
 tween New Guinea and the New Hebrides
 is that one is a British possession and the
 other is not.

Senator MATHESON.—Am I to un-
 derstand that Senator Pearce's contention
 is that those who live outside of a British
 Colony should have advantages given to
 them in respect of trade with Australia
 which are not to be given to British sub-
 jects resident in a British possession?

Senator PEARCE.—It is not possible
 that we can lose New Guinea, whilst there
 is a prospect that France may secure the
 New Hebrides.

Senator MATHESON.—I do not think
 that that is an argument that should greatly
 influence us.

Senator TRENWITH.—The whole matter
 is a hash.

Senator MATHESON.—It is a hash;
 but we should deal with the ques-
 tion as logical, and business peo-
 ple, and take into our consideration the
 whole of these islands, which produce the
 same products with the same kind of
 labour. As a free-trader I find it abso-
 lutely impossible to draw a distinction be-
 tween the products of the New Hebrides
 and the products of any of the other
 islands to which we subsidise a mail ser-
 vice. Now that I realize that it is Sena-
 tor Smith's intention to limit his motion
 to the New Hebrides I cannot support it.

Senator STANFORTH SMITH.—The hon-
 orable senator does not understand it.

Senator MATHESON.—I know thor-
 oughly well what the honorable senator
 is driving at; but I fail to see how he can
 logically defend his motion.

Senator CLEMONS.—What is Senator
 Smith driving at?

Senator MATHESON.—The honorable
 senator is bitten with a fear that the
 French in monopolising the trade of the
 New Hebrides will eventually become the

owners of those islands; but I fail to see how we can apply to British residents in the New Hebrides conditions which we do not apply to British residents in the other groups of islands to which our subsidised mail service extends.

Senator PEARCE.—The New Hebrides are the only islands in the Pacific which are not held by a European power.

Senator MATHESON.—In these circumstances I should like to know why we are subsidising a mail service to other islands. If we are to secure our influence in those islands, and we are endeavouring to do so at an expense of £6,000 per annum; surely we should encourage our own settlers. I cannot see why this motion should be confined to the New Hebrides only. The question is the more important in view of the fact that we are to be asked to increase the present mail subsidy. It is extremely desirable that the whole matter should be ventilated, in order that honorable senators may know what they are doing when the Estimates are before them. There will probably be a couple of lines in those Estimates proposing an increased subsidy, and it will then hardly be possible to debate the question. One point raised by Senator Higgs is that it would be impossible to discriminate between natural products of the soil grown by British settlers and those grown by French settlers. I can assure the honorable senator that it is perfectly easy to exercise such a discrimination. The islands are very small, and everybody knows exactly what is being done there. Burns, Philp, and Co. have agents at every port of call, and they will know what products of the soil have been grown by English and French settlers.

Senator TRENWITH.—Would they not have an interest in deceiving us if the truth would in any way injure their trade?

Senator MATHESON.—The truth would very soon become known, and I do not think it would be to the interest of a firm such as Burns, Philp, and Co. to lend themselves to such a practice, though I must admit that what the honorable senator says is quite possible. I hope that I have made it clear that the motion should cover the whole of the islands to which we have subsidized a mail service, and that until that is done it is incomplete.

Senator O'KEEFE (Tasmania).—I intend to support the amendment which has been moved by Senator Higgs. It is all very well for some honorable senators to

contend that fiscalism should not have been imported into this discussion. It is possible otherwise to discuss the motion. In very words, "rebate of duties" used to suggest fiscalism straight away.

Senator SMITH.—That is merely a means to an end.

Senator O'KEEFE.—To my mind it is impossible to consider the question, in the light of the amendment submitted by Senator Higgs. The taxpayers of Australia are now paying something like £90,000 annually in rebates on sugar for the benefit of sugar-growers in Queensland and in New South Wales, and for the purpose of enabling the sugar-growers in Queensland chiefly, to do without black labour. I do not see how it would be possible under this motion to prevent the introduction of sugar grown in the New Hebrides by black labour. The amendment provides for a rebate of duty on raw products of the soil, and sugar must be so regarded. Senator Smith has shown himself in past discussions in this chamber to be an ardent advocate of the White Australia policy, and what might happen if this motion is carried can hardly be ascribed to the honorable senator. It seems to me to be entirely illogical that we should ask the people of Australia to pay such an immense amount of money—and I think the majority pay it willingly—to the sugar-growers of Queensland and New South Wales to enable them to do without black labour, and at the same time carry out a policy which, if given effect to, would enable the planters in either of these States to utilize black labour in the New Hebrides for the production of sugar there, and then send it free into Australia.

Senator STANFORTH SMITH.—One of the sugar-cane would be entitled to a rebate under the motion.

Senator O'KEEFE.—That in itself does not do a great deal towards upsetting the White Australia policy. We have been making the counter-argument that we are not inconsistent in advocating the duty on bananas grown in the New Hebrides, seeing that duty only assists a Queensland grower, which is entirely in the hands of the Chinese. It is, of course, a patent fact that in Queensland the Chinese almost entirely have the banana production in their hands, and that is regretted by every one who believes in a White Australia. That, however, is not a matter for the Commonwealth Parliament. So long as the Chinese

and have the right to remain are citizens of that State, and the Commonwealth Parliament has no concern. If the State Government like to introduce legislation re- production of bananas or any Chinese labour, that is a matter for the State. We cannot re- nounce who are now in Australia Immigration Restriction Act enforced, the Chinese will, in course of events, die out; and is now carried on by them will hands of white men.

TANFORTH SMITH.—What about the rights of the Chinese?

O'KEEFE.—According to the statistics, there are not likely descendants of Chinese in Australia. I sympathize entirely with the honorable senator who sub- motion, which, however, places difficulty. The White Australia has been fought most bitterly in the Commonwealth Parliament, and has been opposed by the large majority of the people of Australia at both elections. It is a much more important question than that presented by Senator Higgins regards paying a subsidy to the trade between Australia and the New Hebrides, speaking from memory, I am not against the payment of any subsidy. I am quite in agreement with the hon. member that this is money not for the benefit of Australia. I think the amendment will be carried; but the difficulty in Senator Higgins' motion may be met in some way—some means devised by the honorable member himself.

TANFORTH SMITH.—Does the honorable member think that, seeing the British people have taken possession of the New Hebrides, the natives should be allowed to work on the land?

O'KEEFE.—So long as we have the Australia policy, we should not do so in an entirely illogical manner if we allow the products of kanaka labour to enter Australia duty free; and, as the honorable member Smith cannot deny, is what must lead to.

MATHESON.—What about the

O'KEEFE.—I have already agreed with Senator Matheson on this; I should be in favour of

doing away with the subsidy to-morrow. In my opinion, Senator Smith would not be doing any violence to his own feelings if he were to agree with the amendment.

Senator TRENWITH (Victoria).—I should regret to see either the amendment or the original motion carried. To carry the amendment would place the Senate, and also Senator Higgs, and those who think with him, in a false position. A very vigorous contest is going on between the majority of the Australian people and the minority. The latter think that any restriction, within or without the Commonwealth, with regard to race or colour, is unwise; but the great majority urge that it is right we should keep Australia, of which we have taken possession, for the people of our own race. That is a defensible position, which commends itself to the judgment of a very large number of persons. The amendment is capable of being used as an argument to show that we want, not only our own country, but also the other fellow's country for our own people. That is an unwise position in which to place ourselves. There is an idea amongst honorable senators that the amendment might be carried as preferable to the motion. At the first hurried glance I held that view—that if we were to have one of two evils, the amendment of Senator Higgs presented the lesser. I am still somewhat inclined to that view, but, considering the false position in which it would place those who advocate a White Australia—considering the plausible argument which it would afford to our opponents to show that the demands of the advocates of the policy are unreasonable—it would be a tactical blunder to adopt the amendment. As to the motion, it has been said that it does not involve the fiscal issue. I am not one who is always going about seeking to discover covert motives on the part of those from whom I differ; and I believe that Senator Smith has no desire to raise the fiscal issue—that he has no desire, as has been suggested, to “sneak in” free-trade under a disguise. But, undoubtedly the motion does raise the fiscal issue, and in a very undesirable manner. We shall be asked in the very near future, I hope, to consider the very important question of preferential trade within the Empire. Assuming that the policy of preferential trade is accepted—which I confess is my view—then will arise the question of what kind of preference shall be given. We shall then have to decide what shall be the degree of

preference—whether we shall admit goods from other parts of the Empire free, or whether there shall be discriminating duties; whether British imports shall still be subject to duties, but the imports of other nations to higher duties. Whenever that question comes to be discussed, it is all important that we should be unhampered by any previous act of our own. If we carry a motion of the kind before us, it would have an extremely prejudicial effect in the discussion of the fiscal question. It would be said that, without consideration, we had given the right to persons not belonging to the same Empire, to send in their goods absolutely free of duty; and that would settle the whole question in reference to preferential trade. We could not then make new conditions, or could only do so with great difficulty; and the issue is altogether too important to be determined thus lightly. And even supposing there were no great prospects of injury, such as I have indicated, the result of the motion must be infinitesimal. What practical increased settlement or advantage could be got by removing the trifling duties which are now imposed on the products of the New Hebrides?

Senator PEARCE.—English settlers would be prevented from becoming French subjects.

Senator TRENWITH.—What I say is that the object to be gained is insufficient. I do not think that the motion would have the result of preventing British settlers in the New Hebrides from becoming French subjects. The advantages offered them by the motion are so slight that, in my opinion, no appreciable difference would be made in the settlement.

Senator PEARCE.—Duty to the amount of £3,000 was paid on one item alone.

Senator TRENWITH.—That proves that the New Hebrides settlers are sending their products here now. But, after all, £3,000 is a very trifling sum to expend in securing increased settlement in any part of the world.

Senator PEARCE.—That is what Senator Smith says.

Senator TRENWITH.—What I mean is that the sum is so small that the result would be practically nil; I do not say that if we could secure increased settlement, the money would not be worth spending. Great consideration should be given to the suggestion by Senator Higgs that there is an

urgent necessity to increase settlement side the Commonwealth. If we have shilling to spare for the purpose, we ought to try to induce settlement in Australia and not in other directions.

Senator MATHESON.—Then the honorable senator would cease the subsidy?

Senator TRENWITH.—Personally, I should do so; but I make that statement somewhat hurriedly without much consideration, because I have not looked at all possible advantages of a subsidy. A subsidy, however, is very different from preference to imports; a subsidy is a preference to both exports and imports.

Senator MATHESON.—With an object view.

Senator TRENWITH.—I am dealing simply with that point of view. I have not sufficient knowledge to be able to speak with confidence, but it may happen in the future the New Hebrides may develop into an important customer for Australia, and, if that be so, the fact would be a strong justification for a subsidy which, instead of being a preference to imports in our market, would be a preference in the New Hebrides markets to imports from Australia. Senator Smith has conferred some advantage on the Senate by introducing, with extreme lucidity, a somewhat obscure question. The honorable senator has directed the attention of Parliament to the matter, and to that extent has served a useful purpose. But I feel that Parliament would be acting extremely unwisely, in view of all the surroundings of the case, by taking any special action. It cannot be said that the fiscal question is not involved, because that and nothing else lies at the basis of the motion.

Senator STANFORTH SMITH.—My motion begins and ends with the New Hebrides.

Senator TRENWITH.—Parliament cannot deliberately adopt a new principle and say that it ends anywhere.

Senator STANFORTH SMITH.—These are the only islands in the Pacific not owned by Europeans.

Senator TRENWITH.—That does not alter the matter. If we give to people on lands which do not belong to us a preference which we do not give to the people of the British Empire, we shall place ourselves in an extremely illogical position.

Senator STANFORTH SMITH.—The French give greater preference to the colonists in these islands than they do other French people.

TRENWITH.—That might be if the view were that we whatever the French do; but an argument which would come I am sure, even to Senator Pearce to call attention to the of taking any step in regard duties—any step which affects issue in its essence—at this in the near future may in extreme difficulty. I shall the amendment, because I see danger to the views which I shall also vote against the on, which I hope will be nega-

PEARCE (Western Australia). Senator Trenwith, I have always advocate for a White Australia vote against the amendment because I have weakened in my White Australia, but because I it does not affect that policy the other.

GIVENS (Queensland).—The on by Senator Pearce against are not, in my opinion, good for any person who is im- the idea that we should main- Australia, and do everything encourage the white race.

OBSON.—The views of Senator at point are quite correct.

GIVENS.—That may be so, and y not be correct; but I have as any one else to express them. n a State which is more affected ured labour question than any of the Commonwealth, I ought y fair position to draw a right

It appears to me that some nators hold the view that, while, compel the producers in Aus- employ white labour only, still allow those who produce by our elsewhere to dump their own on our stores as freely as

TRENWITH.—No one has said against both the motion and ent.

GIVENS.—I am now alluding de taken up by Senator Pearce, eve, by Senator Smith. The producers in the New Hebrides ish subjects is exceedingly limi- if the whole area of the islands ed solely by settlers of British ed not amount to a very large Senator Smith admitted in his

opening remarks. But, although the number of British settlers there may not be very large, they may produce a very great deal.

Senator STANFORTH SMITH.—The area is not big enough.

Senator GIVENS.—I maintain that the area is very considerable. This Parliament in its wisdom has declared that it will only encourage production by white labour in Australia. That principle has been clearly laid down in regard to sugar. If this motion be carried, there will be nothing to prevent a small number of settlers from each taking up a very large area in the islands, and employing coloured labour in the wholesale production of sugar, and dumping down their product here to compete with our white-grown sugar.

Senator PEARCE.—The motion refers to the natural products of the soil, and sugar is a manufactured product.

Senator GIVENS.—The natural products of the soil may take very many forms. Raw sugar, for instance, is not usually styled a manufactured product.

Senator PEARCE.—It has undergone a process.

Senator GIVENS.—If the honorable senator is prepared to draw that fine distinction, then maize, to be a natural product, should be brought over on the stalk, and in the husk.

Senator MCGREGOR.—What about copra?

Senator STANFORTH SMITH.—That comes in free.

Senator GIVENS.—Copra does not, and is not likely to come into competition with any Australian product. According to the fine distinction which Senator Pearce draws nothing is really a natural product.

Senator PEARCE.—That is an economic term which is well understood.

Senator GIVENS.—In its legislation this Parliament has laid down the principle that no encouragement shall be given by means of the Tariff or otherwise to the employment, or to the products, of coloured labour; and now Senator Smith proposes that we shall give to persons living outside our shores privileges which we deny to our own citizens. I maintain that we should not give to any person outside the Commonwealth a privilege, or concession, or favour which the humblest citizen of the Commonwealth may not claim as his own.

Senator PEARCE.—Does the honorable senator think that sugar-cane would be imported?

Senator STANFORTH SMITH.—This proposal is not made for economic reasons, but to prevent a foreign nation from coming close to our door.

Senator GIVENS.—No matter for what reason the motion is moved, it is bound, if carried, to have an economic effect. At any rate, we should stultify ourselves by going back on the principle which we have laid down for our own citizens. Senator Smith proposes to allow the citizens of another country to do things which we do not allow our own citizens to do.

Senator PEARCE.—In respect of what article?

Senator GIVENS.—In respect of products grown by coloured labour, and giving them a protective advantage.

Senator PEARCE.—What products does the honorable senator refer to?

Senator GIVENS.—The product may be maize.

Senator PEARCE.—Where is it laid down in the laws of the Commonwealth that maize cannot be grown by coloured labour?

Senator GIVENS.—The whole trend of our legislation is against the employment of coloured labour. I can well understand that if a person is very much in love with his own ideas he can easily find excuses for his action. Not only shall I vote for the amendment, but I shall vote against the motion if the amendment is made. Senator Smith has laid it down as a principle, that the Commonwealth, if it be possible, should not allow any foreign nation to have any control over any islands within 2,000 miles of our shores. That is equivalent to saying that, because we happen to be Britishers, we have a right to grab all the country we can lay our hands on, but no other nation is to be allowed to extend its territory.

Senator STANFORTH SMITH.—We have at least as much right as any other nation.

Senator GIVENS.—Undoubtedly; and we have exercised that right in a greater degree than any other nation. And yet the honorable senator advocates a dog-in-the-manger policy. He says we do not want these islands for ourselves, but we will not allow any other nation to have them. I wish to point out the utter absurdity of one argument he used. He says that we must occupy every island, or at least prevent any other nation from having any control over any island within 2,000 miles of our shores. If, in pursuance of that idea, we ultimately expand our boundaries so as to include the New Hebrides, that very

act will compel us to immediately occupy every island within 2,000 miles of our group.

Senator STANFORTH SMITH.—That is very absurd. I said within 2,000 miles of Australia.

Senator GIVENS.—If we were to follow up that idea, we should have to ask Germany to immediately take back New Guinea, and Holland to clear off New Guinea, and Holland to clear off every possession in the Malay Archipelago, because all those islands are within 2,000 miles of the borders of the Commonwealth.

Senator STANFORTH SMITH.—That is more than 2,000 miles from Melbourne and Sydney, though.

Senator GIVENS.—Melbourne and Sydney do not constitute the wealth of the Commonwealth.

Senator STANFORTH SMITH.—That is to say, they contain the principal population in the Commonwealth of Australia.

Senator GIVENS.—I do not take a narrow view of the Commonwealth. It includes only Melbourne and Sydney, but that the interests of people outside those two great cities must be entirely overlooked. We have quite enough to do to look after our own affairs, without meddling with the foreign affairs. We have quite enough to develop this sparsely populated Commonwealth, and to build up quietly and peaceably a nation, without developing a foreign policy. If we begin to meddle with foreign affairs we shall immediately run the risk of foreign aggression.

Senator PEARCE.—Supposing a foreign nation commences to meddle with our affairs?

Senator GIVENS.—It will then be enough for us to meddle with them.

Senator STANFORTH SMITH.—If we desire peace we ought to prevent other nations from having facilities for attacking us.

Senator GIVENS.—France, as far as we or any one else knows, has never been an aggressive hands on the New Hebrides. If she did she has just as good a right to do so as either Great Britain or Australia, because that group is as close to some of her possessions as to Australia. If we lay down the principle which Senator Smith has enunciated, we shall immediately give a cause of offence to France, or any other nation which may wish to expand its territory in that direction. I do not think it would be wise for the Commonwealth to go out of its way to

ce to any nation. The mother have trouble enough on her at the Commonwealth, which, speaking, has only a small responsibility to bear, going y to create difficulties for her. attempt has been made to a good understanding between Great Britain and the people and I am glad to say success- because I believe that these two d be the natural allies of Wes-

If we pass this motion in its we shall immediately create because it must undoubtedly be sive by France. Directly we se of offence to a foreign na- l become embroiled in all the he old world, and it will be us to maintain an ambassa- at every capital, in order to the difficulties which will con- aised. These are some of the I am opposed to the motion. if it is to be carried at all it d in the form which has been Senator Higgs. But if we endment, and carry the motion, ify ourselves and our legisla- claim far and wide that we are give concessions and favours ho do not belong to the Com- out who, on the contrary, had ard for its welfare that they elp us to develop its resources, out in order to be with their oured brothers. We shall to break down the White ideal if we allow their r products to come in free, e deny to our own people the duce by coloured labour. Sena- as said, I believe, that one of l products on which he desires should be a rebate of duty is everybody knows that maize is f the least profitable of agricul- grown in Australia. The maize- about the hardest time of any e has a very precarious living. ities of maize are produced in and New South Wales, and hat a considerable quantity is portions of Victoria.

PEARCE.—Scarcely any maize is ictoria, very little in South Aus- Western Australia, and none in

GIVENS.—I suspect that that ts for the magnanimity with

which all the senators for Western Australia, except one, are so eager to throw the maize-growers over to the tender mercies of the foreign producer who employs black labour.

Senator PEARCE.—There is evidently one Simon Pure in the Senate—one senator whose motives are unimpeachable.

Senator GIVENS.—When my motives are impeachable I hope the honorable senator will impeach them.

Senator PEARCE.—I would never take the task on.

Senator GIVENS.—I would not have questioned the attitude of the honorable senator if he had not gone out of his way to indulge in some banter at the beginning of my speech, and now when I return the compliment he seems to be somewhat offended and cannot take my remarks in the same good spirit in which I am willing to take his.

Senator PEARCE.—I am only expressing my admiration for the honorable senator.

Senator GIVENS.—I am quite independent of the honorable senator's admiration or otherwise. Take the position of the maize-growers during the present year in South Queensland and New South Wales. In many portions of Queensland during the last season they made very great losses indeed. Owing to the prevalence of storms during the earlier part of the year, the crops of maize were thrown to the ground without cobbing, and the produce did not exceed one-fifth, or in some cases one-tenth, of what ought to have been obtained. It was the same in other places. Yet the market value of the crop did not exceed 1s. 6d. per bushel. At the present moment in Brisbane maize can be bought for 1s. 9d. a bushel, and in Melbourne I believe it fetches 2s. a bushel. Yet it is proposed to take away from the maize-growers the small amount of protection they now have, and allow the products of coloured labour in the New Hebrides to come into contact with theirs. The maize crops in the New Hebrides may be very considerable indeed, because a large part of the land is suitable for maize culture, and the people only grow it as a secondary crop while the cocoanut plants are ripening. If they are able to dump their maize down in Australia it will be considerably to the detriment of Australian growers who produce by means of white labour.

Senator DE LARGIE.—The object is to give the agricultural labourer a bit of a lift!

Senator GIVENS.—I suppose it is thought that the agricultural labourer will be able to demand a higher price for his labour if the products of coloured labour are brought into competition with his.

Senator HIGGS.—The wages paid in the New Hebrides are like those paid in New Guinea—a plug of tobacco per month.

Senator GIVENS.—Yes, with an occasional chip hat thrown in for the gin! I intend to vote against the motion altogether. I trust that honorable senators, when the issue is plainly put before them, will vote in accordance with the principle which has already been laid down by the Commonwealth Parliament, with the emphatic approval of the people of Australia, that no encouragement shall be given to the employment of coloured labour, but that we shall do everything that is possible to maintain conditions such as will tend to build up a white Commonwealth. To do that it is absolutely essential to protect to the fullest possible extent the products of our white people from competition with the cheaper products of coloured persons elsewhere.

Senator MULCAHY (Tasmania).—I intend to oppose both the original motion and the amendment, but for somewhat different reasons from those which have been advanced by the last speaker. My principle reason is that the motion itself indicates a very important departure in national policy, which, I think, should have been introduced under the imprimatur of the Government. I fear that the honorable senator who has moved the motion did not sufficiently weigh the consequences and the principles involved in it. It seems to be an unfortunate thing that during the present session, owing to the absence of other business, the Senate has been largely reduced to the position of a debating society. We have been continually debating abstract motions.

Senator HIGGS.—That is rough on Senator Smith!

Senator MULCAHY.—I give the honorable senator full credit for the trouble he has taken in connexion with this subject. He has given us the benefit of information which honorable senators would not have been able to gather except by means of such speeches as he has made. But we should be careful to see the consequences of such proposals as that upon which he asks us to express an opinion. The question is a highly important one, and involves principles which the mover of the motion did not take into account, such as the

question of preferential trade, which certainly ought not to be determined in regard to one small group of island although there may be reasons which would induce me to support that policy upon general principles. I do not say that I object to the principle laid down by Senator Smith, but my point is that the question is one of those with regard to which we should not be called upon to express the deliberate opinion of the Senate in the manner proposed.

Senator HIGGS.—Surely the honorable senator would not tie the hands of the Senate in the event of the Government now bringing forward a motion?

Senator MULCAHY.—No; no one has right to object to any question being brought forward by any honorable senator who chooses to invite an expression of opinion with regard to it. My objection is that this is a large question of national policy, for which the Government, not a private senator, ought to be responsible. It ought not to be forced on the Government, but should be carefully thought out by them. It also involves an important fiscal departure. I am surprised that Senator Pearce, who is usually so logical, does not see the effect of the motion upon the White Australia policy that has been affirmed by the people of this country. The motion would have very important results in that direction, and altogether it is sufficiently important to be introduced by a responsible Minister expounding a responsible policy.

Debate (on motion by Senator CROFT) adjourned.

CONVERSION OF GUNS.

Senator MATHESON asked the Minister of Defence, *upon notice*—

1. What is the cost of converting a 12½-pound B.L. gun into a 15-pounder B.L. gun, including cost of packing, shipping, and all shipping and agency charges to the works in England?

2. What would be the cost of a new 15-pounder B.L. gun, of modern construction, in England?

3. What would be the cost of an 18-pounder gun of the pattern recently adopted by the British Government?

4. Do the Government of the Commonwealth still propose to purchase twenty 15-pounder B.L. guns in view of the fact that guns of this type are now being displaced in the British Army by the new 18-pounder guns?

Senator DAWSON.—The answers to the honorable senator's questions are as follows:—

1. The cost of conversion of a 12½-pounder B.L. gun, carriage, and limber into a 15-pounder B.L. gun is £500; cost of packing, insurance, freight &c., say £23; total, £523.

Mr GUTHRIE.—That is the cost one presume?

Mr DAWSON.—I presume that is both ways.

Cost of a new 15-pounder B.L. gun, carriage, limber, including estimated charges of transport, insurance, and packing, &c., would be

There is no information available here.

Would that the Government are not have any information for some time regarding that question.

A final decision has not yet been arrived at.

PRESENTATION OF GUNS TO MUNICIPALITIES.

Mr MATHESON asked the Minister of Defence, *upon notice*—

As a fact, as stated in the *Age* of the 6th inst., that the Government of the Commonwealth have offered to return to the Government of Western Australia for presentation to municipalities a number of obsolete muzzle-loading field guns present in that State; and that the Government of Western Australia have declined the offer on the grounds that the cost of sending the guns to the municipalities would be too great?

Do the Government have any objection to the offer direct to the principal municipalities in the gold-fields and at the coast in Western Australia?

Has the Minister any objection to laying on the table for perusal any correspondence on this subject that has taken place between the two Governments?

At what date do the Government intend to distribute the obsolete field guns now being offered to the municipalities among the municipalities of the various States, from the effective list of obsolete field guns belonging to the Commonwealth set out in Appendix K of the General Officer Commanding's report for 1903-4?

Mr DAWSON.—The replies to the senator's questions are as follows:

In reply to a communication from this Government stating that there were some obsolete guns available for distribution to public parks, &c., in Western Australia, the Premier of that State has replied as follows:—

"The military authorities inform me that there are at present only two guns which could be of use in public parks, &c., namely, those stored at Perth; but these would entail a heavy cost of transport and mounting. As the guns referred to are of little interest, I question if any public authority would care to pay the cost of removal, &c. The eight smaller guns which will be available for replacement by ones of more modern pattern would, no doubt, be suitable for the purposes indicated in your letter.

In view of the above facts, I think it wiser to leave the question as it arises, and do not commit the Government as to its future

2. The Government sees no reason for doing so.

3. No objection.

4. None of the eighty-two field guns mentioned in Appendix K of the General Officer Commanding's report for 1903-4 are at present being distributed to municipalities, as the intention of the General Officer Commanding is to utilize the same until they are replaced by modern guns.

I may add, to complete the answer, that wherever the head of a Government in a State where there are obsolete guns does not take sufficient interest in them to make use of them, the Department will have no objection to deal directly with the municipalities.

TRADE MARKS BILL.

In Committee (Consideration resumed from 10th August, *vide* page 4018):

New clause (proposed by Senator PEARCE)—

Part VI.A.—Trade Union Marks.

69A. In this part of this Act—

"Trade union" means any trade union registered as such under the law of any State or any organization or association of workmen or employees registered under any law of the Commonwealth or of a State relating to conciliation or arbitration for the prevention or settlement of industrial disputes; and

"Trade union mark" means a distinctive mark or device adopted by a trade union for the purpose of designating the products of the labour of the members thereof.

Senator DRAKE (Queensland).—There is one objection to Senator Pearce's proposal which I should like to submit to the attention of those who are inclined to support it. It is intended that the trade union mark proposed should be a guarantee as to the conditions of labour under which the article to which it is affixed is produced; but it will be no guarantee whatever of the quality of the article, or of the material of which it is composed. So far as concerns the public knowing the conditions of labour under which an article is produced, I submit that that is provided for in the Bill with which we last dealt, namely, the Fraudulent Trade Marks Bill. It is there provided that an article may bear upon it a particular description indicating the method of its manufacture. So that any person who makes an article may put upon it a description of the method by which it has been made, and that would include a description of the labour that has been employed in making it. The Bill goes on to provide heavy penalties to insure that that trade description shall be true. By

means of the conditions imposed by the Fraudulent Trade Marks Bill the public will be enabled to know whether an article has been produced under fair conditions. The object which Senator Pearce has in view is a praiseworthy one. I believe that nearly every person, in purchasing an article, would be prepared to pay a slightly higher price for it if he had some assurance that the result would be to benefit the actual worker. A trade mark, as generally understood, is a mark put upon goods by a certain manufacturer in order that, if he wishes to build up a reputation for that article and to reap the benefit from it, he may do so in security. Nearly every man and woman, in purchasing certain articles, has a fancy for some particular brand. We have learnt, perhaps, that the manufacturer uses good material in the manufacture of the article. He puts a trade mark upon it in order that the reputation which he builds up may be preserved for his own benefit. I believe that it is a maxim amongst business men that money should not be spent in advertising unless an article is a good one.

Senator GIVENS.—What about the money spent in advertising quack patent medicines?

Senator DRAKE.—I have no doubt that they have some good in them, or people would not buy them. People buy a patent medicine because they have used it before, and believe, at all events, that there is some good in it.

Senator GIVENS.—They generally buy it because they have never bought it before.

Senator DRAKE.—It is now proposed that trade unions may have brands of their own, which shall be put upon goods to indicate that those goods have been made under trade union conditions. But there will be no guarantee whatever as to the quality of the goods or the material that enters into their manufacture. I have spoken of an ordinary trade mark used by a manufacturer with a view to build up a reputation for an article, and derive benefit from it. He wishes the articles he sells to be known as his. Therefore, he puts his brand upon them. But we have heard in the course of this debate of boots that contain no leather, and of woollen goods that contain no wool. There may be manufacturers who are producing those goods simply for the purpose of making money.

They do not care how inferior the quality may be, so long as they make large profits. A manufacturer doing that would say, "I will employ union labour so that I may use the union trade mark."

Senator MCGREGOR.—The unions would not give such manufacturers the right to do so. They would not discredit themselves to that extent surely.

Senator PEARCE.—The public would not be deceived because they would know that the label did not apply to the material, but only to the conditions of labour under which the article was manufactured.

Senator DRAKE.—Such a manufacturer would not put any label of his own upon goods. No shoddy manufacturer puts his own label on his goods. He does not wish the public to connect him with them. If the Vice-President of the Executive Council is right, we have something else to contemplate in this proposal, and that is that the trade union holding the brand will not only insist that a certain class of labour shall be employed in the manufacture of goods to which their brand is applied, but will also insist that a certain quality of materials shall be used in the manufacture.

Senator PEARCE.—I do not think there is any justification for such a statement.

Senator DRAKE.—The Vice-President of the Executive Council certainly says that no trade union would think of allowing the union brand to be put upon goods of a shoddy character.

Senator O'KEEFE.—Not unless the maker's name is also on the goods, that might take the responsibility.

Senator DRAKE.—There is nothing in these new clauses to show that that would be necessary. The class of goods to which I am referring are goods to which the owner's name is not attached. What has been said only goes to show how incomplete the present proposal is, because in answer to the objection I have made, I get one explanation from the Vice-President of the Executive Council, and another from Senator O'Keefe.

Senator PEARCE.—The Vice-President of the Executive Council is not responsible for these clauses.

Senator DRAKE.—Quite so. I understand, from what took place yesterday, that Senator Pearce is satisfied that any manufacturer employing union labour, and complying with union conditions, would be entitled to put the union brand on his goods.

so, we have no guarantee as to of the goods. If an unscrupulous manufacturer, complying with all the conditions, chooses to turn out shoddy shoddy may be distributed the Commonwealth, under cover of union mark.

PEARCE.—And the purchasers w that the labour employed on was guaranteed by the mark, and terial used in their manufacture.

DRAKE.—Quite so; we under. another on that point. I ask senators whether that is not much ovided for in the Fraudulent rks Bill which we have already Under that Bill every manufac stamp upon his goods the fact ere made by trade union labour, e who desired to have goods made union labour could refuse to buy ere not so stamped. We should exactly the result which Senator sires. That would be very much a having a union trade mark which out upon goods of a very inferior nd which might be used as the circulating shoddy throughout and particularly amongst the f trade unions and their families, agst those who, without being onists themselves, prefer to pur- icles made by trade unionists. ointed out that Senator Pearce's n be better achieved under the nt Trade Marks Bill than under nt proposal; and for the reasons iven I think that this proposal id to unforeseen and very unde- nsequences.

MULCAHY (Tasmania).—Sena- e has touched the kernel of this one of its aspects. Honorable sena- ware that many articles produced urne and exported from this State uced under conditions arranged by es Boards meet in Victoria to deter- wages to be paid for the manu- f certain articles, and the Victorian Act regulates the hours and condi- labour in their manufacture. In ustries a minimum wage is in force, n.

GUTHRIE.—That is only in some of industry.

MULCAHY.—I intend to speak branches of industry of which I mething, and of a class of goods have been handling for the greater

part of my life, and on which I can speak with some little authority. I find that, in spite of the legislation to which I have referred, these goods are produced in Melbourne in much the same way as they were produced previous to the enactment of that legislation, but under improved conditions for the employes, I believe and hope. So far as cheapness of production is concerned, it is much the same as it has ever been in my experience, which extends in the clothing trade over twenty-five or twenty-six years, during which time I have been dealing with Melbourne warehouses and manufacturers. All who are conversant with trade matters are aware that goods of various grades are required; and if we require a cheap article now we can get it as readily as ever. It will be admitted that a cheap article is generally a common article.

Senator DE LARGIE.—Is the honorable senator speaking of prices, or of the cost of production?

Senator MULCAHY.—I am speaking to the question now before the Committee, and the honorable senator will allow me to speak for myself. I hope I shall be able to express myself in such a way as to be understood.

Senator DE LARGIE.—The honorable senator is posing as an authority on a certain line of goods, and I thought he ought to be able to explain whether he was referring to the price of an article, or the cost of its production.

Senator MULCAHY.—I dare say I shall be able to do so. I am not posing as an authority upon anything but the business in which I have had an experience extending over a quarter of a century. I was referring to the point properly raised by Senator Drake as to the quality of the article on which the union trade mark is put. I agree with the honorable and learned senator that the trade union mark proposed would be no indication of the quality of the article. There is necessarily, in accordance with the requirements of the public, as much rubbish produced in Melbourne as there ever was. There is as much shoddy manufactured here as ever, though it may be that those engaged in its manufacture are employed under better conditions. Indeed, I have good reason for believing that they are.

Senator GIVENS.—Does the honorable senator object to labour legislation again?

Senator MULCAHY.—I am speaking of its bearing on this question. It would be better if honorable senators who are members of the Labour Party were more tolerant of the opinions of others, and were not so ready to assume that others are speaking against their views. So far as I know, the application of factories legislation to these industries has been beneficial; but I am speaking of the effect of putting a particular brand or trade mark on certain articles. The purpose of a trade mark is to disclose the identity of goods which have some special quality, and some reputation previously earned. That would not necessarily apply to goods manufactured even under the very best trade union conditions. Those goods would not necessarily be any better than they would be if they had not been manufactured by union labour. The trade union mark would only indicate that they were manufactured under conditions approved by the trade union. Whether it is a good or a bad thing, honorable members will have their own opinion, but there are not many trade unions in Tasmania. It may be that some goods of Tasmanian manufacture may find their way into Victorian and other Commonwealth markets, and this proposal—which, to my mind, is entirely foreign to the Bill—may have a very unfair effect in connexion with those goods. The fact that they will not be marked with the trade union brand will be an indication to the purchaser that they have not been made by union labour, and the implication will necessarily be that they are inferior to goods which are so branded, and ought not to be purchased. That may be exceedingly unfair.

Senator GIVENS.—The honorable senator will find that the second part of the proposed new clause shows that the mark is not intended to guarantee the quality of the goods.

Senator MULCAHY.—The trade union mark may be used in a variety of ways. The honorable senator who, with the best intention, has proposed this series of amendments, said yesterday that no trade union would deny the use of its trade mark to manufacturers employing trade unionists on trade union conditions of labour. It is not necessary to argue that a trade union would not deny the use of the trade mark to which it has the sole right to a majority of manufacturers, although it might refuse the mark to one manufacturer.

Senator CROFT.—It would not do so.

Senator MULCAHY.—How can the honorable senator know?

Senator CROFT.—Because I have had personal experience of the working of the system in Western Australia.

Senator MULCAHY.—I have heard Senator Trenwith speak in the same way, but I have also heard that honorable senators and other honorable senators, when the occasion suited them, say that it is extremely unlikely that frequently happens. No honorable senator can take it upon himself to say that the trade unions will do this or that. What the trade unions will do can only be revealed to us in the future; and the question whether we should give them the power to do something which may prove to be exceedingly unjust. In Tasmania we have relied on our export trade very largely. When we joined the Federation in the hope of having free-trade with the other States; and we are here asked to enact legislation which may handicap us in the freedom of trade intercourse with the other States, we cannot but view the matter seriously. It may be that we are not progressive, and that may be one of the consequences of our insularity; but that is no reason why our manufacturers should suffer through having the products of manufacture in the other States marked in some way which would stigmatize the products of our State as being inferior, or as being goods which for other reasons ought not to be purchased. I do not desire, as is often done by clergymen, to blame those of their congregations who are present for the absence of those who are away, but I think it is a pity that so important a matter should be dealt with when there is such a small attendance. It is my desire to encourage trade unionism as strong as is any labour senator. I have always approved of trade unionism. In my opinion the combination and cooperation of people for their mutual protection and advancement is a perfectly right principle, so long as they stop at that. But when it is proposed to furnish such combinations with a power which may be used to the prejudice of others, we should pause and consider what we are doing. It appears to me that possibly these provisions might be utilized as a weapon to the detriment of Tasmanian manufactures, and that would not be in accordance with the Federal spirit, on the strength of which we entered the Federation. As a State which has

small representation in the
ment, Tasmania is entitled
on in this connexion.

DE LARGIE (Western Aus-
sire to say a few words in
or Mulcahy. The honorable
ut with a certain intention,
omising much, he resumed
out giving the information
he would give. The honor-
was referring to the cost of
ed in this State, and I asked
him in order to elicit some
He has told the Committee
ow get articles at the same
e paid for them before
ment of labour organiza-
ages Boards in Victoria.
presumably when the articles
cost a great deal more than
ously. I asked, by way of
jection, whether the honor-
ferred to the cost of pro-
perely to the price; because,
o, there is a great difference.
price of those articles might
h higher, though the cost of
s much lower than to-day.
altogether different state of
at which the honorable sena-
us to believe.

MULCAHY.—That is not the
not dealing with that aspect
n.

DE LARGIE.—The honorable
no light on the subject,
y to my interjection he pro-
My contention is that under
s prevailing to-day, with
and other industrial organi-
es can be purchased just as
n they were produced under
itions. This only proves
ne employers or the middle-
the benefit of those unfair

FRASER.—The honorable
ollect that the extension of
cheaped production.

MULCAHY.—As also has division

DE LARGIE.—I grant that
ances have had some effect.
f the clauses proposed by
e is not to provide labels in-
quality of the articles, but
w under what conditions the
been produced. These two
ite different.

Senator MULCAHY.—The object of Sena-
tor Pearce is quite different from the ob-
ject of the Bill.

Senator DE LARGIE.—Trade marks
are used to indicate an infinite variety of
facts. Some trade marks show that the
articles are the production of a firm or
are composed of certain materials; others
that articles are produced in a certain coun-
try, and so forth; and I contend that Sena-
tor Pearce's proposal is perfectly reason-
able in a measure of this character. I
should like to point out to Senator Mulcahy
that in the manufacture of English broad-
cloth, which is perhaps the best of the
kind produced, the poorest paid labour in
England is employed, while in the manu-
facture of inferior shoddy tweed from the
north of England much higher paid labour
under union conditions is employed.

Senator MULCAHY.—I have sold such
cloths for a long time, and I am not aware
that they have trade marks, though some
of them may have.

Senator DE LARGIE.—There are very
few manufacturers who have not a trade
mark of some kind or another. These trade
marks, however, do not indicate the kind
of labour employed, but rather the quality
or kind of article. These are all matters
which we have to consider when discussing
whether a trade union label or mark shall
be legalized by this Bill. There is no doubt
that if a trade union mark were used, say,
in Melbourne, it might have some effect on
the industries of Tasmania, where trade
unionism is almost an unknown factor.
Senator Mulcahy may see in that view a
danger to his State, the interests of which
he is perfectly right in attempting to safe-
guard. But those who do believe in pro-
per conditions of employment for men and
women, have a right to see that safeguards
are applied in that direction, and a trade
union label is about the best guarantee that
could be devised.

Senator FRASER (Victoria).—I am
sorry these clauses are sought to be intro-
duced in a measure of this kind, to the ob-
ject and purposes of which they are quite
foreign.

Senator GUTHRIE.—Why should not a
worker, as well as a manufacturer, have
the right to stamp his goods?

Senator FRASER.—Nobody desires to
stop a worker from stamping his goods; most
people, on the other hand, would rather
encourage the practice. But why should
we, by an Act of Parliament, give anybody
the power to refuse to other persons the

right to similarly stamp their goods? In this respect the clause appears to me unfair, proposing, as it does, to give a special right to a trade union.

Senator GUTHRIE.—Just as it is proposed to give a special right to a manufacturer.

Senator FRASER.—A manufacturer uses a trade mark to describe the quality or make of goods which can be bought and sold every day in the week. The clauses which Senator Pearce proposes will be used for the purposes of pressure, and under them, even an employer of union labour may be refused the right to use a label.

Senator O'KEEFE.—No; the object of the clause is to give that right to employers working under union conditions.

Senator CROFT.—Every one who works under union conditions may use the label.

Senator FRASER.—But I might form a union of four or five persons, and yet be refused the right to use a label.

Senator MCGREGOR.—It would not be the union, but the Registrar, who would then refuse the right. He would not register such a union.

Senator DE LARGIE.—We are not discussing preference to unionists.

Senator FRASER.—It is preference of a kind; otherwise why seek to force these clauses into a Trade Marks Bill?

Senator GIVENS.—Does a manufacturer not get a preference by means of his trade mark?

Senator FRASER.—But a manufacturer might be refused the right to use a trade union mark under these clauses.

Senator GIVENS.—Quite right, too, if he does not employ people under proper conditions.

Senator FRASER.—But the right to use the label might be refused owing to mere pique. These clauses will give the power to bring pressure in order to do a wrong to an individual, because, it may be, of some little dispute only indirectly connected with unionism. Such provisions have no right in this Bill.

Senator GUTHRIE.—In what Bill does the honorable senator suggest the provisions should be put?

Senator FRASER.—In a Bill specially dealing with the subject. As to the cheap and dear articles, referred to by Senator de Largie, prices vary from day to day, and from year to year. Articles which were dear ten years ago are cheap now, and *vice versa*; the cost of an article is no evidence as to proper conditions of production.

Senator GIVENS (Queensland).—I tender regard certain honorable senators have for the well being of wealthy manufacturers or merchants is quite remarkable as is also the utter disregard they have for the welfare of the humble individual who is employed in the manufacture of goods.

Senator DOBSON.—That is an unfair grossly incorrect comment.

Senator GIVENS.—I think I shall endeavour to show that my comment is absolutely correct.

Senator MULCAHY.—There has been much of that talk altogether.

Senator GIVENS.—That may be so, but the estimation of some honorable senators is not correct.

Senator DOBSON.—And in the estimation of many people outside also.

Senator GIVENS.—There are people who do not like to hear the truth spoken. But it is time we had the truth. In the course of the legislation introduced by the course of legislation introduced this and almost every other civilized State the interests of the vast majority have been sacrificed to the interests of a misbegotten minority. The Senate was unanimously supporting the proposal to grant trade marks to individuals or firms, in order to protect them in the fullest possible element of exclusive rights, as against unscrupulous individuals. When we ask that the workmen shall have exactly the same rights, and be entitled to use a distinctive mark showing that articles have been produced under certain conditions, there is immediately a thunderous opposition raised by the very men who were most enthusiastic in extending the protection to the private manufacturer or merchant.

Senator DOBSON.—That is grossly wrong. Is this the sort of stuff that the honorable senator talks in Queensland? If it is a wonder that he was at or near the top of the poll.

Senator GIVENS.—The question is whether I am speaking the truth or not. It is within the knowledge of every honorable senator and other person who followed this debate, that my statements are absolutely correct, and cannot be denied by any one who has any regard for the truth.

Senator DOBSON.—The honorable senator has heard some of us deny them.

Senator GIVENS.—The honorable senator will have to take the responsibility for the denial. The whole purpose of this Bill is to allow any person

poration to register a certain
to denote that the goods to
applied were put up by its
form. That trade mark be-
lusive property, and cannot
its owner must be protected
enjoyment of all the advan-
from its possession. It only
ct that the goods are of a cer-

sr.—It does not do anything
It cannot do so.

VENS.—A firm has a repu-
tating up goods of a certain
aracter, and the trade mark
he goods have been put up
and possess the quality for
reputation.

SSON.—No; it designates that
the products of the labour
s of the trade union.

VENS.—The firm relies on
to command a market, other-
not put a trade mark on them.
Associations of men which have
for the purpose of trying to
and honest conditions for
who produce any description
all have the right to register
shall denote the kind of
conditions under which the
produced. That is just as
able a demand as that which
e on behalf of the manufac-
ey should be protected in the
distinctive trade marks. Why
fference be drawn between the
Must all our consideration be
man who is in a good position
ore, better able to safeguard
than a humble individual?
fair all round. It has been
Senators Fraser, Drake, and
e trade union mark might be
t of guarantee of the quality
whereas the definition which
oved by Senator Pearce goes
it has nothing to do with the
e goods—

a mark" means a distinctive mark
ved by a trade union for the pur-
uating the products of the labour
s thereof.

OBSON.—What has labour to
marks? Nothing whatever.

VENS.—From Senator Dob-
e same old argument, "What
r about the workers. Let us
e interests of the big manu-

Senator DOBSON.—That is a most unfair
comment. Labour has nothing to do with
a trade mark.

Senator GIVENS.—It will have if we
can get our way, and we intend to make a
hard fight. I hold the view that labour
is entitled to all the protection which can
be afforded to it, just as the manufacturers
are. This is one means by which we can
afford labour that protection to which it is
justly entitled. It has been argued that
this series of amendments is entirely foreign
to the Bill, that even, although it might be
desirable to have such provisions on the
statute-book, yet they should be embodied
in another Bill. I fail to see the necessity
for placing these provisions in another Bill
simply because a trade union mark is not
on all fours with a trade mark. According
to the Bill, a trade mark denotes that cer-
tain goods have been manufactured or put
up by a person, or firm, or corporation.
That is quite right. All we ask on behalf
of the workmen is that they shall be en-
titled to register a trade mark which shall
denote that the goods manufactured by them
have been made under trade union condi-
tions. If the people are tired and sick of
trade unions it will be a great loss to a
trade union to have a trade mark, because
the people will fight shy of any goods so
marked. If, however, the vast majority of
the people, even those who are not trade
unionists, sympathize with the aspirations
of labour, and prefer goods which have
been produced under trade union conditions,
the trade mark will be a very valuable factor
indeed. It will wrong no one, nor will it
throw a slur upon any one; it will merely
record a solid fact. Is it not reasonable
that trade unionists should be allowed to
say that their goods have been produced
under trade unions conditions? It has
been argued by Senator Fraser and others
that a great deal of injury might be done
by the refusal of a trade union to allow
a manufacturer to use its trade mark; and
that that course might be taken, even though
the manufacturer was producing his goods
under trade union conditions and employ-
ing trade unionists. Could anything be
more unlikely to occur than that?

Senator FRASER.—Can it occur?

Senator GIVENS.—It would be abso-
lutely suicidal for a trade union to adopt
that policy.

Senator FRASER.—If it can occur, it is
wrong to give the power to the trade
union.

Senator GIVENS.—Directly a trade union refused to give a manufacturer the right to use its distinctive trade union mark, he would immediately say, "I shall sack every one of your members whom I employ." What advantage would it be to him to employ trade unionists, if the trade union were so asinine as to refuse to allow him to use its trade union mark? Immediately his request was refused, every member of the trade union would be sacked, or at any rate, the manufacturer would have that remedy in his hands; and, furthermore, he could advertise from one end of the country to the other the fact that, although he was employing trade union labour, and complying with every demand of their trade union, they were so unjust as to refuse to allow him to use their trade union mark. By taking that course he would effectually damn that trade union, and advertise his goods in a manner which a trade union mark would not do. It is idle to go out of our way to imagine difficulties which could hardly occur in practical experience, and which, if they did occur, would provide the manufacturer with a more effective remedy than we could devise. Senator Fraser also urged that a trade union mark might be used for the purpose of pressure. I do not know how it could be used in that way. It could exercise no coercion over the public. I am not quite sure that the honorable senator used the argument in that connexion, but that is what I understood.

Senator FRASER.—That is not the connexion in which I used the word "pressure." What I meant was that a manufacturer employing similar labour under similar conditions might be refused the right.

Senator GIVENS.—Take the case of goods bearing a trade union mark. No pressure would be brought to bear on the public to buy those goods. They would be absolutely free to buy goods bearing a trade union mark, or not to buy them, as they pleased. If they preferred goods bearing the trade union mark, they would undoubtedly purchase them. But if they did not like the mark they would buy others. Senator Fraser's point, that the use of a trade union mark may bring pressure to bear upon an employer who is employing non-union men under fair conditions, is beside the question, because if the manufacturer found that the use of

the mark was an advantage he would ply have to induce his men to join the union and use the mark himself. We have analogy in Victoria, which State I believe, led the way in legislation of this character. I am not acquainted with the details of the Victorian Factories Acts, but I understand that involves distinctive marks being put on certain goods which are manufactured by Chinese. Chinese goods are notoriously made by cheap labour under absolute sweating conditions, against which fairly labour, employed under decent conditions cannot hope to compete successfully. According to the Victorian law those goods have to be definitely marked as being manufactured by Chinese. We propose in the clauses to follow that example, and insure, as far as we possibly can, that goods manufactured under fair and proper conditions shall bear upon the face of the mark signifying to the general public that they have been manufactured under those conditions. That is an eminently fair position. If the public in any part of Australia choose to buy Chinese made furniture there is nothing to prevent them doing so. As a matter of fact, many people in Victoria, in buying furniture, notwithstanding the excellent intentions of the Victorian law, often have Chinese furniture palmed off on them, although they object to buy it. One argument that has been used against the clauses is, that in Victoria, where there are Wages Boards and Factories Acts, it is not necessary to have an enactment providing for trade union marks. But we are not legislating merely for Victoria. We are legislating for the whole Commonwealth. The fact that particular legislation may be necessary in one portion of the Commonwealth is no argument against not passing a law which may be urgently necessary in other portions of Australia. Again, although Wages Boards and Factories Acts may insure fair conditions in Victoria, it, nevertheless, is necessary to have trade union marks in this State, for the cause, although the goods may be manufactured in Victoria under fair conditions of which trade unions may approve, they come into competition with goods produced in other places where fair conditions do not prevail. It is, therefore, necessary to have distinctive marks to aid persons, when buying goods, to know whether they have been manufactured under fair conditions or not. For my part I am actuated by a desire to give

manufacturers as well as to
Therefore, I shall be very
to see the clauses proposed
ence embodied in the Bill.
they will carry out the very
ose that he has in view.

O'KEEFE (Tasmania).—I
wledge at once that I am
a certain amount of diffi-
porting Senator Pearce's
of the legal members of
have expressed a doubt as to
auses can be properly in-
ill. I hope that that doubt
by some of the legal sena-
ollow me. The main ques-
o be an extremely simple
into a shop to purchase an
right that I should be able
er it was produced under
conditions and by union
desire it?

KE.—That can be secured
ulent Trade Marks Bill.

EEFE.—But that Bill has
and there is no provision
it.

KE.—I think there is.

EEFE.—I bow to the hon-
rned senator's legal know-
o not remember any clause
ich would attain the object
n view in so specific a man-
e clauses proposed by Sena-

RAKE.—The definition of
on" in clause 3 would
object.

EEFE.—It does not mat-
object is accomplished by
Fraudulent Trade Marks
de Marks Bill, so long as
enactment for the benefit
elieve in trade unions. The
unions secure the right to
marks would not necessarily
person would be coerced to
e under trade union condi-
number of people do not
e unions. A large number
hem. But the whole ques-
people desire to encourage
they should have an op-
they buy an article of fur-
whether it was made under
nditions or not. Senator
ed to Tasmania, and his re-
State which I have the
esent, constitutes my princi-

pal reason for taking part in the debate.
I am very sorry to have to admit that in
the State of Tasmania there are very few
trade unions. Indeed, apart from the
miners' unions, we have none in the ordin-
ary acceptation of the term. But I should
like Senator Mulcahy to point out how
any great injury would be done to manufac-
turers in Tasmania if this provision were
inserted in the Bill. In the first place, we
have very few factories in Tasmania.

Senator FRASER.—There are very im-
portant ones, though.

Senator O'KEEFE.—I admit that the
few manufactures that we have are very
important, especially in regard to the fruit
and jam-making industry.

Senator FRASER.—There is also the wool-
len industry, which will become more and
more important.

Senator O'KEEFE.—Senator Fraser
cannot know much about the woollen in-
dustry in Tasmania, or he would be aware
that it employs very few hands. But that
argument is rather in favour of the inser-
tion of such clauses as these. Senator
Mulcahy referred to the clauses as anti-
Federal. If we are to look at this matter
in a Federal spirit, would Senator Mul-
cahy say that goods manufactured in Tas-
mania, where there are no Factories Acts,
should be allowed to come into competition
with goods manufactured in Victoria, where
there is beneficent factories legislation?
As a representative of Tasmania, I say at
once that that is not fair, and I am sur-
prised that my colleague should have said
that it is un-Federal to insert these provi-
sions because there are no trade unions
in Tasmania. It seems to me that the
un-Federal aspect of the question is
on the part of Tasmania. I am hopeful
—indeed I am fairly certain—that it will
not be long before we have trade unions
in Tasmania. The enormous advantages
we have in respect to our water supply,
which is unequalled in any part of Aus-
tralia, are such that it may not be very
long before we have large factories worked
by the cheapest of all power—electric
power. Trade unions will soon follow
the establishment of industries. It has
often been said that certain manufacturers
in this State have removed their business
to Tasmania in order to escape from fac-
tories legislation. The brush manufacturers
have been mentioned in that connexion.
I do not think that there are many opera-
tives in the Tasmania brush trade. It is

a small industry. But if the manufacturers removed their business from Victoria to Tasmania in order to escape from factories legislation, it is a thing which should not be countenanced by any means. To use the argument that these clauses are un-Federal, because they would injure Tasmania, is to countenance the action of Victorian manufacturers who remove their business to Tasmania in order to escape from factories legislation, I am sorry to say that there are very few hands engaged in manufacturing industries in Tasmania, if we except those engaged in the preserving and jam-making industries.

Senator DE LARGIE.—Is there a brand put on Tasmanian jams?

Senator O'KEEFE.—Undoubtedly; and as a result Tasmanian jams bring a better price than do jams manufactured in other parts of the Commonwealth.

Senator DE LARGIE.—Does not Senator Mulcahy consider that an un-Federal action?

Senator O'KEEFE.—It would be a very good thing for the people employed in the industry if we had trade unions in Tasmania, able to put a trade union mark on the jam tins, to show that the jam had been manufactured under trade union conditions.

Senator PLAYFORD.—I do not believe there would be any more of the jam sold.

Senator O'KEEFE.—The difficulty raised by Senator Mulcahy could be very quickly got over if these provisions were adopted, with a result also that many injustices would be removed. The Tasmanian manufacturers would only have to say to their employés, "We wish you to form trade unions, that we may secure the advantage of a trade union mark, otherwise the products of our factories, upon which your wages depend, will have to compete unfairly with the products of factories of the mainland." Can honorable senators say that the employés would not jump at the chance of forming unions? Speaking generally, they do not form unions now, in many instances, because, as in other States, they are afraid of their employers. I submit that it is an un-Federal act for any one State in the Federation to allow manufactures to be carried on within it with an entire absence of proper conditions as to hours, wages, and general conditions of labour, and then to claim that the products of those manufactures should be brought into competition with the products of fac-

tories in other States worked under de conditions.

Senator FRASER.—That is left to States to decide.

Senator O'KEEFE.—Where such legislation comes within our province it is us to decide; and the sooner we pass legislation as this the sooner shall we compel States, which have not taken such action to carry factory legislation. I am using this argument because Senator Mulcahy said that if these provisions are agreed their operation may be prejudicial to the interests of manufacturers in Tasmania, will not be able to brand their goods with a trade union mark to indicate that they have been manufactured under trade union conditions. The honorable senator has suggested that people in this State will not buy those goods because they will not see the trade union mark upon them. That may be something in the honorable senator's argument, but I point out that it is the State which refuses to legislate in the same direction as the other States of the Commonwealth that displays an un-Federal spirit.

Senator DOBSON.—Does the honorable senator contend that a trade union mark could be used on Jones' jam as a trade mark?

Senator O'KEEFE.—Yes.

Senator DOBSON.—Has the honorable senator ever heard of two trade marks on the same goods? If a man has a trade mark, can he also have a label indicating the conditions under which the goods were made, and then call that a trade mark? I put it to the honorable senator's common sense.

Senator O'KEEFE.—I have seen goods with trade marks on certain articles. An instance of the kind was quoted in the paper some time ago. Honorable senators will recollect that we were told that Nestles' Milk is marked "Nestles' Milk" and in a different ink it is also marked "Made for export." Senator Dobson speaks of common sense, and I put it to his common sense to say what in the way there is to prevent a second mark being placed as a label on Jones' jam?

Senator DOBSON.—It is not a trade mark; it is a trade union label.

Senator O'KEEFE.—Very well, we do not wish to make it a trade mark.

Senator DOBSON.—Then it does not come within the scope of this Bill.

EEFE.—We wish to have label, a distinctive mark to indicate to the purchaser that it has been made by trade union conditions. There is no unfair in that if we have the label. I do not claim to be a trade unionist, and I insist that we have the label. We have it, I hope we shall have it.

PEARCE.—Suppose the label was the Factories Act of Victoria. Many trade unions would be able to get that label?

PEARCE.—Very nearly all.

DOBSON.—A hundred of them, and many senators wish to call that a trade union label.

EEFE.—I do not desire to have a trade union mark.

DOBSON.—Then, we cannot have a trade union mark.

EEFE.—I think that Senator Dobson is entirely justified in trying to get the provisions inserted in the Bill.

DOBSON.—We could not have a trade union mark, each having the same trade union mark.

EEFE.—We could have a trade union mark branding their goods "Made by trade union conditions." I am afraid Senator Dobson is using quibbles, which he does not much in. Does the honorable senator say there is any objection in a trade union registering a trade union mark, and having that mark on its goods, in addition to any other trade union mark?

DOBSON.—I say that it would be a trade union mark.

EEFE.—My reply is that it is not a trade union mark, but that it should be a trade union mark. We have to have a distinctive mark on goods that have been made under trade union conditions of labour. It does not matter whether Senator Dobson believes in trade unions or not.

DOBSON.—I have said a hundred times that I do not believe in them.

EEFE.—If the honorable senator does believe in trade unions, he should understand that in purchasing goods he would like to give preference to goods made under trade union conditions.

DOBSON.—Certainly.

EEFE.—Then, has not the honorable senator a right to get that article; and by

what simpler method could he be given the information than that which is now proposed?

Senator DOBSON.—But we have not the power to do this.

Senator O'KEEFE.—The honorable senator goes back to the legal question again, and I have admitted that I am not arguing the legal question. The question is whether an intending purchaser should be able to find out in the simplest possible way whether the goods he proposes to purchase have been made under trade union conditions. If he is against trade unionism he will look for an article that is not so branded; but if he is in favour of trade unionism he should be placed in a position, when purchasing goods, to know those which have been made under trade union conditions. That would do no injustice to any one, and I think the Committee will do right in accepting the new clauses proposed by Senator Pearce.

Senator CROFT (Western Australia).—I desire to support the proposals submitted by Senator Pearce, and I shall not occupy the time of the Committee for long, because much that I would have said has already been said by other honorable senators. For instance, I believe in a lot of the "stuff" which has emanated from Senator Givens. I may remind the honorable and learned senator who characterized it as "stuff," that it is more acceptable to the people of Australia than is the high-class politics and logic of that honorable and learned senator.

Senator DOBSON.—I do not think the honorable senator quite knows what I characterized as "stuff."

Senator CROFT. — Senator Dobson, speaking to Senator Givens, said, "Do you give them that stuff in Queensland?"

Senator DOBSON.—Does the honorable senator recollect what Senator Givens was saying at the time?

Senator CROFT.—I know the sense of what the honorable senator said, and I agree with him. I speak as one who knows exactly how unions use their label or trade mark in Western Australia. I was a member of the Western Australian Operative Bootmakers' Union, the trustees of which have registered a trade mark on behalf of the union. The mark consists of a design of clasped hands, and the words "Made by trade union labour." The union allowed employers in the boot trade who employed trade unionists to use their stamp, and, instead of trying to prevent a manufacturer

from securing the use of the stamp, our main object—and I was a member of the executive at the time—was to get as many manufacturers as possible to use it. Obviously it was an advertisement for our union, and a means of organizing. After four years' experience in the union I think I can say that we allowed any employer who employed union labour to use our trade mark. Senator Mulcahy has said that these provisions might injure Tasmanian industries, because there are no trade unions in Tasmania, and goods coming from that State to Victoria would not bear a trade union brand. There cannot be many classes of goods manufactured in Tasmania, or else Senator Mulcahy cannot be as patriotic as he claims to be, when he tells the Committee that he has during the last twenty-five years been purchasing goods made in Victoria. I think we can fairly assume that if a trade union brand was stamped upon boots made in Victoria, and not upon boots made in Tasmania, Senator Fraser would always purchase Tasmanian boots.

Senator FRASER.—I do not ask where they come from. I buy a lot of Tasmanian blankets, and I have found them to be very good.

Senator CROFT.—The honorable senator said a good deal about coercion, but what coercion could be used, and who would use it, I am at a loss to understand. I cannot imagine by what means coercion could be used. The only advantage I can see is that manufacturers, by using this stamp, will encourage people to purchase their goods, and thus help to popularize the latter. I believe the average citizen will purchase, and even give a higher price for goods manufactured under proper conditions. I hope and believe that this and the subsequent clauses will be carried. I ask legal members of the Senate not to urge, as an argument, that such legislation has not hitherto been enacted, but to assist us in showing how, in accordance with the wish of the majority, provisions of the kind may be enacted and enforced.

Senator BEST (Victoria).—I very much regret and deprecate the tone which has been assumed in this debate by Senator Givens. I have the greatest respect for the opinions of that honorable senator; but when he launches out at other senators, who are guilty of the audacity of differing from him, and charges them with legislating in the interests of the wealthy mer-

chant, and disregarding the interests of the workmen—

Senator GIVENS.—It was only to rent.

Senator BEST.—When Senator Givens takes that line, he is, at least, doing himself a serious injustice. Certainly his attitude and his remarks are not in accordance with the best traditions of debate in this Chamber. I can assure the honorable senator that there are those who differ from him, but who are as honest, and equally anxious with him to conserve the best and the highest interests of the workers.

Senator GIVENS.—Then, all I want to say is, that those honorable senators who follow a very peculiar way of showing their regard.

Senator BEST.—If the honorable senator, in his immaculate attitude, thinks that there is only one way of arguing that end, and that that way is to attack himself, I must concede his argument. There are those of us who have, in the past, done something practical in the best interests of the community, in the enactment of humane legislation, as witness the Factories Act of Victoria, which he himself has passed, and which I had the honour to support. Yet, forsooth, because he does not see exactly with the honorable senator, he is to be most unworthily charged with being a guard for a section of the community, and with being so callous in the discharge of his duty, as simply to represent classes and masses. To speak frankly, I think of the honorable senator that, in my judgment, at all events, the proposals before the Senate do not prove of the value which he estimates.

Senator GUTHRIE.—Union marks have value without registration.

Senator BEST.—If such marks have value without registration, that value has not been demonstrated, at least in Victoria. Of course Victoria is only a limited part of Australia, but if there is any value attached to such marks, there is no reason to prevent any member of a trade union from the owner of any factory working under trade union conditions, branding all goods as manufactured under those conditions.

Senator GUTHRIE.—But the marks are being pirated, and the honorable and learned senator refuses to afford protection.

Senator BEST.—Persons who sell such marks are selling their goods under misrepresentation. By common law they are also under the terms of the Fr

act, no man is at liberty to
ade description to his goods.
ACE.—Who is to be the
a man not say that, in his
nditions under which he
ere fair?

T.—The Court must be the
e are certain men prepared
This legislation can be of
events in New South Wales
ere the very first considera-
ven to the conditions of pro-

THRIE. — Only in some
our.

T.—In New South Wales
is at liberty to go to the
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ave already availed them-
ages Boards. By the Act,
ages Boards are established,
ve not yet taken advantage
ls, may, by a resolution of
the State Parliament, come
isdiction. These clauses, as
e of no avail in New South
ia, where already the high-
arantee has been given for
of the workers.

ACE.—Does the honorable
ember not see that goods
nder unfair conditions may
States, and that no oppor-
to the consumer to distin-

T.—If the proposals of
would, as he desires, guar-
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goods are made under the
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the products of the labour
thereof." Yet the honor-
ces it within the power of a
y represent a minority. to
y a limited number of trade
ave the advantage of a par-

SON.—Not at all!

NDERSON.—Why "limited

Senator BEST.—It is competent for the
executive of a trade union to say who shall
have the use of a mark.

Senator HENDERSON.—Not a bit of it!

Senator DAWSON.—Does the honorable
and learned member understand anything
about trade unions?

Senator BEST.—I am only reading the
words of the clause proposed by Senator
Pearce.

Senator HENDERSON.—The honorable
and learned member is reading between the
lines; hundreds of unions may be affected.

Senator BEST.—In legislating we have
to look at what is possible, to say nothing
of what is probable; and, under these
clauses, it would be perfectly possible, in
certain circumstances, for the executive of a
union to confine the use of a trade mark to
certain traders in the community.

Senator DE LARGIE.—It is possible that
this building may fall in.

Senator BEST.—Under the clauses, as
printed, it would be quite competent for
the utmost tyranny to be exercised. Then
we must not forget that there are men who,
for various reasons, which I need not de-
tail, do not deem it necessary to join trade
unions, but who, in their employment, may
enjoy exactly the same conditions as are
enjoyed by trade unionists. Yet, by rea-
son of the fact that a trade union is able
to authorize the application of some particu-
lar mark, the necessary inference is that
goods which do not bear that mark are made
under unfair conditions. In some cases
that inference might be true, but in other
cases it might be grossly untrue.

Senator MCGREGOR.—Does the honorable
and learned member not admit that if it
had not been for trade unions those non-
unionists would never have enjoyed fair con-
ditions?

Senator BEST.—No one has a higher
admiration for trade unions than I have;
and so long as they confine themselves to
their legitimate functions, they are capable
of doing enormous good, and shall have
every encouragement, so far as I am con-
cerned. I have no feeling in this matter,
but simply want to show the view which I
take. If Senator Pearce's object is to give
a guarantee to the public that the goods
they purchase are made under fair condi-
tions, he does not carry out that object by
these proposals. If the honorable senator
would permit a trade unionist, or any body
of trade unionists, to go to the executive
of a union, and demand as a right the

liberty to use a particular mark, that would be an advance. But, further, I am of opinion that if another factory is working under union or fair conditions, it should be competent for the proprietor of that factory, or the workers, to obtain the advantage of the union mark.

Senator GIVENS.—If workers are united, they are a union by that mere fact.

Senator BEST.—That may, or may not be so.

Senator HENDERSON.—Let such people have their own non-union mark.

Senator BEST.—Such a mark might be called a non-union mark if the honorable senator so desires.

Senator GUTHRIE.—Call it a "blackleg" mark.

Senator BEST.—It would be unfair to use the word "blackleg," because non-unionists may be as honest as unionists.

Senator MCGREGOR.—They cannot be.

Senator BEST.—I have yet to learn that honesty is confined to unionists.

Senator MCGREGOR.—I shall prove it to the honorable and learned senator.

Senator BEST.—The honorable senator is undertaking a big task. I am making no reflection on either unionists or non-unionists. I am arguing that if Senator Pearce's object is to give the public a guarantee that goods are manufactured under fair conditions, then, unless the liberty to use the mark is extended to all who manufacture under fair conditions, the object will not be attained, but that, on the other hand, there may be established a system of tyranny which we ought not to sanction.

Senator GIVENS.—How does the Lawyers' Union treat a non-member?

Senator BEST.—In the interests of the public an unqualified man is not permitted to practise.

Senator MCGREGOR.—This is exactly what we wish to provide for in the interest of labour.

Senator BEST.—In the case of law, medicine, and dentistry, it is open to any person to qualify himself for practice.

Senator MCGREGOR.—And so it is with a non-unionist.

Senator BEST.—It has been remarked by Senator Givens that we have been busily engaged in sanctioning the use of trade marks by wealthy merchants only. But that is a great mistake on his part.

Senator GIVENS.—By the merchant only.

Senator BEST.—Any individual in community who produces goods will be entitled to register a trade mark.

Senator GUTHRIE.—Why not give right to trade unionists?

Senator BEST.—Every trade unionist the community who produces an article be at liberty to denominate that article a trade mark if he chooses to apply for just in the same way as will the wealthy merchant.

Senator GIVENS.—It applies to only man who puts goods on the market.

Senator BEST.—It is not confined to any class. The producer of any goods will be at liberty under the Bill to have them denominated by a trade mark. It is incorrect for Senator Givens to suggest that the merchant has his trade mark simply for the purpose of showing the quality of goods. A merchant cannot get a trade mark which will display the quality of goods.

Senator GIVENS. — I did not say that. What I said was that if a merchant manufacturing or putting up any goods which he applied a trade mark, his trade mark would be sufficient to designate that they were of a certain quality.

Senator BEST.—I would draw the attention of the honorable senator to clause 15, which reads—

The essential particulars of a registrable mark shall be one or more of the following particulars:—

- (a) A word or words having no reference to the character or quality of the goods, and not being a geographical name usually likely to be understood in a geographical sense.

Consequently my honorable friend is wrong in his apprehension in that regard.

Senator MCGREGOR. — The honorable senator used the word "quality" in a different sense.

Senator BEST.—I do not know the sense in which the word was applied. A trade union mark, such as Senator Pearce proposes shall be granted, will not indicate any way the quality of the goods to which it is applied. It will not give a guarantee to the public as to the quality of the goods.

Senator PEARCE. — The honorable learned senator will admit that the quality of any goods is determined by two factors, namely, the labour and the material employed.

Senator BEST.—That is so. But the union labour may or may not be good.

ate any degree of skill or

SON.—Does it not?

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very properly indicate, that
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articular trades, and each
ve a particular mark of its

own. If that mark is placed upon the
goods which trade unionists have made,
surely no injury can accrue to any one. If
fair conditions of labour prevail amongst
employers who employ non-unionists, they
can adopt some kind of non-union mark,
and place that upon their goods. They can
declare to the world that the goods have
been made by non-union labour, if they
so desire. We have no objection to any
such thing being done. But we contend
that it is right that trade unionists should
be able to put a mark upon goods which
they make, in order that the whole world
may know that those goods have been made
under union conditions. Persons buying
those goods will have the satisfaction of
knowing that they have been made under
such conditons as trade unionists usually
seek to have applied to their calling. A
question has been raised as to whether
this is the correct Bill in which a provision
of this character may, with propriety and
decorum, be inserted. I venture to say
that any proposition that was put forward
on behalf of trade unionists would have to
encounter the same kind of opposition.
Whatever Bill was before us, a doubt would
be expressed as to whether anything in the
interests of trade unionists could be inserted
in it. I sincerely hope that the Commit-
tee will have no hesitation in saying that
Senator Pearce's amendments will not
constitute an interference with people who
are engaged in the manufacture of goods
by giving them the right to impress upon
those goods the fact that they were manu-
factured by union labour.

Senator DOBSON (Tasmania). — I
should not care to refer to the remarks of
Senator Givens were it not for the fact
that Senator Henderson and Senator Croft
both seem to have misunderstood me. I
understood Senator Givens—it was unin-
tentional I am sure—to impute to me and
to others that we were very anxious to pass
legislation to help the rich trader, but that
we would not extend the same justice to the
working man. All I have to say is that I
hardly think my honorable friend meant it
in that way. If he did, we have a right
to repudiate the assertion. We are all
here to do the best we can for the Com-
monwealth, and to pass legislation which is
just to all classes. But this is not a
question of morality or of justice. It
is purely a question of constitutional law.
It is purely a question of whether we can
legally incorporate these clauses in a Trade

Marks Bill. As I have already intimated to the Chairman, I intend to take his ruling upon two points—first that these clauses are outside the Constitution, and that we have no power whatever to pass them; and, secondly, I intend to argue that the clauses do not come within the purview of the title of the Bill. I contend that the marks for which the clauses provide are not trade marks, but are really trade union labels. It is sub-section XVIII. of section 51 of the Constitution which gives us power to deal with the question of trade marks. That power is simply conveyed in the two words "trade marks." Unless the symbols referred to in Senator Pearce's clauses are trade marks, I take it that we have no power with regard to them. I can find no other provision in the Constitution which enables us to deal with trade marks, with the exception of that which I have just mentioned. But my most important objection to the clauses arises under my second heading—that what Senator Pearce proposes would not be a trade mark within the purview of this Bill, and, therefore, cannot be incorporated in it. A trade mark, as defined in these clauses, means—

a distinctive mark or device adopted by a trade union for the purpose of designating the products of the labour of the members thereof.

But I say, most unhesitatingly, that that definition cannot, and does not, apply to a trade mark. It means a trade union label. A trade mark is defined as—some distinctive thing which points out that the goods are the goods of A B.

Senator PEARCE.—Is that the constitutional meaning?

Senator DOBSON.—That is the definition given in Stroud's *Judicial Dictionary*. I take it that when the Constitution and when this Bill mentions a trade mark they mean a trade mark within the purview of English law and English understanding. Any person who adopts a trade mark has certain common law rights and certain statutory rights. When the Constitution was framed, the term trade mark was used in the ordinary legal sense which we all understand. We cannot, by altering the title of a Bill, or by calling a mark a trade union mark when it is only a trade union label, make such a provision come within the purview of the Constitution or of this Bill. The trade union mark is to be used—

For the purpose of designating the products of the labour of the members thereof.

What have we to do with labour? We all know perfectly well that

questions affecting labour, indus-
ism, Factories Acts, Wages Bo
and arbitration—except in cases
disputes extend from one State
another—are left entirely with the S
Motions have been submitted in an
place with the object of bringing the
industrial life of the Commonwealth w
the purview of the Constitution. But
has not yet been done. Yet my hono
friends opposite, for very good and p
worthy motives, are trying to introduce
power by a side-wind.

Senator GUTHRIE.—No.

Senator DOBSON.—The object i
designate the products of certain la
The people working in the D
Hat Mills are working under the
torian Factories Act, and the Vict
Wages Board settles the wages to be pa
them. If the Denton people desired to
upon every case or upon every hat—no
words "Made under fair conditions."
cause no Registrar with any sense w
ever allow anybody to make use of the
"fair" in such a connexion—but the v
"Made under trade union laws," or "M
under the Factories Act of Victoria." w
that label be placed on every hat or on
case? The fatal objection to the pro
is that nowhere in the Bill, or in the
visions submitted, is there any power to
pel the Denton Hat Factory to put a
of any sort whatever on the goods prod
in that factory.

Senator GUTHRIE.—There is no con
sion at all; it is absolutely voluntary.

Senator DOBSON. — These provi
will be absolutely useless without that
the people working in the Denton Hat
were responsible for the hats, and they
the goods of the trade union, they
have their label; but the workers in
Denton Hat Mills design, shape, and m
ufacture the goods exactly as they are
They are not the goods of a trade u
or of the men who make them. The
who make them may be at work in the
to-day, and may be dismissed on the
lowing day; and I say that, to provide
they should have a trade mark in ord
designate that the hats are made by a
ticular class of men is labour legisla
It would be very proper legislatio
doubt, but, as I understand it, what i
sired is that certain goods may be lab
"Made under trade union conditions,"
that other goods may not be so labelled
seems to me that trade unions have a

to make known according to law that certain goods have been made on union conditions, but we cannot do that in this Bill. We have the law three things, first of all, marks, known in England and in other countries since we have had the Trade Mark Act of 1875. Then we have marks, under a Merchandise Marks Act, but no one can contend that a mark in Germany," or "Made by the Government," is a trade mark. It is a mark, and not a trade mark. We have a third class in trade union marks, these are three distinct things, two are creations of statutes, whilst the third is a creation both of common law and of statute. I contend that we cannot do these matters, as is proposed, in this Bill. Let me point out to honorable members how conflicting these clauses are, in the case of a trade mark. The proviso in clause 69c provides—

Union mark shall not be registered if
cially identical with or so nearly re-
to be likely to deceive a registered
or a registered trade union mark.

earth can any trade union mark deceive? There are only about 100 such labels, for I cannot call them marks, that I can think of as such. We might have a label to the effect that these goods are made under fair conditions, or "These goods are made under the labor laws of Victoria," or of the United States, as the case might be. We

"These goods are made under conditions." We might also say, "These goods are made under conditions laid down by the Arbitration Board." I have indicated four possible union labels, and I should like to know how many other trade union labels could be suggested. Yet we have a proposed new clause which can only be re-surplusage, or waste paper, that a union mark is not to be so much as to be calculated to deceive. The proposed new clause 69d proposed

registration of a trade union mark
union by which it is registered shall
be the proprietor thereof, and shall
be the exclusive use of the mark for
of designating the products of the
the members thereof.

admission from some of my hon-
dreds opposite that a label, "Made
factories law of Victoria," would
apply to one hundred unions. Am

I to understand that the first union which registered that as a trade union label would have the exclusive right to the use of that label? That is exactly what the new clause I have quoted says, and my honorable friends opposite have admitted that there are a hundred unions in Victoria that would be entitled to use the same label.

Senator MCGREGOR.—They have not said anything of the kind.

Senator DOBSON.—I understood Senator Pearce, in reply to an interjection, to admit that there might be a hundred unions in Victoria entitled to the use of such a label, and yet the proposed new clause 69*d* provides that anybody who could find a Registrar fool enough to register a label, or so-called trade mark of that sort, would have the exclusive right to use that label.

Senator FRASER.—Would have a monopoly.

Senator DOBSON.—Of course, it would be a monopoly.

Senator MCGREGOR.—The honorable and learned senator is a very young anti-monopolist.

Senator DOBSON.—Again, one of the essential elements of a trade mark is that certain rights are attached to it as property. It descends to executors, it passes with the goodwill of a business, or the goodwill of goods, and it can be assigned just as one can assign a mortgage or a house. Yet in the proposed new clauses we have these words used—

A trade union mark shall not be assigned so long as its registration continues.

So that the honorable senator actually takes away from the trade union mark which he suggests an essential element of a trade mark. I turn to another definition, which has been quoted before. *Kerly on Trade Marks* says—

A trade mark is a symbol which is applied or attached to goods offered for sale in the market so as to distinguish them from similar goods and to identify them with a particular trader or with his successors.

How can fifty, one hundred, or one thousand men, working in a factory, be considered a trader? How can we consider the employes of a factory as the manufacturers or inventors of particular goods, when we know perfectly well that their labour, however skilful it may be, is carried on entirely under the direction of their employer?

Senator PEARCE.—But this is intended to distinguish goods the product of their labour

from goods which are the products of the labour of others.

Senator DOBSON.—We cannot have a trade mark of that description.

Senator PEARCE.—The quotation the honorable and learned senator has just read proves that we can.

Senator DOBSON.—I say that we cannot have a trade mark of that description. Senator O'Keefe regretted very much that there was no Trade Union Act and very few trade unions in Tasmania. Suppose the Government of Tasmania were to introduce an up-to-date Trade Union Bill, and were to incorporate in it just these proposed provisions, would not the State Parliament have the power to pass such a Bill?

Senator PEARCE.—It would be overruled by the Commonwealth Act.

Senator DOBSON.—The State Parliament of Tasmania has the power to regulate friendly societies, and the power to pass a law dealing with trade union labour, and I ask whether, in view of that fact, anything of this nature, which we introduced into this Bill, would not be *ultra vires* of the State Act? I venture to think that in dealing with trade union labour the State Parliament of Tasmania would be distinctly and absolutely in order, and if that be so, these provisions, if agreed to here, would be of no force or effect whatever.

Senator FRASER.—Under the Constitution we have no power to control a State.

Senator DOBSON.—The honorable senator is perfectly right. We have to look to our Constitution, and we must admit that in this matter we are infringing the rights of the States? Although Senator McGregor laughs at the suggestion that there is nothing in this Bill, or in the new clauses proposed, to compel the Denton Hall Mill to put a trade union label on their goods, it seems to me a splendid argument to show that we are here getting out of our depth. A trade union under these provisions might rush to the Registrar, and say, "We desire to register this label. These goods were made under the Factories Act of Victoria." But if Victorian manufacturers refuse to have their goods branded in that way, they could do so. If, however, by a law passed by the State Parliament of Victoria, it was enacted that all goods sent out of factories in this State should be labelled, "These goods were made under

the Factories Act of Victoria," that I would have to be obeyed. That is the possible argument to show that the Federal Parliament has no power in this matter whilst the State Parliament has the power and I believe it would be a right thing the State Parliament to do. I do not think a trade union mark, such as that suggested, would be of as much value as some of the honorable senators appear to imagine, because factories laws govern the manufacture of goods in almost all of the States.

Senator PEARCE.—I rise to a point of order. Senator Dobson has raised a point of order that these amendments are beyond the scope of the Bill, and are unconstitutional, whilst the whole of his speech directed to proving that it would not be advisable to agree to them. I have to refer to the honorable senator's last remarks, that it might be inadvisable to have a trade union label used in connexion with such an industry as the manufacture of iron. I submit that the honorable and learned senator is entitled at this stage only to state a point of order, and when we have no ruling upon it it may be competent for me to discuss the advisability of agreeing to the proposed new clauses. The honorable and learned senator is not entitled to discuss the clauses on a point of order.

Senator DOBSON.—I have not raised a point of order by interrupting another speaker; but, taking part in the debate on the clauses, I have incidentally during my speech raised two points of order, and now I intend to conclude. When I was interrupted by the honorable senator, I was using the best possible arguments in support of the points of order, by showing that it was for the States, and not for the Commonwealth, to pass laws dealing with trade unions and trade union labels. I gave an illustration to show that while the States have this power the Federal Parliament has not the power.

Senator DAWSON.—Why?

Senator DOBSON.—Because it is given to us by the Constitution.

Senator DAWSON.—Will the honorable and learned senator look at section 1 of section 51 of the Constitution?

Senator DOBSON.—I would ask how many hundred different unions can register a label "Made under the Factories Act."

ARCE.—I can quite understand the book on English law will be of the kind, because no law has never been passed by the United Kingdom. The book gives the meaning or definition of the legislation of the

Senator PEARCE.—So far as a trade union label is concerned, Senator Dobson seems to be arguing either with insufficient information as to what is meant by the clause, or with a deliberate attempt to

misrepresent. He has put forward the proposition that there may be a hundred unions, for which only one label will be available. Such a proposition is ridiculous.

Senator DRAKE.—Does the honorable senator say that each union will have its own mark?

Senator PEARCE.—I say that each union will have an absolute right to apply for the registration of its own mark.

Senator DOBSON.—It will only be a label.

Senator PEARCE.—It may be a union of bootmakers, of tailors, or even of lawyers; and there are a thousand and one designations by which the unions can be differentiated. We can quite understand that Victorian unions might adopt the motto "Made under Wages Boards conditions."

Senator DOBSON.—There might be fifty of such mottoes.

Senator PEARCE.—Not necessarily; there might be only one in a particular trade.

Senator KEATING.—There need not be any words at all on a device.

Senator PEARCE.—That is so.

Senator DOBSON.—What would be the meaning of a trade mark without words?

Senator PEARCE.—There is as much room for diversity in trade union marks as in ordinary trade marks, to which Senator Dobson's objection could just as reasonably be applied. A trade mark for butter might indicate that the article was made from pure cream or from Dobson's dairy milk.

Senator DOBSON.—The honorable senator has got hold of a bad argument. Could the man who milks the cows have a label showing that the cows were milked under fair conditions?

Senator PEARCE.—I can quite conceive, after what has appeared in the press to-day, that a trade mark for butter might read, "Guaranteed free from rats," or "native cats."

Senator DOBSON.—That would be the mark of the owner of the factory, and not of the men.

Senator PEARCE.—Who but the owner of the factory would stamp the goods?

Senator DOBSON.—But the honorable senator wishes to give the people who do the labour the right to use a mark.

Senator PEARCE.—The honorable and learned senator might just as well argue that a maker of butter has no right to say that the article is produced from the milk of a particular dairy.

Senator DOBSON.—The honorable senator is wrong there.

Senator PEARCE.—The honorable learned senator might just as well contend that a trade mark should only designate the last person through whose hands an article passes, though we know that trade marks sometimes designate the whole process which the article has gone through in the hands of both manufacturers and agents.

Senator DOBSON.—The honorable senator is talking about a butter factory owner and not about the labourers.

Senator PEARCE.—I am pointing out that the owner of a butter factory may have his trade mark designate the labour, the material—all that has been done by his predecessors in the course of manufacture and a trade union mark is precisely on the same plane. All that the honorable and learned senator has to say against trade union marks could be urged with equal force against ordinary trade marks. And he has altogether failed to prove that the clauses are unconstitutional, or that they do not come within the purview of the Bill. I am prepared to admit that so far as English law is concerned, a trade union label may not come within the definition of a trade mark: we have power to legislate, and we may make such a label a trade mark within the meaning of the Bill.

Senator KEATING.—In the instance, Senator Dobson contends that the new clause is unconstitutional, and, secondly, that even if it be constitutional it does not come within the purview of the Bill. These two objections really amount to one. The honorable and learned senator points out that we have no express power under the terms of the Constitution to legislate with regard to what is called by Senator Pearce trade union marks. We are told by the honorable and learned senator that under section 51, sub-section xv of the Constitution our powers are limited to "patents of inventions and designs, trade marks"—that there is no power included in that sub-section to legislate with regard to "trade union marks." That, in my opinion, is the whole of the honorable learned senator's argument, so that the exception is taken from the constitutional point of view. In order to substantiate the second objection that the new clause does not come within the purview of the Bill, he quoted from *Kerly*, or a

book, the definition of trade marks asks you, Mr. Chairman, to legislate here, under the Constitution, we cannot define the present conception of "trade marks" held in England to-day. I point out that the law with regard to trade marks in Great Britain, and in every country in the world, has been of gradual growth. In the first instance there was nothing to regulate trade marks, what is known as the common law only in recent times that the State has stepped in, and, recognising the right of individuals to the property of marks which have been identified with their goods for a particular period, the law, provided certain restrictions and regulations with regard to the use of marks. Consequently, we have in England to-day an Act which has been passed in several States of the Commonwealth relating to patents of inventions, designs, and trade marks. Is Senator Dobson audacious enough to contend that the Parliament of Great Britain, with powers for the regulation of trade marks, did not to-morrow incorporate in the Trade Marks Bill provisions such as Senator Pearce has submitted?

DOBSON.—An absolute Parliament can do anything; but we have only powers under the Constitution.

KEATING. — A Parliament with full powers could do so.

FRASER.—Certainly it could, and it should.

KEATING.—Undoubtedly. But the power which is placed by Senator Dobson in the hands of this Parliament does not violate the Constitution, but on a definition by a text writer of what is the present-day concept of the term "trade marks."

DOBSON.—I did not rest my case on that.

KEATING.—If the honorable Senator had not absented himself from the chamber he would have pursued a line of argument, and known that the objections are reduced to one. I pointed out that, under sub-section 51 of the Constitution, we have no power to legislate in regard to—

patents of inventions and designs, and trade marks.

definition of "trade marks"? Is it the definition of the term given in the

Constitution, or in the English Act? The only definition of the term that we have is one given by a text-writer; and, as I have pointed out, the law in regard to trade marks has been of gradual growth. In the first instance, it was entirely common law. Then, as things developed, the Parliament of Great Britain stepped in, and proceeded to regulate and consolidate a lot of common law, which is the result of judicial decision and common usage, and to say, "These shall be the provisions regulating what are known as trade marks." But as society proceeds and the complications of trade relations increase, the conception of a trade mark may alter to this extent: that it will necessitate the Parliament of Great Britain to legislate in a Trade Marks Act in the very direction that Senator Pearce is asking us to do, and then Mr. Kerly, Mr. Sebastian, and all other text writers, would have to alter their expression of the then present-day conception of what a trade mark is. The Parliament of the Commonwealth is not bound by the definition which may be given by Mr. Kerly or Mr. Sebastian of what is the conception of a term applied to certain trade conditions which are altering with every day and every year. And that is where Senator Dobson's objections to these provisions from the points of view of constitutionality and of being without the purview of the Bill are reduced to one. What is a trade mark? What definition of a trade mark are we circumscribed by in our legislative action? There is no definition but the needs and requirements of the trade and commerce of the Commonwealth. These are the only circumstances which bind us in our legislative action, just as they bind the Parliament of Great Britain in its legislative action in regard to trade marks, and we can choose to regard what, according to our local conditions, would not apply in another country as a trade mark. In this Bill we have no definition of a trade mark. Senator Dobson has told us in effect by his two objections that we are bound by the definition given in a text-book. Very well. If we are bound by that definition of what is the ordinary present-day English common law concept of a trade mark, where is the necessity for clause 5 of the Bill?—

Subject to this Act or any Act of the Parliament, the common law of England relating to trade marks shall, after the commencement of this Act, apply throughout the Commonwealth.

That common law is made expressly by this Bill to apply to our law, but subject to its provisions. That shows that we are not absolutely bound by the common law of England, and that the Constitution, which is for all time, is not to be read, subject entirely to the present-day common law concept of trade marks in Great Britain. In opposing the insertion of these clauses last night, Senator Dobson rested his objection mainly on the fact that he would not allow any legislative assistance to the establishment of a label, containing the words, "These goods are made by fair labour," and he elaborated that as long as he possibly could, notwithstanding the fact that Senator Pearce and others informed him that they were not attempting to do anything which would mean the creation of such a specific device.

Senator MULCAHY.—Senator Pearce implied that they would.

Senator DOBSON.—"These goods are made under fair conditions."

Senator KEATING.—I understood Senator Pearce last night to say that he wished to see the organizations able to get a label or device that would indicate to the people that the goods had been made under fair conditions.

Senator MULCAHY.—The honorable and learned senator did not hear him, for he indicated that those words would be used on the device itself.

Senator KEATING.—If my honorable colleagues will possess their souls in patience I have not the slightest doubt but that a perusal of the *Hansard* report of Senator Pearce's speech will correct the impressions which they now entertain. What Senator Pearce said last night was that he wished to enable trade organizations to indicate to the public that certain goods, the product of certain manufacturers, were made under fair conditions. Senator Dobson seized that term, and wished to argue that the object of Senator Pearce was to have the goods branded with the words, "Made under fair conditions."

Senator DOBSON.—Did I not understand Senator Pearce to read the words from the American or Canadian Act? That was a distinctive label.

Senator PEARCE.—No.

Senator DOBSON.—What was the label then?

Senator PEARCE.—There was no label mentioned.

Senator KEATING.—If Senator Dot had consulted the law of New York, of which Senator Pearce read, he would have found that there is as much diversity as in the case of trade marks.

Senator PEARCE.—These clauses practically framed on the provisions of law.

Senator DOBSON.—But the honorable senator gave as an instance of a label the words, "These goods are made under conditions."

Senator KEATING.—Not to my knowledge. Last night Senator Dobson rested the whole of his opposition on those words.

Senator DOBSON.—No; that was part of my opposition.

Senator KEATING.—The honorable learned senator was constantly complaining that the object of Senator Pearce was to have those words printed on certain goods. But to-night he comes here, in opposition to the clause, and says, "I cannot see how the Registrar would register such a device." All he was afraid last night was that the Registrar would register such a device, and that certain people would get all the benefit of it. He has not got very much further out of darkness, because now he can only register six possible devices—"Made by Union labour"; "Made under—"

Senator DOBSON.—Can the honorable and learned senator give us a few of those?

Senator KEATING.—I can give the honorable and learned senator a thousand.

Senator DOBSON.—Give us two or three out of the thousand.

Senator KEATING.—The honorable learned senator will get quite enough before I have finished. We have been asked by an honorable senator who is to be judge of the persons to whom these labels should be issued, and we are told that the whole position will be that the particular organizations registering these labels, names, or marks will have a monopoly. I wish to show what Senator Dobson is responsible for having placed on the statute book of Tasmania. I have no hesitation in saying that it is quite competent for a trade union to carry out in Tasmania any object which Senator Pearce has in view. In the Patents, Designs, and Trade Marks Act, passed at the instance of Senator Dobson's Ministry in 1893, I find the definition in the interpretation section—

"Design" means any design applicable to an article of manufacture, or to any substance, a thing

or partly artificial and partly natural the design is applicable for the patent the shape or configuration, or for the use thereof, or for any two or more of such uses by whatever means it is applicable, printing, painting, embroidering, carving, modelling, casting, embossing, staining, or any other means whatever, mechanical, or chemical, separate or combining a design for a sculpture or other work the protection of the *Sculpture Copyright Act*.

55 of the Act, I find this provision

that any person claiming to be the proprietor of an original design not previously registered in Tasmania register the design under this Act.

DOBSON.—Is "Made under a design" a design, or is "Made in accordance with a trade mark" a design?

KEATING.—Undoubtedly it may be a design, and I venture to say that it is quite competent to register in such a design as Senator Pearce gave power to a trade organization to register in the Commonwealth.

DOBSON.—Would they put "Made in accordance with a trade mark" as a trade mark design?

KEATING.—I am not aware that Senator Pearce desires to put "Made in accordance with a design" or anything of the kind, as a design. If he wished to register an original design, he would not as a design give a map of Australia with a pair of trousers drawn on it.

DOBSON.—That would not show a design.

KEATING.—Would that not show a design?

PEARCE.—Certainly; any distinctive design would.

KEATING.—Any distinctive design would indicate to people generally that these articles were made under the conditions would effect his object.

DOBSON.—But how can you get a design unless you state it as a label?

KEATING.—That is the trouble with Senator Pearce, and not of my honored friend.

DOBSON.—That is the trouble with the Bill, and that goes to the root of the business.

KEATING.—If a copy of a design is advertised in a daily newspaper and it is stated that it will be used by a person or organization to indicate to the public that certain goods are the product

of union labour, is not that sufficient for their purpose? Section 56 of the Tasmanian Act provides for drawings to be furnished on application, while section 57 provides for a certificate of registration. Section 58 reads—

When a design is registered the registered proprietor of the design shall, subject to the provisions of this Act, have copyright in the design during five years from the date of registration.

Senator DOBSON.—Would the honorable and learned senator call the device "Made by Chinese labour" a design?

Senator KEATING.—I am not responsible for the form of the design. I do not suppose that any of the trade unions would turn to the fertile brain of Senator Dobson for a design for a mark. I come now to section 66, and I venture to bring it to the notice of Senator Fraser, Senator Dobson, Senator Millen, and others who are so dreadfully afraid that a monopoly is to be given to trades unions by this provision. It says—

During the existence of copyright in any design—

1. It shall not be lawful for any person without the licence or written consent of the registered proprietor to apply, or cause to be applied, such design or any fraudulent or obvious imitation thereof, in the class or classes of goods in which such design registered, for purposes of sale to any article or manufacture or to any substance, artificial or natural, or partly artificial and partly natural; and

2. It shall not be lawful for any person to publish or expose for sale any article of manufacture or any substance to which such design or any fraudulent or obvious imitation thereof is so applied, knowing that the same has been so applied without the consent of the registered proprietor.

According to Senator Dobson, when he had light, as he provided by this statute, it would be competent for a person to register an industrial design. Having registered it, that person alone had the sole power to monopolize the design. He could license whom he chose to use it. He could refuse to license whom he chose. Yet to-day Senator Dobson stands here, and, when a similar power is asked for on behalf of an organization, he says that it is entirely outside the purview of this Bill, and that we are going to create a monopoly. He said, in addition, that if we pass this legislation, and designs are adopted by trade unions, and the use of a design is offered to the Denton Hat Mill, a union could not compel the mill to use it.

Senator DOBSON.—How could they?

Senator KEATING.—No one wishes to do so.

Senator DOBSON.—Then how is the trade union label to be put upon goods?

Senator KEATING.—Manufacturers need not put the label upon their goods unless they choose. If a union registered a particular device, and could not get any one to use it, that would be the union's trouble, not Senator Dobson's. If any union chooses to take advantage of these clauses, and afterwards finds that no manufacturer is prepared to use its design or mark, that is not our trouble. In many instances there will be people who will take advantage of the clauses as long as they consider that it is to their interest to do so.

Senator DOBSON.—The honorable and learned senator is ignoring the whole law of trade marks.

Senator KEATING.—Senator Dobson has forgotten what I said a few minutes ago. How difficult it is to argue under such circumstances! I told him that, in my opinion, we have the fullest possible power under the Constitution with regard to trade marks.

Senator DOBSON.—I say that we have not.

Senator KEATING.—I will take the honorable and learned senator step by step. I hope that the Committee will excuse my repeating myself, but it seems to be necessary to do so. I say that we have the fullest possible power to legislate with regard to trade marks. What are trade marks? There is no definition of trade marks in the Constitution. Our powers are determined not by what is the present day concept, according to the common law of England, of what a trade mark is, but by nothing more nor less than the needs and requirements of the trade and commerce of the Commonwealth.

Senator DOBSON.—We have heard every word of this before.

Senator KEATING.—But Senator Dobson said just now that I had ignored the whole law of trade marks. I hope that he will endeavour to collect his thoughts on this question, and that he will ultimately recognise that we have the fullest power in this regard. If we choose to legislate with regard to a particular class of trade marks, and to make special provision for them, and to take those particular trade marks out of the operation of the remainder of the Bill, it is perfectly competent for us, and within our legislative power, to do so. Senator Dobson has told us, more than once, that the States have the power to compel trade unions to take out marks of this kind, and to compel the application of those marks to

union-made goods. Yet this Parliament according to Senator Dobson, has not power to pass even permissive legislative enable an organization or trade union take out a particular mark to be applied to goods. The very fact that, at the present time, the States have the power to pass compulsory legislation, deprives us, Senator Dobson says, of the power to pass permissive legislation. I would again remind him, in order to enable him to see that we are not tied down to the ordinary present day common law conception of a trade mark, that clause 5 of this Bill says—

Subject to this Act or any Act of the Parliament the common law of England relating to trade marks shall, after the commencement of this Act, apply throughout the Commonwealth.

From the debate which has taken place I gather that Senator Drake's objection to the clauses is that we are not dealing with designs. It is not a question of trade designs. There is not in this Bill nor in the Constitution a definition of what a trade mark is.

Senator PEARCE.—Or of what it is not.

Senator KEATING.—We have no definition of a trade mark of any kind; rightly so, I think, because it is for us to leave the development of our trade commerce to prescribe for us from time to time what particular marks in connection with goods shall be regarded as trade marks within the terms of the Constitution. I hope, Mr. Chairman, that with regard to the constitutional point you will rule in favour of Senator Dobson. Senator Dobson has raised an objection which I shall not say is frivolous, but which you are not prepared to entertain.

Senator BEST.—I propose to say only a few words, because the matter has been so fully dealt with by Senator Keating. In dealing with a subject of this kind we have to look to fundamental principles. We have to look to the Constitution itself, which in section 51 enumerates subjects in the shortest possible language. It merely prescribes a skeleton, and it is for Parliament, and subsequently for the High Court, to develop the Constitution in regard to those particular subjects. That remark applies not only to the subjects mentioned in section 51, but generally we have also the inherent power to make laws which are necessary or proper for the purpose of carrying out our terminations in connexion with those particular subjects. Indeed, that is more an inherent power, because it is mentioned in the subsequent portion of section 51, that we have all the incidental powers

considered necessary for the de-
the subjects enumerated in the
that is the principle upon which
work we have to look to another
pretation, so far as constitu-
are concerned—a rule that is
d in the United States. That
ust beware of a narrow inter-
The duty of Parliament and
Court is to give a broad inter-
the terms of the Constitution.
give a broad interpretation to
the Constitution we must in-
ek to determine what is the
the term "trade mark."

OBSON.—You cannot take the
a man and then say that he
eing.

STR.—We have to give an in-
to the term "trade mark," and
so that we have to look to the
ion of trade marks, their de-
and matters incidental to them.
were originally designs for the
distinguishing goods. On the
fundamental principle the Im-
ment enacted legislation which
trade marks other meanings
n originally bore. The Im-
tion determined, for instance,
mark was to be considered and
a connexion with the goodwill
s. But that is not a funda-
ple. It is simply a feature with
the mark has been clothed by
Parliament. By virtue of the
of British legislation trade
owned by individuals in con-
their goods. That property
on of British legislation. But
not disregard the colloquial or
meaning of "trade mark," still
time, if we are to take a broad
the subject we have to look
ly to the design and object of
s, and from that stand-point
erty to develop the meaning of

DAWSON.—The opening para-
section 51 says that we must do

EST.—That is so. Section 51
with the provision—

ment shall, subject to this Constitu-
to make laws for the peace,
goodwill of the Government of the
th with respect to—

enumerates the subjects. Of
the Constitution had attempted to

mention the various powers that were in-
cluded, or were to be given to the Parlia-
ment in regard to the subjects mentioned
in section 51, treaties and volumes of un-
limited extent would have been required.
It would have been impossible to do it.
But nothing is more interesting than the
American Constitution in this regard,
where the Courts have clothed these vari-
ous subjects with meaning, and have de-
veloped them. Now each subject in it-
self has a voluminous literature attached
to it, showing the case law already de-
cided in connexion with it, and the various
powers incidental to it. The last sub-
section of section 51 is as follows:—

Matters incidental to the execution of any power
vested by this Constitution in the Parliament or
in either House thereof or in the Government of
the Commonwealth or in the Federal Judicature
or in any Department or Officer of the Common-
wealth.

So that it will be observed that the duty
is cast upon us to develop the powers in-
trusted to us. Therefore, if I start from
the proposition that the fundamental mean-
ing of a trade mark is that it is to dis-
tinguish one set of goods from another,
then I have to inquire whether under the
proposals now before the Committee, the
intention is to distinguish goods, which are
sold under trade marks registered under
these clauses, from other goods. What
does the definition clause say? It says
that—

"Trade union mark" means a distinctive mark
or device for the purpose of designating the pro-
ducts of the labour of the members thereof.

The products, of course, are the goods of
the members of a particular union. Con-
sequently I say that where a differentia-
tion takes place with regard to those par-
ticular goods, which are the product of the
members of a union, the mark of that union
may be placed upon the goods. A funda-
mental distinction is thus created. We are
asked now to say that the word "trade
mark" shall be taken to include a trade
union mark, because a trade union mark is
a distinctive mark or device adopted by a
trade union for the purpose of designating
the products of the labour of the members
thereof. On all rules of interpretation it
would be most unwise for us to attempt to
limit our powers in this direction. I con-
ceive that a proper interpretation would
bring a trade union mark within the term
"trade mark," as used in the Constitution,
and I have no hesitation in saying that in
my opinion we have a constitutional right to

enact these provisions. That deals with the first point raised by Senator Dobson. The other point as to the proposed provisions not being within the scope of the Bill is practically involved in the first. If this is a Bill intended to deal with the subject of trade marks, and if we are agreed that a trade union mark comes within a proper interpretation of the term "trade mark," necessarily it comes within the scope of the Bill. I could refer to many authorities in this connexion, but I shall content myself with the quotation of this passage from *Story on the American Constitution*—

But the most important rule in cases of this nature is that a constitution of government does not, and cannot from its nature, depend in any great degree upon mere verbal criticism or upon the import of single words. Such criticism may not be wholly without use; it may sometimes illustrate or unfold the appropriate sense; but unless it stands well with the context and subject-matter it must yield to the latter. While then we may well resort to the meaning of single words to assist our inquiries, we should never forget that it is an instrument of government that we are to construe; and as has already been stated, that must be the truest exposition which best harmonizes with its design, its objects, and its general structure.

I say that the design, object, and general structure of our Constitution is to give us the fullest and widest power in dealing with the subject of trade marks.

Senator KEATING.—Otherwise we should require a new Constitution periodically.

Senator BEST.—Otherwise the necessity for a new Constitution every few years would be involved.

The CHAIRMAN.—With regard to Senator Dobson's first point of order, I must decline to give a ruling. I have an opinion thereon, but it is not my duty as Chairman of Committees to decide a legal point of that kind. It is not the duty of the Chairman of Committees to interpret any Act of Parliament or the Constitution. We have already had a ruling from the President of the Senate on that point, and I also direct the attention of honorable senators to the practice of the House of Commons. In *Blackmore's Speakers' Decisions*, page 295, I find the following:—

Mr. Speaker does not answer questions on matters which members are equally able to answer. e.g., construction of Acts.

An honorable member asking Mr. Speaker a question relative to a proposed Bill, whether its introduction would not be an "abuse of the privileges of this House such as ought not to be permitted."

Mr. Speaker replied that "the honorable member, and indeed every other honorable member of the House, is equally competent with myself

to construe such Acts, and I must leave it to the honorable member to form his own opinion on the matter."

With regard to the other point as to whether the proposed new clauses are within the scope of the Bill, I must say that, in my opinion, they are. The Bill is "a Bill for an Act relating to trade marks." As honorable senators who have already spoken have said, the question is what is a trade mark? We have already decided in the Bill before us, under Clause III., "Registrable trade marks," clause 14—

A registrable trade mark shall consist of essential particulars with or without additional marks. Clause 16 states that the additional matter which may be added to the essential particulars of a registrable trade mark shall be—

(a) Any letters, words, or figures, or any combination of words or figures or of any of them.

I think it is perfectly within the scope and powers of this Committee and of the Senate if it chooses to restrict the use of a trade mark to any particular trade or occupation. I consider also that it is within the scope and power of the Committee of the Senate to include in the Bill a clause which will permit to a registrable trade union the right to use a distinctive label, such as a trade union name, which would be. We may get some light as to what is the intention of the Senate by reference to the Fraudulent Trade Marks Bill, to which the Bill before us is a companion measure. If honorable senators will turn to the definition clause of the Fraudulent Trade Marks Bill, they will see there that a trade mark includes a trade description; and a trade description in relation to any goods is defined to mean "a description, statement, indication, or suggestion direct or indirect," amongst other things, "as to the class of labour by which the goods are made." An infringement of the law carries with it a penalty of £100. There is provided a penalty of fine or imprisonment, and also a forfeiture of goods. I therefore take it that the clauses proposed to be moved by Senator Pearce are distinctly within the scope of the Bill.

Senator DOBSON. — I respectfully agree with your ruling, and I hand in my objection.

In the Senate:

Senator HIGGS.—I beg to report that Senator Dobson has taken exception to

some proposed new clauses sub-
 senator Pearce are not within
 the Bill: I hand to you, sir,
 dissent.

SIDENT.—It appears to me
 objections taken to the ruling
 man, or the two so-called points
 h have been raised, on investi-
 e themselves into one, and it
 of order at all. It is a point

nal law. As I have formerly
 s has been the practice of the
 nce it has been in existence, the
 not called upon to interpret the

In the Constitution itself
 ided a tribunal for its inter-
 d that is the High Court. It
 ogether beyond the scope of
 I were to assume to lay down
 what the Constitution means.

t taken is that these suggested
 are not within the powers of

wealth Parliament, and that
 covered by the sub-section of

the Constitution, which gives

wealth power to legislate

copyrights, patents of inven-

gnings, and trade marks." That

ly resolves itself into this:

at sub-section mean; and what

"trade marks" in that sub-

I were to give an opinion

should be in fact interpreting

ion, which I must respect-

o do. As to the second point,

visions are not within what

the scope of the Bill," I may

o say that I took some trouble

ago to point out that that

er way of putting such a mat-

ter of Commons used to ap-

to the powers of the Com-

ake an amendment, but they

was not a test which worked

ey adopted another. They

mittee power to make any

relevant to the subject mat-

terial." We have adopted that

standing Orders. Therefore,

h we have to apply in this

are the suggested amendments

the subject-matter of the Bill?

matter of the Bill is the re-

trade marks. If these trade

are trade marks the suggested

are undoubtedly relevant to

matter of the Bill. That

to the first point, which is:

meaning of the Constitution;

and what do the words "trade marks"
 mean as used in the Constitution? The
 two points raised, as I have said, resolve
 themselves into one, which is a point of
 constitutional law, and not a point of order.
 I agree with the ruling of the Chairman
 of Committees, and I am of opinion that if
 the Committee think fit these amendments
 may be inserted in the Bill.

In Committee:

Senator PEARCE (Western Australia).

—I should like briefly to reply to some of
 the points which have been raised during
 the debate. It has been said that trade
 unions will make use of these provisions
 as an instrument of tyranny. Anyone who
 views the matter in a reasonable light, and
 who has listened to the speech made by
 Senator Trenwith, must agree that for a
 union to attempt to use these provisions in
 order to tyrannise over an employer, would
 be to defeat the object of the trade union
 mark. The object of providing a trade
 union mark is to induce the public to buy
 goods made under trade union conditions.
 If the members of a trade union were to
 use the power of these provisions in a
 tyrannical fashion, the employer concerned
 would make that known, and public opin-
 ion, instead of being in favour of a trade
 union mark, would be against it. The sale
 of goods so marked would be limited, and
 that would deter other employers from
 using the mark. That should dispose of
 the objection which Senator Dobson
 brought forward under that heading. I
 think that was the only important point
 raised.

Senator DRAKE.—What about the point
 I raised, that it might assist the sale of
 shoddy?

Senator PEARCE.—In answer to that
 objection, I have but to say that the public
 will recognise that a trade union mark
 is not a guarantee of the materials from
 which goods are manufactured, but of the
 labour employed in their manufacture. Any
 employer who wishes to identify goods
 with his name, and also with the labour
 employed in their manufacture, will be
 able to put his name on the goods, as well
 as the trade union mark. If the public find
 that goods marked with a trade union mark,
 and also with the mark of the manufac-
 turer, are good in material and labour,
 they will continue to purchase them.
 But if they find that goods marked
 with the trade union mark are not

of good quality they will very soon know whose goods to patronize. The objection is thus met by the remark that the kind of thing feared will work its own cure.

Senator KEATING (Tasmania).—Having dealt with the matter from the legal aspect, I should like to say that I am going to support Senator Pearce in his endeavour to get those clauses inserted in the Bill. When Senator Pearce previously introduced this question, he desired on the interpretation clause to submit an amendment making "applicant" include any organization. I pointed out then that if the honorable senator succeeded in carrying his amendment, he would not effect the object he had in view—that most of the provisions of the Bill would be found inconsistent with the proposed amendments, and I expressed the opinion that the proper place for such a provision was in an Industrial Designs Bill. At that time the amendments were not circulated, but simply read to us; and now, after more careful consideration, I have come to the conclusion that the term "trade mark" in the Constitution is a term to receive an interpretation according to the varying conditions and requirements of the time as we progress. If we were bound by the interpretation put on the term by ordinary common law—that is by the common law of to-day—we should need a new Constitution every few years. I think the marks referred to in the proposed clause come within the term "trade mark" in the Constitution, and that it is perfectly competent to insert those clauses in the Bill. As to the merits of the case, I point out to those who are opposed to enabling unions to register marks, that, under present conditions—I particularly draw the attention of Senators Dobson and Best, in order that they may see there is no fear of tyranny—where there is no registration by a union or organization, it is perfectly competent for those organizations in a voluntary way to take out marks and issue them to different traders. The object of these clauses is simply to give those unions who choose to take that step, some property in their own designs, so that nobody else may pirate them—to enable them, as organizations, to own the particular designs or devices, which at present must be taken out in the name of individuals, who may afterwards prove dishonest. The whole object of the clause is

to enable organizations to adopt those marks with security to themselves, and to afford certain amount of guarantee to the public. That seems to sum up the whole of the merits of the case. If Senator Dobson, any other honorable senator, fears a monopoly on the part of an organization who registers one of those devices—

Senator DOBSON.—I never mentioned word about monopoly, or used that argument once.

Senator KEATING.—The honorable learned senator used that argument no less than to-night. If the honorable learned senator is afraid of this registration being used as an engine of tyranny—

Senator DOBSON.—I never used such word.

Senator KEATING.—Perhaps the honorable and learned senator did not use words so expressive, but he conveyed the idea that the unions would use the registration to coerce certain employers. That is the fear of Senator Dobson, I suggest that he should add a further amendment to enable the Court, Law Officer Registrar, in certain cases and under certain conditions, where the registered device has been improperly used, to strike the proprietors off the register.

Senator DOBSON (Tasmania).—May I ask Senator Pearce whether he thinks the definition of a trade union mark is clear enough for the Court to determine? The clause says that a trade union mark means a distinctive mark or device "for the purpose of designating the products of labour of the members thereof." To come more refer to the Denton Hat Mills, I ask whether the goods which leave those mills are not the product of the owner? Surely we cannot possibly say that goods manufactured for the owners of a factory are the products of the skilled workmen in the factory.

Senator PEARCE.—Is the honorable learned senator not confusing the term "product" with the term "property"? The goods are the property of the owner, and are the product of the labour of the men.

Senator DOBSON.—The owner of a factory may say that the goods are the product of his skill and capital, and that he employed men to make them.

Senator TRENWITH.—In that case the owner would not use the mark.

Senator DOBSON.—But what I have read is an essential part of the interpretation

rm, and I only ask Senator
r he thinks it is clear enough
to give a reasonable construc-

PEARCE.—The meaning is cer-
conveyed to my mind as a
I am not responsible for
does or does not convey the
the legal mind.

DOBSON.—Supposing half the
story were non-unionists?

TRENWITH.—Then they would
do to use the mark.

DOBSON.—But there might be
in the factory.

TRENWITH.—There might be,
and not be entitled to use the

DOBSON.—What a botch the
!

new clause agreed to.

s (by Senator PEARCE) agreed

owing new clauses be inserted :—
ade union mark may be registered
ar on the application of a trade

ure for obtaining registration, the
stration, and the matters incidental
on of trade union marks shall be

far as otherwise prescribed only
s Act shall apply to trade union

e union mark shall not be regis-
ubstantially identical with or so
as as to be likely to deceive a regis-
mark or a registered trade union

(by Senator PEARCE) pro-

owing new clause be inserted :—

on the registration of a trade union
e union by which it is registered
d to be the proprietor thereof and
d to the exclusive use of the mark
of designating the products of the
members thereof.

of the proprietor of the trade
ll be deemed to be infringing
d use in respect of the goods in
h it is registered of a mark iden-
tially identical with the trade
so nearly resembling it as to be
e.

union by which a trade union
red may sue in its registered or
to protect its rights from infringe-
over damages for their infringe-

DOBSON (Tasmania). — I
ask Senator Pearce what is
the case I cited before, when
, by registering, is entitled to

the exclusive use of a mark? We all agreed,
I think, that, as there is a factories law in
Victoria, a label issued under such law might
be used again and again. The meaning of
the clause, as I understand it, reading it
literally, is that the first trade union
which gets the right to register the mark
will have the exclusive use of it. Does
the clause not require modifying so as to
enable all union members who carry on busi-
ness under the factories law to take advan-
tage of the label? If they choose to have
different designs, let them do so. How
Senator Keating proposes to cause a design
of a horse, cow, or a pair of trousers, to
inform the world that it means goods made
under labour conditions or factories laws, I
do not know.

Senator KEATING.—The designs can be
advertised.

Senator DOBSON.—It is certain that
there cannot be many designs or labels
which will be used by trade unions, and it
would be a great mistake to legislate so that
the first who registered could obtain exclu-
sive use of a label which might be applic-
able to a dozen other trade unions.

Senator TRENWITH (Victoria).—It is
not necessary to have exactly the same
design or the same words to convey the same
idea. In Victoria, and, I think, in New
South Wales also, most unions have a cen-
tral council—a form of amalgamation—so
that probably there will be one design for
all the unions. That design might be put
on furniture, clothing, boots, hats, and every
possible conceivable form of production.

Senator DOBSON.—There would have to
be a union of all the unions.

Senator GUTHRIE.—So there is.

Senator TRENWITH.—The central or
amalgamated executive, if I may so ex-
press it, will simply act for the unions, at
the instance of the latter, and the design
will probably be used by a hundred dis-
tinct organizations, the use being regulated
by the executive. I see no difficulty in
the matter. If more marks were wanted,
they could be arranged for, but, as I say,
the probability is that one mark will serve,
at any rate, for each State, and in some in-
stances for the whole Commonwealth, some
trade unions being not only amalgamated,
but federated. If there was any danger
in the arrangement, it ought to be welcome
to Senator Dobson, because it would tend
to break the system down by its own
weight. I know that sometimes the most
clear-headed laymen are altogether wrong

in reference to legal matters, but it seems to me that no difficulty will arise. This is not a Bill to provide that there shall be a label showing that goods are manufactured in conformity with the provisions of the Factories Act, but merely a Bill giving power to declare to the public that goods are manufactured under certain conditions. But even if it were a Bill to provide for the registration of labels showing that goods have been manufactured in conformity with the provisions of the Factories Act, I am not aware that it would not be possible for even a dozen trade marks to have, in some part, words which are used in other trade marks. If it were not so, it would not be possible to have any great variety of marks. I understand that the validity of a trade mark is not decided by any particular part, but by the whole—by its distinctiveness from any other mark. A trade mark might, three-fourths of it, be similar to some other mark, and yet be completely distinctive, and, if it is sufficiently distinctive to be free from the danger of piracy, it satisfies the requirements of the law.

Senator DRAKE.—Under the Bill an applicant has to disclaim all words that are common.

Senator TRENWITH.—Supposing that the Bootmakers' Union desired to register as a mark—"Boots made under the provisions of the Factories Act," could not the Hatmakers' Union register "Hats made under the provisions of the Factories Act," and so on *ad infinitum*? It seems to me that that would be sufficiently distinctive.

Senator DRAKE.—I think that these are all trade descriptions.

Senator TRENWITH.—There does not seem to me to be any objection to some words which might be considered advantageous being used by quite a number of persons in connexion with distinctive trade marks. But in this instance it is highly improbable that there would be more than one trade union mark. I believe that one trade union mark would serve for all the unions in most of the States—at any rate, in two of them—and in some respects one trade union mark would serve for the whole Commonwealth.

Senator DOBSON (Tasmania).—The clear-headed layman who has just resumed his seat has thrown considerable light on the point, but he has not quite answered my objection. I can understand that the hat or boot factories might form one union.

But, supposing that one up-to-date factory desiring to take advantage of the Act, to come along and register the words "No 1" under the Factories Act of Victoria." And the other unions came along to register a trade union mark under this provision the Registrar would have to say "No; that provision gives to the first union an exclusive right to the use of that label."

Senator PEARCE.—Has the honorable learned senator observed in sub-clause the words "as long as it is not likely to deceive"?

Senator DOBSON.—Will it allow the same label to be registered over and over again?

Senator PEARCE.—As long as it is likely to deceive.

Senator DOBSON.—I have not discussed this question before, although Senator Keating thinks that I have. All I did to insure is that we shall not give to a trade union an exclusive right to register a label which is really the property of a trade union working under the Factories Act of this or any other State.

Senator TRENWITH (Victoria).—I am reminded by Senator Guthrie of a fact which bears out the argument which I have made. In 1891 a Trades Union Congress was held at Ballarat, and the question of a trade union mark was discussed. There was adopted for the whole of the trades of Australia one design—"888."

Senator DOBSON.—But supposing another union were to go to the Registrar first and ask him to register the mark?

Senator TRENWITH.—My honorable and learned friend is supposing something which could not happen.

Senator DOBSON.—It seems to me that a most ordinary thing that a trade union should wish to get the benefit of the law.

Senator TRENWITH.—Supposing for argument's sake, that a trade union did in and register a mark which was desired by the whole of the trade unions thereby prevented them from using it. What would happen? All the trade unions would say, "That is not our trade mark and the object in taking out that trade mark would be entirely frustrated." For immediately a new trade mark would be desired for the trade unions which respected the wishes of their comrades.

Senator DOBSON.—The honorable senator has not quite caught the point yet. Supposing that it were done in the ordinary course of business. The Registrar

from giving the right of user
se.

TRENWITH.—What the hon-
orable senator suggests might
be about as probable as that we
will have some sunshine to-morrow.
The new clause agreed to.

DRAKE (Queensland).—A
bill drafted by Senator Walker
to the views of those who have
expressed an opinion very strongly that
these new clauses is to in-
clude shall be made under trade
unions, as to labour and other
clauses, as it is drafted, is
in accord with some of the
clauses are being moved by Senator
Walker not in accord with some
clauses have been carried; but as
a view which has been ex-
pressed by many speakers, it is right that
it be submitted to the Committee.
The question is that there shall be no
right to prevent an employer from having
a trade union mark if his em-
ployees are unionists, or if he pays the union
rate and complies with other con-
ditions—

Following new clause be inserted—
"Notwithstanding anything contained
in this Act, no trade union shall refuse to author-
ize any person or employer who adopts the
trade union and the hours of employment fixed
by the trade of such trade union
of the Commonwealth or of a State
so desires its union trade mark
of the labour of the members
employed by him or to the same kind of
labour of any employees not mem-
bers of the union employed by him."
The new clause is in the following terms:

That wherever the trade mark
is on goods it shall be an assurance
of the conditions of employment and the rate
of wages shall be the same as those which are
prevailing in the trade union.

TUTHRIE.—Yes, but there are a
number of other conditions.

PEARCE.—Apprentices and boy

LAWSON.—And girl labour.

TRENWITH.—The trade unions
are in favour of more. The whole ques-
tion of conditions of employment is in-
cluded in the trade union conditions"—in-
cluding conditions of apprenticeship.

DRAKE.—I understood from
Senator Walker that the rate of wages and
conditions of employment were certainly the
same.

Senator BEST.—The question of boy and
girl labour is not involved.

Senator TRENWITH.—I beg the honor-
able and learned senator's pardon.

Senator DRAKE.—All that Senator
Walker asks in the first part of this provi-
sion is that where any manufacturer is em-
ploying union labour only, he shall have the
right of insisting that this trade labour mark
shall be put on his goods. I apprehend
that no honorable senator, who has said
that there will be nothing like a discriminat-
ing use of this trade mark, can object to
that part of the provision. In the second
part of his proposal, Senator Walker wishes
to give the same right to a manufacturer
who is employing men who are not unionists,
provided, of course, that he is complying
with the law of the State with regard to the
rate of wages and the hours of employ-
ment.

Senator MCGREGOR.—I wish to point
out the very serious objections to the pro-
posed new clause. A manufacturer may
employ in the same factory fifty unionists
and fifty non-unionists. He may put the
trade union label on goods which have been
produced by the fifty non-unionists. In
fact the proposal complicates the question
so much that it should not be entertained
for a minute. Senator Drake himself
seems to be ashamed of the next portion of
the clause, which says that a manufac-
turer shall be entitled to use the trade union
mark if he pays the same wages and ob-
serves the same conditions as apply in the
case of unionists. A number of hon-
orable senators say that a non-union-
ist is as good a man as the union-
ist. A non-unionist may, in some cases,
be as religious, as strong, or as good
looking as a unionist. But still there is
something which distinguishes a unionist
from a non-unionist, and that is that the
non-unionist is prepared to take wages and
enjoy conditions of work which have been
fought for by the members of unions.
That is where the non-unionist fails. I
am very sorry when I hear gentlemen like
Senator Dobson and Senator Fraser say
that they are in favour of trade unions. I
know that Senator Dobson believes in
unionism in the interests of the legal fra-
ternity. But the moment trade unionists
commence to do anything, these same gen-
tlemen object to them. So long as union-
ists do not attempt to get butter at least
on one side of their bread—so long as they
are prepared to live on the meanest fare,

to reside in the humblest conditions, and to crawl through life like insects or beasts—they are all right, and unions composed of such individuals would at once be taken by the hand by Senator Dobson and his friends. But so soon as these men combine and endeavour to improve their condition—endeavour to get higher wages, shorter hours, and to live under more civilized conditions—these gentlemen lose all sympathy with them. The Russians would love the Japanese if they came with the rifles loaded with sawdust and pea soup. The Japanese would love the Russians on the same conditions. In the same way the gentlemen to whom I have referred love trades unionists so long as they remain docile. They have the same love for trade unionists as they have for their "coloured brethren." So long as the Chinese reside in Little Bourke-street, and Senator Dobson resides in Toorak, the "coloured brethren" are all right. I hope that the clause will be rejected first, because it will create complication; secondly, because it will be unfair to those unions which go to the trouble to register their trade marks for the purpose of protecting their members; and thirdly, because it is in conflict with the clauses which we have already carried.

Senator PEARCE (Western Australia).—This unfortunate infant which was abandoned in its youth by Senator Walker has been foster-mothered by Senator Drake. It is somewhat difficult to understand it. First of all it seems to me to be open to objection on the score of its youth. It has just been placed in our hands, and we are expected immediately to grasp its meaning. It is a very complicated amendment, and we ought not to be expected to indorse its principles without having an opportunity to test their application. It proposes that no trade union shall refuse to authorize the issue of its trade mark to an employer—

who adopts the rate of wages and the hours of employment fixed in reference to the rate of such trade union under any law of the Commonwealth or of a State.

That is to say, where that employer is compelled by the law of the Commonwealth or of a State to observe trade union conditions, he may make use of a trade union mark and a trade union is compelled to allow him to do so. But there is nothing to prevent that individual from getting a trade mark of his own. In that trade mark he could point out that his goods were being made under conditions that he was compelled

to observe by Commonwealth law. There is nothing to any manufacturer from doing. The clause does not specify in which portions the goods may have been manufactured by trade unionists or by non-unionists. It goes on to say that a manufacturer, if he so desires, apply a trade union mark to the products of the labour of the members thereof employed by him or to the same products of the labour of any employees not members of such union employed by him.

That is practically a negation of the effect of the provisions which we have passed regarding trade union marks. If a trade union mark is to be a trade union mark, it must be applied to goods which are the product of trade unionists. If it is to be a non-union mark, let us say so. It seems to me that the clause is unnecessary, complicated, and not in accordance with the principle which we have agreed to.

Senator GIVENS (Queensland).—I want to point out a discrepancy which is sufficient to kill this clause forthwith. Section 69A says that a trade union mark shall be a distinctive mark or device, adopted by a trade union for the purpose of distinguishing goods the product of the members thereof. But this proposed new clause provides that an employer may apply the trade union mark to goods which are the product of the labour—

of the members thereof employed by him, or to the same kind of products of the same kind of labour of any employees not members of such union. So that this new clause would destroy the effect of the clause already done.

Senator DRAKE.—That is often done by the Committee.

Senator GIVENS.—It is often done for the purpose of emasculating a Bill, but to make a Bill effective, or to carry out its objects. We have decided that a trade union mark shall only be used for the purpose of designating goods made by the members of the trade union. Now we are asked to go behind that, and say that a trade union mark may be used to designate goods made by non-unionists. It is not necessary to argue on so ridiculous a proposal. I am sure the Committee adopted it they would not have agreed to a little while ago.

Senator CLEMONS (Tasmania).—I think it is just as well that we should understand what this clause means. The object of it is to prevent the exclusive use of trade marks

unionists. In his remarks this afternoon Senator Pearce told us that a trade union mark would necessarily be the purchaser of goods bearing it that they were manufactured under such conditions. But what has been the course of the debate is not how fair the conditions of goods have been manufactured, but that may be the rate of wages of employes, or the hours of employment, and no matter about the exclusion of boys. It may have been in the case of the goods that have been manufactured that the one essential condition is that the manufacturer does not belong to the union, every honorable senator of these clauses is prepared to say that these goods the stigma that is put on them when this preference is given to goods manufactured by trade unionists is that admitted?

Senator DAWSON.—It is not.

Senator CLEMONS.—Why have not honorable senators opposite the courage to actually propose? They will say that because they are afraid to do so. I cannot fool me or the general public with the idea that what they are doing is that all goods shall be manufactured under fair conditions. I repeat that no matter how fair the conditions may be, how rigidly an employer may be bound to trade union rules, if he is not in the trade union honorable senators opposite are prepared to deny to goods the stigma supposed to be attached to goods that use the trade union mark.

Senator LARGIE.—There is nothing to be said about having a non-union mark.

Senator CLEMONS.—Yes; but honorable senators are giving the public to understand that goods bearing the trade union mark are specially good. I am prepared to say that the rules of trade unions guarantee good wages, fair employment, and the proper exclusion of child and boy labour. But why do honorable senators by these clauses say that employers who belong to trade unions should have the right to use the trade union mark?

Senator DAWSON.—We do not say that

Senator MUTHRIE.—We want the employment in the unions, not the employers.

Senator CLEMONS.—That is just the result desired. The intention is to

use these provisions as a lever to compel employers to employ only trade union men, because if they do not the goods which they manufacture will be beaten in competition by reason of the value attached to the trade union mark. The real object of these provisions is to get men into the trade unions. I have no objection to honorable senators enforcing their views as strongly as they please, but I have an utter contempt for their cowardice in not admitting their real reasons.

Senator DAWSON.—The honorable and learned senator is starting *de novo*. He does not know what has been said during the debate.

Senator CLEMONS.—No honorable senator will object to a mark which will place a stigma upon goods made under bad conditions. We absolutely prevent the importation of anything made by prison labour, and that is no doubt a good thing to do. But the result is, that similar goods, which have not the prison label, are given an advantage. Here we are adopting the converse practice, and I say that it will be necessarily unfair to many employers and their employes. This practice is being adopted for one reason, and for no other, and that is, to compel men to join trade unions. Will any honorable senator contend that an employer cannot be a fair and an honest man, and that an employe cannot be a man with a proper regard for the interests of his own class unless he joins a union? Yet that contention is the necessary corollary to the exclusive use proposed for these trade union marks.

Senator PEARCE.—We have dealt with these points all the afternoon. The honorable and learned senator has been absent, and he expects us to go over them again.

Senator CLEMONS.—The honorable senator is not entitled to make a personal reference to me, and to say whether I have been absent or not. I have no wish to refer to private conversations, but when such a personal reference is made, I am bound to say that I was not present, because the Vice-President of the Executive Council assured me officially that the Senate would not be sitting after dinner.

Senator MCGREGOR.—I said if this Bill were carried.

Senator CLEMONS.—There was no condition whatever mentioned. There is no reason why this measure should be rushed through. Has the Senate been so

busy of late that the moment something which is of interest to honorable senators is submitted, it should be rushed through with undue haste? Has the Senate, under the leadership of the present Vice-President of the Executive Council, been so conspicuous for work, or enhanced its reputation so much, by doing anything worth doing this session, that when such amendments as these are submitted, which individual senators can debate, and in connexion with which we may possibly suggest to the outside public that the Senate is doing something to justify its existence, they should be rushed through.

Senator DE LARGIE.—I rise to a point of order. Is the honorable and learned senator in order in discussing the work of the Senate in the way in which he is discussing it at the present time?

The CHAIRMAN.—I do not think the honorable and learned senator is out of order. A statement has been made concerning himself, and I think he is entitled to reply to it.

Senator CLEMONS.—I point out that the first part of the proposed amendment practically suggests the state of things I have indicated. It is aimed against the exclusive use of the right to these trade union marks by trade unions, and the reason urged is that it is conceivable that fair conditions, which are demanded by, and which it is asserted exist in, trade unions, may be complied with by other people.

Senator GIVENS.—Has not the proprietor of a private trade mark the right to the exclusive use of it?

Senator CLEMONS.—Yes, but honorable senators opposite are arguing that a union should have the right to the exclusive use of a trade mark.

Senator TRENWITH.—Why should it not as well as the proprietor of "Warner's Safe Cure," or "Pink Pills"?

Senator CLEMONS.—I do not agree that a trade union should have the exclusive right to this mark on the ground that it gives a guarantee that the goods to which it is attached have been produced under conditions of good wages and proper hours of employment.

Senator GIVENS.—It is a guarantee that they have been made by the members of the union.

Senator CLEMONS.—At last I have got an admission.

Senator PEARCE.—That has been said all the afternoon.

Senator CLEMONS.—I have said just now that honorable senators opposite are afraid to admit their real intention. It is now admitted by Senator GIVENS, who may I suppose, speak for other honorable senators of the Labour Party, that the real object of these provisions is to give this exclusive right to trade unions, because they are trade unions.

Senator GIVENS.—The right to use a trade union mark in the same way that a private manufacturer is entitled to the exclusive use of his private trade mark.

Senator CLEMONS.—Let me point out what this implies. It implies that even one must be necessarily satisfied with the trade unions. There is no appeal from the allowed.

Senator PEARCE.—The public have the remedy in their own hands if they do not like it.

Senator CLEMONS.—The public have no remedy.

Senator PEARCE.—The public are compelled to buy these goods; they cannot do what they like.

Senator CLEMONS.—If that is so, what is the value of these provisions, and would honorable senators desire to have the trade union marks?

Senator GIVENS.—Why is the honorable and learned senator afraid of it?

Senator CLEMONS.—I am not afraid of it, but I am protesting against the proposal, because it represents class privilege. The contention of honorable senators opposite is still that the monopoly of good conditions of labour is enjoyed only by trade unionists. What can the object of these provisions be, but to induce even one to join a trade union? Honorable senators object to the use of the trade union mark by other persons because they do not comply with their conditions in every respect. If it were proved to the satisfaction of Senator Guthrie that the goods submitted for sale by a certain manufacturer were, as regards the conditions of labour employed in their manufacture, made in every respect under trade union conditions, would the honorable senator give such a manufacturer equal rights with the one which he now claims for trade unions?

Senator GUTHRIE.—Certainly not; because this refers to trade unions.

Senator CLEMONS.—That bears out my contention that the claim that the object of these clauses is to insure that goods should be manufactured under fair conditions must be withdrawn. They have real

Senator TRENWITH.—Such an applicant is debarred from no privilege which the law gives. There will probably be thousands of trade marks registered, each of which will be the property of some individual, or some corporation; and it would be obviously unfair and illogical to ask that a corporation, which had registered and become a proprietor, should, for some reason, be compelled to give the advantages of their property to some persons who had no right to it.

Senator GIVENS.—The other side are advocating confiscation.

Senator TRENWITH.—They are advocating spoliation. The object of a trade mark can only be to indicate a certain quality. If that quality of trades unionism has no special virtue in the public mind, then a trade union mark will not secure any advantage to the user; but if it is a fact—however stupid or illogical it may appear—that the public mind is fixed upon obtaining this particular quality of trade unionism in the products purchased, the public have a right, when they see the trade union mark to know that they get what they want. If we compel or allow the application of a trade union mark to goods not made by trades unions, we shall by legislation be proceeding to deceive the public. I feel that the proposal to give an exclusive right in a trade union mark commends itself so completely to the majority of honorable senators, that there is no reason to doubt its adoption; and I should not have risen at this stage had I not felt that the remarks of Senator Clemons were uncalled for and in extremely bad taste.

Senator PEARCE (Western Australia).—I regret having used the terms I did towards Senator Clemons. I used those terms, however, under the great provocation that after we had devoted time to dealing with the clauses one by one, Senator Clemons, to my mind, showed a disposition to re-open the whole question.

Senator CLEMONS.—I specially asked about this clause coming on. I quite understand that Senator Pearce was under a misapprehension.

Question.—That the proposed new clause be inserted—put. The Committee divided.

Ayes ...	...	...	...	4
Noes ...	...	...	...	14
				—
Majority ...	...	...	...	10

AYES.

Dobson, H.
Drake, J. G.
Mulcahy, E.

Teller:
Clemons, J. S.

NOES.

Croft, J. W.
Dawson, A.
De Largie, H.
Givens, T.
Guthrie, R. S.
Higgs, W. G.
Keating, J. H.
McGregor, G.

O'Keefe, D. J.
Pearce, G. F.
Smith, M. S. C.
Story, W. H.
Trenwith, W. A.

Teller:
Henderson, G.

Question so resolved in the negative.

Proposed new clause negatived.

Amendment (by Senator PEARCE) proposed—

That the following new clause be inserted:

"69E.—1. No person shall wilfully infringe the rights of the proprietor of a registered trade union mark.

Penalty: Fifty pounds.

2. No person shall knowingly sell or expose for sale or have in his possession for sale or for a purpose of trade or manufacture any goods which any mark is applied in infringement of the rights of the proprietor of a registered trade union mark.

Penalty: Fifty pounds.

3. For the purposes of this section a mark shall be deemed to be applied to goods if—

- (a) it is applied to the goods themselves, or
- (b) it is applied to any covering label reel thing in or with which the goods are sold or exposed or had in possession for a purpose of trade or manufacture, or
- (c) it is used in any manner likely to lead to the belief that it describes or designates the goods.

4. Nothing in this section shall affect any remedy for the infringement of the rights of the proprietor of a registered trade mark."

Senator DOBSON (Tasmania).—I thought that every member of the Senate would have voted for the clause which has just been rejected. All who spoke on it admitted that there was something in the point raised, but contended that it was not likely a label would be refused. Do Senator McGregor intend to submit a clause to cure the defect which I think is admitted?

Senator MCGREGOR.—I do not think there is any defect.

Senator DOBSON.—May I ask the Vice-President of the Executive Council when he intends to report progress?

Senator MCGREGOR.—I have intimated to almost every honorable senator the reason why we are sitting late to-night. Had it not been for unnecessary discussion, the Senate might have risen before dinner. My idea is to get through the Bill and have it

at we may have a clean
very little contentious mat-
remaining clauses.

DOBSON (Tasmania).—A num-
ble senators have gone away,
of no use for us to proceed
and pretend that we are legis-

DOBSON.—Why did they not

DOBSON.—They arranged to
owing that the Senate in
es out of a hundred has ad-
ten o'clock.

DOBSON.—Cannot we pass the
ses *pro formâ* to-night, and
later on?

DOBSON.—Senator McGregor
shallow the whole pretence
at he intends to get this con-
e, which raises some exceed-
nts, put through before we
ook up some minutes in abus-
did Senator Givens. I de-
at a reasonable hour, and
to work for a reasonable
ld like Senator McGregor to
t time he proposes to ad-

McGREGOR.—As soon as the Bill

DOBSON.—That is no answer

McGREGOR.—That is all the an-
e.

McLAHY.—Will the honorable
n assurance that he will not
ommittal of the Bill?

McGREGOR.—Yes.

DOBSON.—If the honorable
sist on proceeding with legis-
our, I must leave the Cham-
must get home by a certain
wish to be locked out. Do
he honorable senator to say
ng to give an assurance that
will be made to the recom-
Bill or any clause thereof?

McGREGOR.—Certainly not; the
the honorable and learned

TRENWITH (Victoria).—I
th Senator McGregor in his
progress with the Bill, but
saying that it is not a good
islating to pass clauses *pro*
purpose of printing them and
committal. We ought, in
make the Bill as perfect as

possible, and there ought to be very rarely
a necessity for recommitment. I would sug-
gest that as it is half-past 10 o'clock, and
it is still early in the session, Senator
McGregor should consent to report progress.
I would point out to him that it is not
wise at this stage in the session, when we
have still three or four months before us,
to so rush measures as to irritate or neces-
sitate an honorable senator to leave the
Chamber, because he must get home, al-
though he would like to take part in the
legislation. We ought to do our work
generally in the session before 11 o'clock
at night.

Senator CLEMONS.—I desire to know,
sir, whether the honorable senator is in
order in discussing on this clause the
desirability of adjourning?

Senator DOBSON.—I was allowed to ask
a question on the subject.

Senator TRENWITH.—My remarks arose
out of a statement by Senator McGregor
that he intended to go on until the Bill
was reported. It seems to me we are
entitled to discuss that question.

Senator MCGREGOR.—Nearly all the
contentious part of the Bill has been pas-
sed. I have agreed to a number of amend-
ments, and the remaining clauses can be
passed in ten minutes. I propose to move
for an adjournment over next week, so that
honorable senators may see a fresh print of
the Bill.

The CHAIRMAN.—The remarks of
Senator Trenwith arose out of a question
asked by Senator Dobson as to the wisdom
of adjourning the discussion on the Bill,
and I allowed that subject to be discussed,
because I thought it was the wish of the
majority of the Committee, but I propose
now to ask honorable senators to confine
their remarks strictly to the question be-
fore the Chair.

Senator DOBSON (Tasmania).—I do
not think that Senator McGregor has any
right to say that we are going to stop here
until the Bill is put through. He might
mention an hour when he is willing to ad-
journ. If he still adheres to the idea of
stopping here until the Bill is passed—

Senator PEARCE.—I submit that the
honorable and learned senator is not in order
in discussing the question of our stopping
here.

The CHAIRMAN. — The honorable
senator is not in order in discussing any
question but the proposed new clause 69e.

Motion (by Senator MULCAHY) negatived.

That the Chairman do now leave the Chair, report progress, and ask leave to sit again.

Senator DOBSON (Tasmania).—Will Senator McGregor be good enough to explain in what manner a trade mark or, as I prefer to call it, a trade label, of this description could be infringed? Can he give the Committee an illustration of an infringement?

Senator MCGREGOR.—The honorable and learned senator ought to know that if a trade mark be used by an individual without the sanction of a trade union by which it was registered, that will be an infringement.

Proposed new clause agreed to.

Amendment (by Senator PEARCE) agreed to—

That the following new clause be inserted—

“69F.—1. A trade union mark may be removed from the register for the causes and in the manner and by the person prescribed.

2. Subject to this section the registration of a trade union mark shall continue for fourteen years, at the expiration of which it shall cease, unless renewed in the manner prescribed.

3. A trade union mark shall not be assigned so long as its registration continues.”

Clauses 70 to 89 agreed to.

Clause 90—

1. If the King is pleased to apply to the Commonwealth any law of the United Kingdom for carrying into effect any arrangement made with the Government of any foreign State for the mutual protection of trade marks, then any person who has applied for protection for any trade mark in the United Kingdom or the Isle of Man, or in any foreign State with which the arrangement has been made, shall be entitled to registration of his trade mark under this Act in priority to other applicants, and such registration shall have the same date as the date of the original application in the United Kingdom or the Isle of Man or such foreign State as the case may be: Provided that such application shall be made within four months from such person applying for protection in the United Kingdom or the Isle of Man or the foreign State with which the arrangement is in force.

Senator PEARCE (Western Australia).—I move—

That the word “four,” line 16, be left out, with a view to insert in lieu thereof the word “six.”

This amendment is not very important. The object of it is that a person in the United Kingdom wishing to apply for a trade mark in the Commonwealth may have sufficient time in which to make his application. The Government approve of the amendment.

Senator CLEMONS (Tasmania).—I should like to have a further reason for alteration of four months to six. Senator Pearce knows very well that it does take six months for a letter to come to England to any part of Australia.

Senator PEARCE.—The time allowed under the State law is three months.

Senator CLEMONS.—I have no particular objection to the alteration, but I would that the Vice-President of the Executive Council should agree to it, when it is evident that four months would be quite sufficient.

Senator MCGREGOR.—In other provisions of the Bill it was considered desirable to extend the time. It is only that a merchant or manufacturer residing in England, wishing to register in Australia, should have an opportunity to do so, though a letter might come in five weeks might be necessary for the merchant to get an answer from Australia, and then to write back again. There can be no harm in an extension of the time. An occurrence like the seizure of the steamer *Malacca* might delay the receipt of a letter.

Senator CLEMONS (Tasmania).—If I give an explanation which the Vice-President of the Executive Council gives is a good one, it is obvious that the extension of the time to six months is not sufficient. If it is insisted that there shall be time for a letter to come from England to Australia, for a reply to be sent, and for another answer to a letter to be despatched, it is cutting it too short to allow only six months. Inquiry cannot be answered at once in many cases. I wish to make it certain that the time allowed is ample.

Senator MULCAHY (Tasmania).—It is understood that it was agreed that the remaining clauses of the Bill should be passed without amendment, and that there should subsequently be a recommittal.

Senator PEARCE.—Can the honorable member discuss the adjournment on this amendment before the Chair?

The CHAIRMAN.—It is not in order for the honorable member to discuss the adjournment on this amendment.

Senator MULCAHY.—With due deference to you, sir, I think that I am in order. Senator DAWSON.—I wish to know whether the honorable senator is in order in disputing your ruling without moving a motion?

The CHAIRMAN.—No; the honorable senator is not in order in disputing

ut putting his objection in
 MULCAHY.—I was merely
 I thought was in order. I
 at it was agreed that there
 recommittal, and that neces-
 ents should be made at that
 ture to say that the clauses
 een passed were not under-
 norable senators, but were
 ass formally on the under-
 they would be carefully con-
 recommittal stage.
 agreed to.

amended, agreed to.
 agreed to.

d with amendments.

AL ADJOURNMENT.

Senator McGREGOR) agreed

ate, at its rising, adjourn until
 gust 24.

adjourned at 11 o'clock.

of Representatives.

day, 11 August, 1904.

ER took the chair at 2.30 p.m.,
 yers.

PETITION.

ALLEY presented a petition,
 9 residents of King Island,
 ouse to give them a telephone
 aphic communication with the
 and a better distribution of

ceived and read.

E: POSTAL EMPLOYES.

UGER.—Is the Postmaster-
 ared with a reply to the ques-
 y the honorable member for
 ight?

ON.—The honorable member
 st night, on the motion for the
 of the House, asked a question
 ertime paid in the Post Office
 g of a certain publication. I
 ned from a copy now in my
 at it is entitled to registration
 aper, to circulation through

the Post Office as a newspaper under the
 provisions of the Post and Telegraph Act,
 and to the benefit of the nominal rate of
 postage for newspapers as determined by the
 Post and Telegraph Rates Act. With re-
 spect to the statement that no overtime is
 paid to the sorters for the additional work
 which they are required to perform in con-
 nexion with the large number of the news-
 paper referred to that is posted, it can
 only be said that the payment of overtime
 is governed by the regulations made by the
 Public Service Commissioner under the
 provisions of the Public Service Act. If
 the sorters work more than the stipulated
 number of hours per fortnight, namely,
 ninety-three hours for those who have regu-
 lar hours, and eighty-four for broken or
 irregular hours, they will be entitled to pay-
 ment for overtime.

NORTHERN TERRITORY.

Mr. CROUCH asked the Treasurer,
upon notice—

In reference to the statement of Major-General
 Hutton in the Perth Town Hall, as reported in the
West Australian newspaper of the 2nd instant, to
 the following effect:—

“As to the probability of any nation wishing
 to invade Australia, he would remind them
 of the extracts from Chinese and Japanese
 newspapers which had been appearing in
 the Australian press, and from which it
 could be seen that the people of China and
 Japan were casting longing eyes upon the
 rich Northern Territory of Australia.
 Further, he had it from no less an authority
 than the Japanese Admiral who visited Aus-
 tralia some twelve months or so ago that
 such was the case.”

1. Has any report of this intimation from the
 visiting Admiral (Admiral Kamimura) been made
 by General Hutton to the Minister of Defence,
 or to other official authority?
2. If so, has the Prime Minister any objection
 to placing such report on the Library table?
3. If not, will he cause General Hutton to make
 a full and complete report of the Japanese warn-
 ing, and its surrounding circumstances?
4. Will he cause representations to be made to
 the British Government and to the Japanese Go-
 vernment as to the implied threat on the part of
 the latter in its Admiral's statement?
5. Will he ask the presumably friendly Ja-
 panese Government to make a distinct repudiation
 of the statement of its Admiral, who, during his
 visit, officially represented his nation?

Mr. WATSON.—The answers to the
 honorable and learned member's questions
 are as follows:—

1. No.
2. Answered by 1.
3. Major-General Sir Edward Hutton will be
 asked for an explanation of his statement.

4 and 5. It will not be desirable to make any representations as suggested. The mere fact of a foreign power being said to cast "longing eyes" upon our territory can scarcely be construed into a threat; and no good could result from taking official notice of such informal remarks, even if made.

QUEENSLAND MILITARY ALLOWANCES.

Mr. WILKINSON asked the Minister representing the Minister of Defence, *upon notice*—

1. What allowance, if any, was made during the past year to members of the Defence Force in the State of Queensland, to provide uniforms?
2. What is the cause of delay in providing uniforms to the above-mentioned branch of the Force?
3. What allowance, if any, is made to members of the Light Horse for the use of their horses, saddles, and bridles; and is there any difference between the amount allowed to officers and that allowed to privates?

Mr. WATSON.—The answers to the honorable member's questions are as follows:—

1. In the case of the Militia, Commanding Officers received 40s. per head of the establishment, for clothing and corps contingent allowance.

In the case of Volunteers, Commanding Officers received 30s. per head of establishment, and 20s. for each effective member, for clothing and corps contingent allowance.

2. The General Officer Commanding reports that there has not been any delay.

3. The following is the scale of extra pay granted for provision of a horse, as set forth in paragraph 85 of the Financial and Allowance Regulations for the Military Forces:—

Rank.	Extra pay for provision of horse (other than recruits).		
	£	s.	d.
Colonel or Brigadier	5	12	6
Lieut.-Colonel	4	13	9
Major	3	15	0
Captain	2	16	3
1st Lieutenant	1	17	6
2nd Lieutenant	1	17	6
Regimental Sergeant-Major, Regimental Quartermaster-Sergeant	1	10	0
Squadron Sergeant-Major	1	7	6
Squadron Quartermaster-Sergeant, Orderly-room Clerk	1	6	3
Farrier Sergeant	1	6	3
Sergeant	1	5	0
Corporal	1	2	6
Shoemsmith	1	1	3
Private	1	0	0
Trumpeter (over 18 years of age) ...	1	0	0
Trumpeter (under 18 years of age) ...	1	0	0

BOTTLING OF IMPORTED SPIRITS.

Mr. HUTCHISON asked the Minister of Trade and Customs, *upon notice*—

Whether anything has been done with regard to the matter of imported spirits, which are bottled

in Australia without purchasers being notified the fact, about which subject it is understood the South Australian Government made representations to the Commonwealth Government?

Mr. FISHER.—The answer to honorable member's question is as follows:—

The statement was made in December last spirit was being imported, bottled, and lab in a manner contrary to the provisions of the of the State of South Australia. In January this year, the Premier of that State was informed that, as the spirit in question had been imported through the Customs, the latter had power in the matter. The Customs officers sent all labels imported for the consideration of local authorities, and for such action as they may desire to take. It is not considered that the Department can do more in this matter.

PAPERS.

MINISTERS laid upon the table following papers:—

Regulation under the Post and Telegraph statutory rule No. 45.

Addition to financial and allowance regulations, statutory rules, 1904, No. 43, and amendment of regulations, statutory rules, 1904, No.

SUSPENSION OF STANDING ORDERS.

POLICY AND ADMINISTRATION OF GOVERNMENT: ATTITUDE OF THE OPPOSITION.

Mr. WEBSTER (Gwydir).—I desire move—

The the Standing Orders be suspended to discuss a matter of urgent necessity, namely, the policy and administration of the Government also the attitude of the Opposition in relation to the conduct of the business of Parliament.

Mr. SPEAKER.—Standing Order requires—

In cases of urgent necessity, any Standing Sessional Order, or Orders of the House, may be suspended for the day's sitting, on motion duly made and seconded, without notice: provided that such motion is carried by an absolute majority of the whole number of the members of the House.

Does the honorable member claim that the question he desires to discuss is one of urgent necessity?

Mr. WEBSTER.—I maintain that the question is urgent, because the Opposition in refusing to allow the Government to recommmit Clause 48 of the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill for its full consideration in Committee, have in view the defeat of the Administration, and their action deprives those who support the Government of the opportunity to justify that support while it at the same time prevents the

members from giving their reasoning to the Government. The action of the Opposition is intended to deprive honorable members of their inalienable right to defend their attitude, not to take a particular measure of action in regard to the general conduct of the Government during its session.

MR. WEBSTER.—I am not sure as to what may be disclosed by the honorable member in the course of his speech, but I expect that those who follow him, and that the matter is one of absolute right. If I find it necessary later on I shall take the opportunity of doing so. For the present the honorable member may proceed.

MR. SPEAKER.—I maintain that the Government, because, should the recommendations of the Government be debated in this House would be deprived of the opportunity of discussing the question. They would be denied their right to explain why they support the Government their support in the House why they have religiously opposed the Government in connexion with its administration. I maintain a course of conduct which has been followed by the Opposition, with a view to bring upon the Government, has prevented honorable members from coming before the electors, whom they will face in the immediate future, for justification for the attitude taken up, not only on the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill, but on questions of whole policy and administration. I wish to ask what any member of this House has done of those who has great credit cast upon him, or be he the leading member of the Chamber—forward, and by means of a course of procedure which has been followed, endeavour, while debating the Government, to rob honorable members of their right to exercise their country in general, and to take in particular, their reasons for the action they have assumed, and their reasons for their conduct, whether as supporters or opponents of the Ministry? If honorable members wish to have decent, I should like to say—why deprive an honorable member like the honorable and learned member for Bendigo of his constituents, depriving him

HONORABLE MEMBERS.—Oh!

MR. WEBSTER.—Depriving him of the opportunity—

MR. REID.—I rise to order. I wish to take your ruling, Mr. Speaker, as to whether the expression which has been used by the honorable member for Gwydir was in order, when he asked why we should send the honorable and learned member for Bendigo to his constituents? I wish to ask you whether the prerogative of dissolution, which is vested in the Governor-General, can be referred to as if the Governor-General had made some intimation—

MR. WATSON.—Which he has not.

MR. REID.—Which he has not, I am sure, to the head of the Government, that such a contingency is involved in the exercise by honorable members of their independence in this House.

MR. SPEAKER.—The question of the dissolution of Parliament, or otherwise, is, of course, within the prerogative of the Governor-General, and must not be debated in this House. I am sure that the honorable member for Gwydir will not transgress the rule.

MR. WEBSTER.—I was not discussing the question of a dissolution. I was discussing the probabilities—as to what might occur in consequence of the action that has been taken by the Opposition. I maintain that honorable members of this House, before any practical legislation can again be put before the House, may possibly have to face those who sent us here. For that reason, I wish honorable members—as every Britisher would wish—not to adopt, or support that course of procedure which has been pursued by the Opposition.

MR. GLYNN.—I should like to take your ruling, sir, as to whether the honorable member is in order, under cover of a motion of this kind, in impugning the motives, attacking the independence of judgment of honorable members, and anticipating debate upon a matter which is not yet decided by the House.

MR. SPEAKER.—In no case can an honorable member anticipate debate on a motion which is upon the notice paper. Therefore, it will not be competent for him to refer in any way to any debate which is or may be pending—upon the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill, for example. I am quite sure that the House would desire that in the case of every speech reference to a debate now pending should be specifically

avoided, and that we should debate not the personalities of members themselves, but the question of policy which may be under consideration.

Mr. WEBSTER.—I have not transgressed the rule which you have laid down, Mr. Speaker. I have not endeavoured to impugn the motives of any honorable member on account of the opposition which he has given to the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill, which is now before the House. Nor do I intend to do so. I have sufficient knowledge of the Standing Orders to be aware that an honorable member cannot anticipate debate on another question which is upon the notice paper. But I have also the knowledge that whenever a Government is threatened with defeat, whether directly or indirectly, honorable members, whether they be victims of that defeat, or whether they may benefit from it, have a right to defend their attitude. Because every defeat of a Government may involve a dissolution. Since that is possible, I appeal for a right to discuss the question which I have brought forward. I am appealing for a right which would have been granted by any Opposition hitherto existing. No Parliamentary Opposition, of which I have ever heard, would have made it necessary for me to advance such a claim, nor would it have made any attempt to refuse to a Government the right to recommit a Bill.

Mr. CONROY. — I understand that the first reason given by the honorable member for Gwydir for the motion which he has submitted is, to discuss as a matter of urgent necessity, the policy and administration of the Government. At the present time, one question under the consideration of the House is the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill. The honorable member is now referring to what is likely to happen in case of the defeat of the Government. I submit that he is not entitled to do that. I go further. He also advances, as a reason for bringing forward this motion, the attitude of the Opposition in relation to the conduct of the business of Parliament. When a Government seeks to have certain clauses of a Bill re-committed, it is quite competent for the Opposition to object to the motion, without violating the Standing Orders. Therefore the honorable member is now criticising not the conduct of the Opposition, but virtually the Standing Orders of this House. This is my point of order—the honorable mem-

ber is not entitled, by means of a motion of this kind, to discuss the Standing Orders which have been adopted by the House submit that the honorable member is tired out of order.

Mr. SPEAKER.—I have looked at the notice which the honorable member for Gwydir has handed to me. I find in it no reference to discussing the Standing Orders of the House. I am not certain that if the honorable member had intended to include that matter, to do so would not have made the motion irregular. The honorable member has brought forward the motion in order to discuss a matter of urgent necessity, namely, the policy and administration of the Government, and also the attitude of the Opposition in relation to the conduct of the business of Parliament. The honorable member, so far as I know, has not transgressed the rules. I may point out that when there are frequent interruptions by points of order, I am not able to listen so closely to the honorable member as I should otherwise do.

Mr. CONROY.—I would ask you, Mr. Speaker, to confine the honorable member to the particular purpose of his motion.

Mr. SPEAKER.—I have already dealt with that matter. The question now under discussion is, whether, or not, the Standing Orders shall be suspended, and the honorable member has the right to use any reasonable arguments upon that point, for the consideration of the House.

Mr. WEBSTER.—I marvel at the spirit which is being manifested by honorable members who are raising these points of order. They seem to have as many points as has the proverbial porcupine. I am merely asking for a British constitutional right, namely, that every representative of this Chamber shall have an opportunity to lay before his constituents, through *Hansard*—the only medium we have—his reasons for the attitude he is taking up. I was referring to the unjustifiable conduct of the Opposition. If honorable members of the Opposition had submitted a direct vote of censure upon which honorable members could have discussed the general policy of the Government, there would have been no necessity for me to take my present action; but because we have been hobbled and gagged by the methods adopted by the Opposition, that we, as Britishers, feel called upon to raise our voices in protest.

AKER.—The honorable member referring to another debate.

STER.—I am referring to the one taken up by the Opposition with regard to the conduct of the business of the House.

AKER.—The honorable member referring to another debate.

STER.—It is necessary for me to take the action of the Opposition with regard to the conduct of the business of the House as illustrated by recent events, to show why the Standing Orders have been suspended, and why we should not take that right of discussion of the Opposition have sought to deprive the Government of that facilities should be to discuss the general administration of the Government. I ask what has been advanced by honorable members against the policy of the Government. The charge has been laid at the door of the Ministry which would justify its removal from office?

AKER.—I would ask if the honorable member's statements can fairly be taken as arguments in favour of the suspension of the Standing Orders?

AKER.—I take it that the honorable member is now stating one of the points which he indicated when I asked the honorable member to show the urgency of the question.

STER.—In spite of the opposition by the honorable and learned member for Werriwa, which is thoroughly in favour of him, I have a duty to perform to myself, but to the whole House, and I intend to discharge that duty. All attacks on the part of those who are seeking to burk discussion. I ask what portion of the policy of the Government has induced the Opposition to their present remarkable attitude? Is it opposed to the policy of Ministers to succeed in placing upon our agenda a measure dealing with a matter which has been dangled before the electors of the Commonwealth ever since the House was established? Do they think the Government because they have not previously settled for all time as to where we are to go "sweet by-and-by"? Are they seeking indirectly to deprive the Government of office and power because of their regard to the Seat of Government? Do they wish to revert to the old system of affairs which existed before we passed an Act to bring about

a White Australia? Do those honorable gentlemen who are seeking to conduct the business of this Chamber in the manner which the notice paper indicates, hope that they may reverse that legislation that has been so well administered by the Government in the interests of a White Australia? Are these members prepared to stake their political existence on the attitude which they are now taking up? I realize that there is only one explanation for the conduct of those who are seeking by these indirect methods to attain something which they have not the courage to achieve by direct means. Are honorable members opposite cognizant of the fact that all the political leanings and all the public utterances of their present leader indicate that he is opposed to a White Australia?

Mr. REID.—I have been looking at the standing order 407, and I wish to ask you, Mr. Speaker, whether the honorable member is in order in obtruding his speech upon the House, out of its due order, and before the preliminary question has been decided whether or not we shall suspend the Standing Orders. In connexion with a proposal to suspend the Standing Orders, and to interrupt the ordinary course of public business, the honorable member is making a speech which he ought not to deliver until we have determined to throw our Standing Orders to the winds to enable him to do as he desires.

Mr. WEBSTER.—I intend to deliver another speech afterwards.

Mr. REID.—I submit, sir, that the honorable member must be confined to a statement of his reasons for asking that the Standing Orders shall be suspended, and that he must not indulge in a speech on the general question until the House has by an absolute majority determined that the ordinary course of business shall be interrupted.

Mr. WATSON.—I submit that in the first place the standing order referred to by the right honorable gentleman does not provide that under these circumstances the question as to the suspension of the Standing Orders must be submitted without debate. In giving his reasons for the suspension of the Standing Orders the honorable member surely has the right to refer incidentally to the conduct of the right honorable gentleman and those associated with him in this crisis. It seems to me that the honorable member for Gwydir is

quite within our rules in giving reasons why the Standing Orders should be suspended. Even in an ordinary set of circumstances, if it were proposed to suspend the Standing Orders merely in order to pass a Bill through all its stages hurriedly, it would be open to honorable members to debate the proposal. They could show reasons why it was not a matter of urgency, and conversely in this instance the honorable member for Gwydir can advance reasons why it is a matter of urgency that his views should be placed before the country.

Mr. McDONALD.—I desire to point out that upon a previous occasion—I cannot recall the exact date—when Sir Edmund Barton filled the position of Prime Minister, I took exception to a motion to suspend the Standing Orders in connexion with the despatch of certain Australian troops. If my recollection serves me accurately, my attitude then was opposed by a very strong section now upon the Opposition side of the House, and the action of the Prime Minister was upheld. The point which I then raised was whether the Prime Minister was in order in discussing the question which he desired to debate before the Standing Orders had been suspended. I believe that a ruling was given against me, and I claim that that ruling established a precedent in this Chamber. Consequently, any honorable member who seeks the suspension of the Standing Orders is perfectly entitled to furnish reasons why that course should be adopted. In this particular instance the honorable member for Gwydir wishes the Standing Orders to be suspended, and the House cannot possibly know whether or not that course ought to be followed until he has advanced reasons in support of his motion. To my mind the grounds which he has already advanced amply warrant the suspension of the Standing Orders. He is perfectly in order in adopting the line of argument which he is pursuing.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I wish to raise the question of whether, in the whole of the statements of the honorable member for Gwydir, there is a scintilla of evidence of the character contemplated by the Standing Orders? He has informed the House that he has submitted this proposal because some honorable members of the Opposition have adopted an unusual course.

Mr. McDONALD.—That does not appear in the motion.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I am speaking of the honorable member's argument, and of the motion. There is nothing in statements to indicate that the matter which he desires to discuss is one of urgency.

Mr. WATSON.—Oh, yes.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The motion merely indicates that in this House there is an Opposition, and that there is also a Government which is pursuing its ordinary purposes of policy and administration. Consequently we require to look at the reasons advanced by the honorable member to ascertain whether any urgency exists in connexion with this matter.

Mr. WATSON.—Why not allow him to state his reasons?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I submit that he has already sufficiently stated the case. After all the tumultuous cheering which occurred in the caucus room this morning I should have thought that honorable members opposite had quite pumped themselves out.

Mr. WATSON.—Was that the caucus which was held in the Opposition room?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—No, in the Labor Party's room.

Mr. WATSON.—There was no caucus meeting there.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—If the meeting of that party continue to be so boisterous, I am not quite certain whether a third partition than already exists will not be required between the room in which the Government assemble and the Opposition room. The gravamen of the statements by the honorable member for Gwydir is that the Opposition yesterday adopted a course of which the Government did not approve. To argue that that is a matter the discussion of which urgently requires this motion is a travesty upon the Standing Orders.

Mr. WATSON.—That is for the House to decide.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—It is for the Speaker to say whether the matter is one of urgency, and whether he will permit the discussion upon the motion to suspend the Standing Orders to proceed. I contend that there is nothing to indicate that the slightest urgency exists in connexion with this matter. Upon that ground, as well as upon the other, I submit that the honorable member ought not to be allowed to proceed.

Mr. SPEAKER.—Two points of order have been put before me. The right honorable member for East Sydney has called

the fact that the first matter to be decided by the House is, whether or not to suspend the Standing Orders, determines to suspend them, and then proceed upon the subject in the motion. That is so. The question which honorable members can raise is whether or not the Standing Orders should be suspended. Some honorable members called the attention of the hon. member for Gwydir to the fact that the question to which he must consent is not the suspension of the Standing Orders. The honorable member for Gwydir says that no urgency has been shown. I am endeavouring, as I said, when I am not entertaining these points of order, to ascertain whether the honorable member for Gwydir is making out a case for the suspension. He claims that there is some danger of the Government losing its majority on the Treasury benches, and that before that event takes place it is necessary to enable honorable members to make certain statements. I am quite willing to listen to him further, reserving my right—which I indicated half-an-hour ago—to prevent a continuance of the discussion if urgency is not proved.

MR. WEBSTER.—During my Parliamentary career, I have never been so much in Opposition as I have been on this occasion. It is, indeed, the duty of every part of honorable members to bring forward such frequent intervals to bring out fresh points. I do not care whether I occupy a Ministerial side of the House, an Opposition side, or upon the cross benches, seeing that there is a probability of the Government being defeated, and the Opposition being adopted by the House. I am without a precedent in this matter in Australia, I contend that the Standing Orders afforded an opportunity of discussion, if we think fit, of supporting the policy of the Government. It is more urgent than the right of honorable members to defend themselves, which are made upon them, in a constitutional way, but in a manner not shown in any other Parliament in the Commonwealth? I wish to oblige the House of the Standing Orders by the use of discussing the policy of the Government, considering the attitude that has been adopted by the Opposition in the conduct of the public business. I do not resort to such tactics it is a

matter of extreme urgency that the Standing Orders be suspended in order that we may exercise the British right of free speech. When the right honorable member for East Sydney smiles, as he is now doing, I know that he does not relish the arguments that are being adduced. I think I have clearly shown that this is a matter of extreme urgency.

MR. JOHNSON.—The honorable member has not yet said a word in support of his motion.

MR. WEBSTER.—Even if I availed myself of every word in the dictionary, I do not imagine that I should be able to convince the honorable member. Some honorable members are so full of their own self-importance that it is impossible to convince them that they hold erroneous views on any subject, and therefore I shall not attempt to perform impossibilities. We have a right, as free men, representing a free people, to give full expression to our views on an all-important question of this kind. We have a right to protest against the tactics pursued by the Opposition during the last day or two. What are the planks in the Government policy to which the Opposition object?

MR. JOHNSON.—I submit, Mr. Speaker, that while it is perfectly competent for the honorable member to show that it is a matter of urgency that the Standing Orders should be suspended, he is not in order in discussing the general question.

MR. SPEAKER.—While the honorable member for Gwydir was speaking, I was looking up the precedent mentioned a little earlier in the proceedings by the honorable member for Kennedy, so that I was not closely following his remarks. If the honorable member was distinctly going beyond the question of whether it is desirable to suspend the Standing Orders, he was certainly out of order.

MR. WEBSTER.—As I am only a novice, I feel inclined to accept the kindly advice offered by honorable members opposite. As a tribute to their high intellectual attainments, to their wide knowledge of constitutional law, and to their intimate acquaintance with the rules of procedure, I should perhaps express my gratitude—

MR. SPEAKER.—Will the honorable member discuss the question?

MR. WEBSTER.—I have already shown that it is a matter of urgency that the Standing Orders should be suspended. I shall now discuss those features in the

policy of the present Government to which the Opposition are opposed:

Mr. SPEAKER.—In discussing that matter the honorable member would go beyond the scope of the motion.

Mr. WEBSTER.—I wish to show that by the action of the Opposition we are deprived of the right to freely discuss their tactics.

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—Not at all.

Mr. WEBSTER.—I am surprised that the honorable member, in whose veracity I have always had the greatest confidence, should hold that opinion. He knows that the Opposition are anxious to burke discussion—to gag honorable members on this side of the House—and to prevent us from putting before the people of Australia our reasons for objecting to their attempt to follow a course of procedure which has never been adopted in any other Parliament in the Commonwealth.

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—The question is whether honorable members are going back on the vote which they gave in favour of the amendment moved by the honorable and learned member for Corinella. It is the Ministry who say they will resign if the clause is not recommitted.

Mr. WEBSTER.—I admire the honorable member's friendly interest in me, but do not welcome his interposition. By the action of the Opposition we have been deprived of the right, which we should otherwise have enjoyed, to discuss the general question on a direct motion of want of confidence. Do those who are supporting the Opposition tactics fully realize that they are allowing the impression to go forth to the public that they are not prepared to support the policy of this Government?

Mr. REID.—I rise to a point of order. I submit, Mr. Speaker, that the honorable member is not discussing the motion for the suspension of the Standing Orders, and that he is out of order from first to last. I hold that he must absolutely confine himself to the giving of reasons in support of his contention that it is urgently necessary that the Standing Orders should be suspended.

Mr. WATSON.—Having had time to look up the precedent referred to by the honorable member for Kennedy—

Mr. REID.—If this is a Government move, I do not wish to object to it.

Mr. WATSON.—I hold that it is one of the duties of a Government to protect the

rights of honorable members in regard to our methods of procedure.

Mr. REID.—Hear, hear.

Mr. WATSON.—I have had an opportunity to look up the point referred to by the honorable member for Kennedy, and shall briefly put it before the House. On the 14th January, 1901, the then Prime Minister, Sir Edmund Barton, wished to make a statement to the House relative to the South African war and the part which he proposed, on behalf of the Government, that the Commonwealth should play in it. The proposal to make that statement was objected to, on the ground that it would give honorable members no opportunity to reply, and the Prime Minister then proceeded to deal with the subject on a motion to suspend the Standing Orders. On that occasion, Mr. Speaker, you ruled that—

The objection of the honorable member for Kennedy is fatal to the Prime Minister on the occasion making any statement to the House except in the way which he proposes—a speech which will conclude with a motion such as for the suspension of the Standing Orders.

The Prime Minister adopted that form, and concluded with a motion for the suspension of the Standing Orders. Debate then ensued, and the discussion, which is reported in *Hansard* at pages 8741 to 8800, covers the whole question of the South African war.

Mr. GLYNN.—I should like to take your ruling, Mr. Speaker, on the point whether the matter to which the honorable member wishes to refer can be discussed by the House even if he obtains the suspension of the Standing Orders. Is it not a matter which is already under discussion?

Mr. WATSON.—He wishes to discuss the general policy of the Government.

Mr. GLYNN.—He wishes to refer to the action of the Opposition during the last two days in endeavouring to prevent the discussion of a certain matter.

Mr. MAHON.—And to the policy of the Government.

Mr. GLYNN.—In support of the point which I have raised, I should like you to refer, sir, to the following passage on page 264 of May's *Parliamentary Practice*—

Nor can a motion be brought forward which is the same in substance as a question which, during the current session, has been decided in the affirmative or negative, nor which anticipates a matter already set down or appointed for consideration by the House.

I respectfully ask you to decide, Mr. Speaker, that the object of the honorable member

ir, in asking for the suspension of Standing Orders, is to refer to already under the discussion of and to interfere with the right of members to continue that discussion.

KER.—I will deal first with the objection raised by the honorable member for Angas. So far as I, have any knowledge, the question in the debate to which the honorable and learned member refers is a certain clause of a certain Bill which is not to be recommitted. Whether the Government is, or is not, in discussion is a question in which I cannot assume to have any voice. It is not for me to say whether or is not. Therefore, so long as the honorable member for Gwydir does not move the motion relating to the Arbitration Bill on the notice-paper, and without omitting clause 48 from the Bill, or any other matter, the House has been given, he will be at the point which the honorable member for Angas has raised in his application. The honorable member, however, will be out of order in attempting to debate any motion on the notice-paper. So far as the point of order of the honorable and learned member for Gwydir is concerned, the House is at the line between that which the honorable member for Gwydir may discuss and that which he may not discuss is a fine line. He cannot discuss on the subject of the suspension of the Standing Orders the object which he wishes to discuss, but he may give as fully as he likes the reasons why he thinks the Standing Orders should be suspended. At the attention was called to his objection the right honorable and learned member for East Sydney, he was told him, arguing that possibly the members of the Opposition might have arguments being advanced, which he thought ought to be considered and was thereby proving the suspension of the Standing Orders.

—Another day or two.

—Contemptible minds have no ideas.

—I have every reason to believe of the wonderful unanimity amongst honorable members

opposite in the desire to discuss the question on this question.

Mr. KELLY.—Is the honorable member in order in saying that the members of the Opposition are unanimous in the desire to discuss the question?

Mr. SPEAKER.—If the remark is objected to by any honorable member, it must be withdrawn.

Mr. WEBSTER.—If it is objected to by any honorable member opposite, I withdraw it; but, knowing the marvellous abilities of the honorable member for Wentworth, I did not intend to convey the impression that he is capable of discussing the question. It is very difficult for a man to speak connectedly when he is being continually badgered. I remember being called to order very quickly on one occasion for objecting to an honorable member expressing his opinions when he desired to do so.

Mr. SPEAKER.—Will the honorable member discuss the question before the House?

Mr. WEBSTER.—I feel sure that in discussing the wisdom of suspending the Standing Orders to allow honorable members who, during the last nine months, have taken an attitude which seems to me more incomprehensible and more inexplicable—

Mr. REID.—Have we anything to do with what has happened during the last nine months?

Mr. SPEAKER.—The purpose for which the honorable member desires the suspension of the Standing Orders is to enable him to discuss "the policy and administration of the Government, also the attitude of the Opposition in relation to the conduct of the business of Parliament." So far as I can see, that covers all that the honorable member can say in regard to the whole life of this Parliament.

Mr. WEBSTER.—I am delighted that the right honorable member for East Sydney raised the point of order, because your ruling, Mr. Speaker, has given me an opportunity for which I am grateful. It considerably enlarges the scope of my observations. We have the right, on whichever side of the chamber we may sit, to explain our actions during the existence of this Parliament, which is not yet twelve months old, in order that later on we may, if possible, obtain the approval of our constituents in regard to what we have done. I am acting as the friend of honorable members on the Opposition side of the House, who, I feel

certain, are just as anxious as I am to be able to place on record the reasons why they have taken the course which they have adopted during the existence of this Parliament. I maintain that it is only fair that we should have an opportunity to do so since it is probable that that opportunity may not occur again on account of the action of the Opposition in connexion with a motion which has recently been put before the Chamber. Each and every one of us should have the opportunity to defend his attitude towards the Government, and the vote which he intends to give, thereby once and for all giving to the people whom he represents an honest outline of his reasons for the faith that is in him. Honorable members opposite have the same right to be heard as have the supporters of the Government.

Mr. HUGHES.—Does the honorable member say that they should be compelled to explain?

Mr. WEBSTER.—I do not believe in compulsion except in connexion with arbitration. In a matter of this kind I feel sure that they will not need to be compelled. I am certain that they are only too anxious to have an opportunity to do so. The methods adopted by the Opposition in relation to the conduct of public business have engaged even their own supporters. But the leader of the Government is prepared to extend to them that which their own party would refuse. What have honorable members to object to in the policy of the Government?

Mr. SPEAKER.—That question has no relation to the suspension of the Standing Orders.

Mr. WEBSTER.—Owing to certain occurrences which may eventuate, and which are well known to honorable members, we shall have no opportunity to discuss the question at a later stage.

Mr. SPEAKER.—The honorable member may say that, but he must not discuss the policy of the Government.

Mr. WEBSTER.—I am giving my reasons for thinking that we should have an opportunity to discuss the important questions that are now pending. I am rather sorry that no other point of order has been raised, because it would have given me time to mature my thoughts. Is it not right, in the interests of good Government, that honorable members opposite should have an opportunity to explain why, in connexion with certain legislation, they have opposed the Government, and why they intend to vote in a particular direction in connexion with

an event which is likely to occur during the next day or so?

Mr. GLYNN.—I ask your ruling, sir, to whether the honorable member is now referring to the pending vote on Conciliation and Arbitration Bill?

Mr. SPEAKER.—At the moment when the honorable and learned member for Glasgow rose to a point of order, I was speaking to the honorable member for Merionethshire with reference to the debate; but the honorable member for Gwydir is now doing what the honorable and learned member for Angas says he was doing, he is transgressing the rule. I ask him not to do that.

Mr. WEBSTER.—I certainly have no desire to transgress the rule. I have always endeavoured to keep within the four corners of the law of Parliament. I admit at once that I have to exercise my right to speak within a barbed wire fence, which has been erected for the purpose of preventing me from explaining my position. But, sir, I did not as the honorable and learned member for Angas stated, transgress the rule.

Mr. GLYNN.—What was the "pending vote" to which the honorable member referred?

Mr. WEBSTER.—I was not referring to the vote which is to be taken on the Arbitration Bill. I contend that I did not transgress by referring to a subject which is undoubtedly is hurtful to honorable members opposite. Why are these constant objections raised to the exercise of my constitutional right to debate a question when we are otherwise prevented from debating by reason of the attitude assumed by the Opposition? Do honorable members realize that as the outcome of this method of conducting public business it is possible that they will have to give an explanation of their opposition to the Government and its policy? There is one thing that it is absolutely essential that honorable members should consider, and that is that in the efforts of the Opposition to replace the Government by means hitherto never adopted by a Parliament in Australia—

Mr. GLYNN.—To what means is the honorable member referring?

Mr. REID.—I rise to a point of order. This is quite a new point. I should like to have the benefit of your ruling with regard to it. I have just observed the terms of the motion which the honorable

ydin has sprung on us, and your ruling as to whether, Standing Orders, the honorable include more than one motion for the suspension of Standing Orders. Because, if that, he can include a submit to you, sir, that there is mentioned in this motion and administration of the that is one thing; and the at Opposition in relation to the business of Parliament. absolutely different things, that this standing order is not feel that it would be convenient in the future, if we had the opinion as to whether, upon suspend the Standing Orders, subject can be included.

ER.—I have no hesitation ruling asked for. I would the members that it is a connexion with Supply Bills tion Bills to move that the rs be suspended, to enable the Committee of Supply to be Bill introduced and passed stages without delay. In free or four different things ed by the motion, as only two under the motion now le members. It is quite com- House to suspend the Stand- or one purpose or for more

TER.—I shall go on for a enable the right honorable ok up another point of order. a points have been raised, not disturbed me in the least. ed to discharge what I con- duty, despite the interrup- I am being subjected. Hon- rs will have to weigh very reasons which they may be ve to their constituents for ch they are taking. Should an opportunity to explain ose to desert a Government our of a White Australia? I ask, Mr. Speaker, whether pon our rules is to be per- ger? We are now being ad- subject of a White Australia, mption that it is a matter of will admit of no delay.

ER.—I distinctly heard orable member was saying, ing that some opportunity

should be afforded to honorable members to discuss the policy of the Government, which includes the maintenance of a White Australia.

Mr. WEBSTER.—I know that this subject is a sore point with the right honorable member for East Sydney.

Mr. REID.—The honorable member has now a loose rein; the White Australia question is very urgent.

Mr. WEBSTER.—I desire to impress upon honorable members who are following the right honorable member that they will probably have to explain to their constituents their attitude upon this question. They are leaving in the lurch a Government which has fought tooth and nail to safeguard a principle which is among the most sacred to Australia, namely, the maintenance of a White Australia. Are they prepared to assist into office those who have asserted that if they can secure the reins of Government they will do everything they can by maladministration to defeat the objects of the Immigration Restriction Act, and to go back on the grand principle of a White Australia? Will honorable members also be able to explain the position which they have taken up with regard to the proposal of the Government embodied in the Bonuses for Manufactures Bill now before this Chamber? Will those honorable members who profess to desire to encourage Australian industry, who have shed bitter tears of sympathy with the unfortunate unemployed, and who are pledged to their constituents to legislate, and to administer our laws, upon such lines that our industries will be established upon a sound basis and provide work for our citizens, be able to show that their present action is justified?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Upon a point of order, Mr. Speaker, I would direct your attention to the fact that the honorable member is now submitting as matters of urgent necessity some possible attitude of members of the Opposition at some time or other, with regard to the Bonuses for Manufactures Bill, the White Australian question, the provision of employment for the people, and other items which make up the general programme of the Government, or have relation to their administration. I ask you to rule that none of these are matters of urgent necessity, and that, therefore, they furnish no reason for the suspension of the Standing Orders. They may be matters of great importance, but they have already been discussed and voted

upon within the recent past. I submit that there is not a scintilla of proof of urgency in connexion with any of these matters, and that the course which the honorable member is taking constitutes a grave abuse of our Parliamentary privileges and procedure. If this kind of argumentation is to be regarded as a matter of necessity, we may as well set aside all our Parliamentary rules, and allow you, sir, to govern the House without reference to them. What would hinder any honorable member from taking a similar course every day of the year, and so render it impossible to transact any business?

AN HONORABLE MEMBER.—What is the point of order?

MR. JOSEPH COOK.—The point of order is that the honorable member is indulging in a grave abuse of the Standing Orders.

MR. SPEAKER.—Order. Will the honorable member state his point of order?

MR. JOSEPH COOK.—My point of order is that the honorable member has shown no urgent necessity to adopt the course which he desires to follow.

MR. THOMAS.—That is the honorable member's opinion. It is not a point of order.

MR. JOSEPH COOK.—Of course it is my opinion, and I am asking Mr. Speaker to rule upon the matter.

MR. HUGHES.—He has already given a ruling upon it.

MR. JOSEPH COOK.—Since Mr. Speaker gave his ruling the honorable member has introduced two or three fresh matters of the most ordinary character—matters which do not relate to the Government programme. For example he mentioned the Bonuses for Manufactures Bill. I submit, therefore, that his conduct amounts to a grave abuse of the Standing Orders. *May* points out that such a motion should refer only to some matter of grave importance, which arises suddenly, and which requires the immediate attention of the House.

MR. SPEAKER.—Is the honorable member giving a ruling or is he asking for my ruling?

MR. REID.—Labour cheers again.

MR. SPEAKER.—Order.

MR. JOSEPH COOK.—I respectfully submit that I was supporting my point of order, but I do not think that I need proceed further.

SIR WILLIAM LYNE.—I submit that the honorable member for Gwydir was perfectly in order in making the remark to

which exception has been taken. The spect of our existing legislation in respect of a White Australia being repealed. matter of urgency, and I happen to know that it has given rise to very grave concern in the minds of a large number of persons.

MR. SPEAKER.—The honorable member for Parramatta has asked me whether the course followed by the honorable member for Gwydir is not an abuse of constitutional practice. Of course, I have to rule under such Standing Orders. I should prefer, or under such Standing Orders as are in force in some other Parliaments, but under those which are operative in this Parliament. I should prefer that our Standing Orders should require a motion for their suspension to be put without debate. But under those Standing Orders there is no such requirement, and therefore I cannot uphold the course which is being taken by the honorable member for Gwydir is an abuse of parliamentary privilege. The honorable member has distinctly asserted that it is probable that, even to-night the Government may have to vacate their position on the Treasury benches, and has argued before that event takes place, time should be afforded for a certain discussion. From his point of view, that matter is certainly arguable, and I am prepared to hear debate it still further.

MR. WEBSTER.—When I was interrupted I was seeking to discover how honorable members opposite could justify their position before the workers, who would benefit by the granting of a bonus for production of iron in Australia. It is to them that they should be afforded opportunity of telling their constituents so many words why they have sunk a fiscal question, upon which they were elected to this Parliament. The right honorable member for East Sydney, who has assumed the position of leader of the Opposition, who is such an adept in the art of making personal explanations, that he can explain the various and conflicting attitudes adopted by him upon any question, should be afforded an opportunity of stating why he pulled down the fiscal flag, which he raised to the mast at the last election. He should perform his duty in this House, and not seek to evade responsibility for his conduct by endeavouring to obtain a snatch vote.

MR. JOHNSON.—Upon a point of order I submit that the honorable member is transgressing the rules of Parliament, that he is discussing the subject which

discuss when the Standing Order is suspended.

—Seeing that you, sir, have ruled upon the same point, I am able member for Lang guilty of misconduct in again raising it?

MR.—The point of order is that the honorable member has not pre-empted. It relates to a sentence of the honorable member which had not been uttered. The point of order was raised, and objection could not then be made to dismiss the point of order, and the member for Gwydir to

Labour cheers again.

MR.—I sympathize with the members opposite, who feel that they are able to justify the votes they have given, and I am seeking to do so.

I sympathize with the Opposition; with that demoralized honorable member for Parry; with the father of the Labour Party; with the honorable member for Lang, who is self-righteous and lecturing the Government as the honorable member opposite. I desire to secure an opportunity to explain their attitude, and to show their constituents the reasons why they oppose the Government. I have the honorable and learned member for Darling—Mr. Callaghan—who has been conspicuous in his absence from the Chamber of Deputies—and those who followed the banner of Protection at the time they were prepared now to lower it. They should have an opportunity to explain why they are consenting to the sacrifice of their sacred rights and attempting to burke legitimate discussion. I have done

MR.—Go on.

MR.—All the fighting qualities of the Government are not confined to the Chamber of Deputies, and I may go on too far for the convenience of the honorable member for Wannon. A man who when he will wish that I had not spoken. I have done my duty in speaking of the forms of the House of Representatives, and on the part of the Government, which will stand out prominently in the history of Commonwealth of Australia as one of the most despicable attacks on the right of discussion that has ever

Mr. REID.—That is outrageous.

Mr. SPEAKER.—Order! The honorable member must not charge the House, or any section of it, with resorting to methods which are despicable in their character.

Mr. WEBSTER.—Then, I shall withdraw the word "despicable," and shall say that the action of the Opposition is unfair, unmanly, and un-British. Their methods would not be followed by statesmen of the type of Gladstone, Disraeli, or Chamberlain. Such men would never stoop to the tactics of which the Opposition have been guilty, in order to secure a temporary victory over their opponents. Unlike the Opposition, they would not gag them and rob them of their political liberty. I have on a previous occasion spoken of certain honorable members as being political highwaymen, and I say, without hesitation, that those who are supporting the Opposition tactics may fairly be described in that way. They are political highwaymen, seeking to rob the Government of their political rights. I trust that my protest will be remembered. It certainly will be recorded on the pages of the history of this Parliament. I do not think that any Labour Government would ever descend to the use of such weapons as the Opposition have employed to defeat their political opponents; but, if they did, I for one should vigorously protest. I have heard the right honorable member for East Sydney say that he likes a fair fight. He invariably cries out for fair play, and yet he is now the first to shelter himself behind a political hedge and pull the trigger of the revolver which another man holds at the head of the Government. He has spoken of what has occurred in New South Wales, but, as a matter of fact, he is pointing a pistol at the head of the Government, and, without giving them any opportunity to defend themselves, is demanding their political lives. It is his desire that the hands of the Government shall be tied behind them, and that a gag shall be placed in their mouths, so that they may have no opportunity to defend themselves from an attack which is unprecedented in the annals of Australian Parliaments.

Mr. McDONALD (Kennedy). — I heartily congratulate the honorable member for Gwydir on his honest, straightforward, and manly attempt to secure the fullest and freest discussion of the question which is really at issue. I do not know whether the right honorable member for East Sydney is the

leader of the Opposition or whether that position is held by the honorable and learned member for Ballarat.

Mr. MALONEY.—He is the tail of the Opposition.

Mr. REID.—That is polite.

Mr. McDONALD.—The leader of the Opposition, whoever he may be, and those behind him, are endeavouring to prevent honorable members from dealing with the policy of the Government in a straightforward and manly way. I care not on which side of the House I sit.

Mr. WATSON.—There is more fun on the other side.

Mr. McDONALD.—We shall have a great deal more fun over there.

Mr. REID.—Then, why are the Government so slow in leaving the Treasury benches?

Mr. WATSON.—When we fight we desire the Marquis of Queensberry rules to be observed.

Mr. McDONALD.—I challenge any one to point to one act of maladministration on the part of the Government. As a matter of fact, honorable members opposite are pledged to the policy to which the Ministry are seeking to give effect; but apparently they are ready to displace them merely because of a desire to gain possession of the Treasury benches. They have nothing whatever to say against the administration of the Government, and that is probably the reason why the right honorable member for East Sydney has not submitted a straight-out want of confidence motion.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—That is what he told the people of Australia he would do.

Mr. McDONALD.—The people of the Commonwealth have a right to know the ground on which it is proposed to displace the Government.

Mr. REID.—Clause 48.

Mr. McDONALD.—The right honorable member is afraid to submit a straight-out want of confidence motion, because he knows that it is impossible to say that the Government have in any respect violated the trust reposed in them. He has told the House and the country a dozen times that he would come down with a no-confidence motion, and yet we now find him prepared to attain his ends by means of a snatch vote. The House ought to compliment the honorable member for Gwydir upon the action which he has taken. If he had not moved this motion, honorable members would not have had an opportunity to say whether they

approve or disapprove of the actions of the Government, and all that the country would have known would have been that the Government had been defeated on a clause of a Bill. That, to many people, would appear a mere question of detail, though the Government regard it as being a vital principle.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Was not the Government in the same case?

Mr. McDONALD.—No. We are straightforwardly.

Mr. REID.—The last Government tried their gruel like men.

Mr. McDONALD.—The members of the Opposition are not taking their gruel like men this afternoon. I think that proper course for them to have followed was to try to defeat the Government on a direct motion. In spite of all his actions, the right honorable member has had the pluck to move a motion of want of confidence. There is a great deal of talk about him, but that is about all. There is no "Yes-no" policy about him, however. Everyone knows what my question is; but I question if one member of the Chamber can say what the position of the right honorable member is.

Mr. CAMERON.—He is in Opposition to-day, and will be on the Government benches to-morrow.

Mr. McDONALD.—There is still an opportunity to discuss this matter, and I challenge the leader of the Opposition to take a course which will enable it to be properly discussed.

Mr. REID (East Sydney). — I should like to be allowed to say a few words—

Mr. McDONALD.—The right honorable member has a quarter of an hour.

Mr. HUGHES. — The right honorable member ought not to sit down before 4 past 4 o'clock.

Mr. REID.—I hope that I shall be continually interrupted during my remarks. I wish, if I may be allowed to do so, to say a few words in reply to imputations which, even coming from a quarter, must cause one a certain amount of concern. Honorable members who have spoken upon this extraordinary motion have uttered a number of statements as reasons for suspending our ordinary rules which must, to any man of parliamentary experience, appear absolutely absurd. They should know that it is not for this House when dealing with a particular Bill which it has recorded its opinions, to say

position of the Government. chose its own position by attain significance to a request use was at liberty to grant or the House was asked to rein clause, about which hon- s had made up their minds, one so, proposed not to re- urely we cannot make special rable gentlemen who are so se to retention of office — s.—Why did the right hon- select clause 48?

—I did not select that clause.
—The right honorable mem- ble to the recommitment of the
—The Government said out- would consider that the d enough of them if it did o the recommitment of the

ER.—I have already ruled, occasions, that no refer- made on this motion to a de- pending, or to any motion on per. I therefore ask the member not to continue his

—I fall back upon the sacred h you, sir, heard of from member for Gwydir a hun- he used the words once, he ndred times.

ALD.—I rise to order. Is able member in order in re- our conduct, Mr. Speaker, glect of duty to you in not remarks of the honorable ydydir?

ER.—I recognise no impu- self in what was said by orable member for East

—I wish to point out, in re- rical statements of my hon- in view of an unpleasant

—We shall be quite pre- ver happens, though I never honorable member to be so.

—The Prime Minister, in sacred principles of parlia- ment, invited the House to urse. The House proposes free will in regard to the not made the occasion sig- had nothing to do with the

Mr. HUGHES.—Honorable members have been coerced into making the position significant.

Mr. REID.—Attempts have been made to induce some honorable members to change their votes on a solemn question of principle, in order to save the Government.

Mr. HUGHES.—What about the right honorable member for Balaclava?

Mr. REID.—The Government have succeeded in three or four instances in inducing honorable members to change their votes. The trouble in connexion with the present situation is that they cannot get five or six honorable members to do so.

Mr. DAVID THOMSON.—What about the right honorable member's own supporters?

Mr. WATSON.—Yes, what about the honorable member for Dalley?

Mr. REID.—He can answer for himself.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—So can the others.

Mr. REID.—The honorable member for Dalley has withstood the animosity of the Labour Party for fifteen years, and has beaten them every time. He had a singular success at Balmain the other day in "downing" one or two of them.

Mr. MAHON.—What has the Balmain election to do with this question?

Mr. SPEAKER.—The right honorable member, in referring to the Balmain election, was transgressing the rules of debate.

Mr. REID.—I was referring to the sacred principle of the right of the people to choose the men they wish to represent them, as the honorable member for Gwydir would say. I had had some little experience of the rules of Parliament before the present Government was heard of. These rules are old. They have been established for many years. It is the most common thing in the world for the House, sometimes on the invitation of the Government, and sometimes against their wish, to vote against the recommitment of a Bill to secure the reconsideration of some provision in it.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—This is an attempt to take the business of the House out of the hands of the Government.

Mr. REID.—No one who was a supporter of the Government would take part in such an attempt. But surely those who oppose the Government are entitled to try to take the business of the House out of their hands? This is a new style of administration that honorable members desire. What do we care whether our action does or does not take the business of the House out of the hands of the Government? Are

we here to keep the Government in office? Are we here to save them, by building bridges for them at the sacrifice of our own principles? We are not here for that purpose. All the bridges that could be built have been built, and the grievance of honorable members opposite is that they cannot go into the building yard and get another bridge built. That is the only trouble of these valiant heroes, to whom principle is everything, and who have sold the trades unionists of Australia on their own principles.

Mr. WATSON.—That is a good gag; but the trades unionists of Australia know the right honorable gentleman. They have been sold by him too often.

Mr. REID.—I do not profess to live on them, as other people do.

Mr. WATSON.—No one else lives on them. The right honorable member knows better than that.

Mr. REID.—I have taken a straightforward course, and have dealt with them as favorably and as fairly as I have dealt with other members of the community.

Mr. WATSON.—It comes well from the right honorable member to talk about selling.

Mr. MAHON.—The right honorable member would sell himself to anybody.

Mr. HUGHES.—He has sold every party to which he has belonged.

Mr. WATSON.—He has sold the free-traders.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—Has he not sold himself to the protectionists?

Mr. REID.—Poor fellows! Is it so sad to leave?

Mr. WATSON.—I shall not be as sad about leaving office as the right honorable member was in 1898. I have not crawled round other honorable members, as the right honorable gentleman did.

Mr. SPEAKER.—I ask Ministers to help me in securing the observance of the rules of debate.

Mr. WATSON.—I am quite prepared to assist in every way in the maintenance of order in this Chamber, but in my view, the right honorable member has no right to suggest improper conduct to Ministers. If he does so, I shall certainly reply to him.

Mr. SPEAKER.—It is perfectly within the rights of any honorable member who has not spoken to reply to anything said by any other honorable member.

Mr. WATSON.—Time will not permit of my doing so. The right honorable member knows that.

Mr. REID.—The honorable gentleman has had plenty of time.

Mr. WATSON.—I have not had a minute.

Mr. SPEAKER.—As honorable members know, the rules of the House require them to remain silent while the Speaker addressing the Chamber. Every honorable member who has not yet spoken has the right to subsequently reply to the remarks made by other honorable members but it is disorderly to interrupt by interjection whoever is addressing the Chair.

Mr. REID.—I am sorry if I have said anything offensive, but honorable members have been hurling most offensive epithets at me, five or six at a time, and, like them I am hit I feel inclined to hit back.

Mr. HUGHES.—The honorable member a great fighter.

Mr. REID.—I have been a pretty good fighter in my time.

Mr. HUGHES.—That is why the right honorable member is pursuing his pretactics.

Mr. REID.—I am pursuing tact. This absurd motion has been sprung on the House by the honorable member for Gairdrie, who went nearly mad in a speech lasting an hour and a half, and was followed by another gentleman, who was in a similar state of hysteria. But honorable members who profess to believe in every one having fair play are grumbling because I wish to occupy a quarter of an hour in replying to the avalanche of abuse which has been poured upon me during the last two hours.

Mr. WATSON.—I am not grumbling.

Mr. REID.—I wish to protest against this unprecedented attempt to anticipate the vote of this House upon a matter of public importance. When the fate of the Government was at stake in connexion with a certain amendment having regard to inclusion of railway servants within the scope of this very Bill, did the Government crawl round to get a man's vote?

Mr. WATSON.—Has any one else done that? Why does not the honorable member say straight out what he means?

Mr. REID.—I am not talking about the Ministry, but of the whole Parliament.

Mr. HUGHES.—We did not crawl to a caucus for a penny on tea. The right honorable gentleman has a monopoly in matters of that kind.

Mr. REID.—It is not the penny that is worrying you; it is something more than that.

KER.—I must ask the right member not to address Ministers to address the Chair.

—Like the honorable member, I am rather a novice, and attacks lead me from the side. The very same situation this very Parliament two or three years ago. The same Bill was introduced, and a vote was approached, which the Government made announcement. Did the Deakin Government—I suppose that the Minister will admit that the present Government countenanced the action of the honorable member for Gwydir—supporters getting up to make a speech in abuse of the Government in anticipation of the vote that day? Did any such abuse of parliamentary life take place at the time? Did the Prime Minister and his colleagues get out of office without a vote?

N.—They were treated fairly. —They were engaged upon a question of great magnitude, and when a principle arose, upon which the honorable members differed they submitted themselves to the decision of the House.

N.—No one would have recommended the Bill.

—What! in order to change the Bill?

N.—No one would have recommended it if the Government had not.

—I am sure that the honorable member for Ballarat would have been asked for a recommendation in order that the Government might change its principle on a point which has created a great deal of trouble, or which has warranted the honorable member for Gwydir in addressing the House for an hour and a half—the result of his action—and it is well known that it was—

—The right honorable member for Gwydir.

—Surely we have arrived at a point of affairs when an honorable member should adhere to the vote which he has given on an important matter without being accused of anything but that is the effect of the honorable member for Gwydir; we have made up our minds on principle, and that we do not intend to change them, and that we wish to

let the Government know it at the earliest possible moment. That is the situation.

Mr. SPEAKER.—Will the honorable member kindly take his seat?

Debate interrupted. Business of the day called on under Standing Order 119.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

Mr. WATSON (Bland—Treasurer).—In view of the importance of the issue before the House at the present time, I think it is only proper that I should ask honorable members to forego their rights with regard to private business for to-day. Therefore, I move—

That the consideration of general business be postponed until after the consideration of Order of the Day No. 1, Government business.

Question resolved in the affirmative.

CONCILIATION AND ARBITRATION BILL.

Debate resumed from 10th August (*vide* page 4083), on motion by Mr. WATSON—

That the Bill be now recommitted to a Committee of the whole House for the reconsideration of clauses 4, 37, 38, 39, 46, 48, 52, 67, 68, and 90 and schedule B, and the consideration of proposed new clauses 52A and 95A—

Upon which Mr. McCAY had moved by way of amendment—

That clause 48 be omitted from the clauses proposed to be recommitted.

Mr. POYNTON (Grey).—I think I might appropriately refer to the principal amendments that have been made in the Bill. The measure was not the creation of the present Ministry, but was left on the stocks by the Deakin Administration. It then contained a clause which provided for preference to unionists, and the exercise of untrammelled discretion by the Judge. Some honorable members have stumped the country, and have denounced the present Administration for attempting to ruin the primary industries of the Commonwealth. They have never had the manliness to say that the preference clause originated with the Deakin Ministry, and that it was left as a legacy to the present Administration. I have always considered that the Bill does not go far enough, but I am anxious to carry out the pledge which I gave to my constituents, and to place upon the statute-book a measure which, although it may not be perfect, will, at least, form the groundwork of the legislation that is desired for

the peaceful settlement of industrial disputes. I venture to say that, at the last general election, the great majority of the electors expressed themselves in favour of conciliation and arbitration. The honorable member for Dalley told me that I should vote against the Bill, because it did not entirely meet with my approval; but I am anxious to do all I can to bring about the reform which every honorable member professes to desire. The honorable and learned member for Corinella succeeded in securing the adoption of an amendment which, I venture to say, would prove absolutely unworkable. Under the common rule an award might apply to the whole of the workmen in a particular industry in the Commonwealth, and it would be impracticable to furnish the Court with information that would satisfy it that an application for preference was indorsed by a majority of those affected. Take the case of the shearers. What man could tell how many shearers would be affected by an award of the Court? Any one with a practical knowledge of shearing work knows that during seasons when the harvests fail, many hundreds or thousands of men resort to shearing work, who, at other times, would find employment in the agricultural districts. Men may go out as shearers one year, and not shear the next. Still they would be affected by the award of the Court, because they might obtain a run of sheds for the following season. Therefore, no one could tell how many men would be affected by an award of the Court. Then, in the case of miners, a man may follow mining for a time, and then resort to other means of livelihood; but he may return to work as a miner at any time. No one knows better than does the honorable and learned member for Corinella that it would be impossible to demonstrate to the Court that the majority of the persons affected by an award approved of the application for preference.

Mr. McCAY.—I do not know it. I think that the proviso is workable, or I should not support it.

Mr. POYNTON.—The honorable and learned member failed to produce any evidence in proof of the soundness of his view. When I asked him to afford such proof he sneered at me.

Mr. McCAY.—I did not.

Mr. POYNTON.—The honorable and learned member seemed to think that, because he knew a little about Castlemaine, he

was fully acquainted with the conditions of the mining industry. I might tell him, however, that I was working down a mine before he was born. I think, therefore, that I can claim to know something about mine.

Mr. McCAY.—I admit that freely.

Mr. POYNTON.—The honorable member for Wentworth professed to know everything about the aspirations and requirements of the working classes, and he treated my interjections with contempt. Let me tell the honorable member that it is fortunate for him that he has never been under the necessity of making himself acquainted with the wants of the working classes.

He came into the world with a silver spoon in his mouth, and his path in life has been made so easy that it is impossible for him to understand the difficulties that would be experienced in complying with the conditions laid down in the proviso adopted at the instance of the honorable and learned member for Corinella. The honorable member for Dalley has declared that he will vote against the clause in the Bill which intended to confer a preference upon unionists, on the ground that it does not go far enough. There is an old saying, that an excuse is better than none; and I certainly think that that remark is applicable to the lamentable attempt of the honorable member to justify his action in this connection. He even refuses to allow the Bill to be taken into Committee, with a view to securing an amendment of the clause in the direction which he desires. He affirms that he sees no distinction between the proposal of the Government and the amendment of the honorable and learned member for Corinella. Can his chief see no difference between the two? Does the honorable learned member for Corinella see no difference? Is there not a vast distinction between requiring an organization to secure the approval of a majority of those affected by an award, and requiring it to demonstrate to the satisfaction of the Court that it substantially represents the interests of those engaged in any particular industry?

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—The honorable member has said that there is a difference, but he has not explained what it is.

Mr. POYNTON.—In quite a number of cases an organization might be able to satisfy the Arbitration Court that it substantially represents the interests of the employees engaged in any industry.

EDWARDS.—But the Prime Minister says that the words “substantiation” are equivalent to saying that the organization consists of a major-ity of workers in a particular industry.

POYNTON.—They do not mean a

MR. SMITH.—What do they

POYNTON.—If the members of the organization were required to represent a certain number of electors, very few could do so. If the individuals who are engaged to-morrow, are to be bound by the award of the Court. But the trades unionists gave effect to that award. I congratulate the Government upon making an honest effort to secure an Arbitration Bill, which would at least be workable. It would be a standing disgrace to them if, for the purpose of remaining upon the Treasury benches, they allowed this Bill to pass in its present form—a disgrace which no time could obliterate. They wish to obtain a recommitment of certain clauses, in order that we may secure a measure, which, if not perfect, will at least be of some utility. I commend them for their action in staking their Ministerial existence upon this particular provision. Personally, I am indifferent as to where I sit in this Chamber, but I am anxious that those engaged in industrial pursuits in the Commonwealth shall secure a workable measure in connexion with the important question of conciliation and arbitration. In my judgment, even the proposal of the Government does not go far enough, but I believe that under its operation there is a possibility of an organization being able to satisfy the Court that it substantially represents the employes in the particular industry affected by an award. That, however, would be quite impossible under the amendment of the honorable and learned member for Corinella. I cannot help remarking that since the present Government assumed office, there has been continuous underground engineering.

POYNTON.—This is not a question of working.

POYNTON.—It has been said, during the debate upon this Bill, that only a limited number of workers exist in Australia. We have to be bound by the award of the Court. But the trades unionists gave effect to that award. I congratulate the Government upon making an honest effort to secure an Arbitration Bill, which would at least be workable. It would be a standing disgrace to them if, for the purpose of remaining upon the Treasury benches, they allowed this Bill to pass in its present form—a disgrace which no time could obliterate. They wish to obtain a recommitment of certain clauses, in order that we may secure a measure, which, if not perfect, will at least be of some utility. I commend them for their action in staking their Ministerial existence upon this particular provision. Personally, I am indifferent as to where I sit in this Chamber, but I am anxious that those engaged in industrial pursuits in the Commonwealth shall secure a workable measure in connexion with the important question of conciliation and arbitration. In my judgment, even the proposal of the Government does not go far enough, but I believe that under its operation there is a possibility of an organization being able to satisfy the Court that it substantially represents the employes in the particular industry affected by an award. That, however, would be quite impossible under the amendment of the honorable and learned member for Corinella. I cannot help remarking that since the present Government assumed office, there has been continuous underground engineering.

POYNTON.—We ought to consider the case of those who cannot afford to employ a representative to represent them before the Court.

POYNTON.—I have as much to say for those individuals who are not members of unions—with the exception of those who are resident in places where such unions do not exist—as has the honorable member. I would remind him of the fact that since the present Government assumed office, there has been continuous underground engineering.

MR. FORREST.—In the Western Australian Bill no preference is given to

POYNTON.—In the first place, the Bill does not recognise individuals. It is based upon organizations, in preference to individuals. It was not intended to be introduced in these lines for the

express purpose of enabling the Court to give effect to an award. The organizations are intended to assist in giving effect to the awards of the Court. The individual is not considered at all. A strike occurred in New South Wales recently. The unionists did not strike, although the press of Australia endeavoured to convey the impression that they did. As a matter of fact, however, it was only the non-unionists—the members engaged in that particular industry who did not belong to organizations—who struck. They refused to be bound by the award of the Court. But the trades unionists gave effect to that award. I congratulate the Government upon making an honest effort to secure an Arbitration Bill, which would at least be workable. It would be a standing disgrace to them if, for the purpose of remaining upon the Treasury benches, they allowed this Bill to pass in its present form—a disgrace which no time could obliterate. They wish to obtain a recommitment of certain clauses, in order that we may secure a measure, which, if not perfect, will at least be of some utility. I commend them for their action in staking their Ministerial existence upon this particular provision. Personally, I am indifferent as to where I sit in this Chamber, but I am anxious that those engaged in industrial pursuits in the Commonwealth shall secure a workable measure in connexion with the important question of conciliation and arbitration. In my judgment, even the proposal of the Government does not go far enough, but I believe that under its operation there is a possibility of an organization being able to satisfy the Court that it substantially represents the employes in the particular industry affected by an award. That, however, would be quite impossible under the amendment of the honorable and learned member for Corinella. I cannot help remarking that since the present Government assumed office, there has been continuous underground engineering.

MR. HENRY WILLIS.—Because they have not a majority behind them.

MR. POYNTON.—A continuous attempt has been made to overthrow them. Why? They do not occupy their present positions as the result of self-seeking? Will any honorable member assert that they attempted to secure possession of the Treasury benches by underground tactics?

MR. SPEAKER.—I would remind the honorable member that the proposal before

the Chair has reference to the recommittal of clause 48.

Mr. POYNTON.—I was coming to that matter. I unhesitatingly declare that the action of honorable members of the Opposition is prompted by a desire to place certain of their number upon the Treasury benches. It is a piece of utter cant and hypocrisy for them to claim that it is prompted by a desire to study the best interests of the country. One cannot close his eyes to the fact that in politics we see strange bed-fellows. We have now presented to us the spectacle of certain honorable members, in their endeavour to gain the Ministerial benches, falling upon the necks of others, whose names, if mentioned in their presence only a month or two ago, would have produced the same effect as would a red rag upon a bull. It has been asserted on a public platform that the Commonwealth ship of State is being "steered from the steerage." Where is the right honorable member who made that statement? Where was he yesterday when this contemptible method was adopted to secure the defeat of the Government? He was probably in the vaults of the House, or in the sewer. We have had an exhibition of something that is more like sewerage politics—

Mr. KENNEDY.—I desire to know, Mr. Speaker, whether the honorable member is in order in referring to a course of procedure permissible under the Standing Orders as being contemptible?

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I would point out, Mr. Speaker, that the honorable member not only said that a certain method of procedure was contemptible, but that we were being treated to an exhibition of sewerage politics.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—He said that the right honorable member was probably in the sewer.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—It is a remark that should not be applied to any honorable member.

Mr. SPEAKER.—I shall ask the honorable member to withdraw the statements to which objection has been taken. At the same time, I would again impress upon him that it is necessary that he should confine his remarks to the question of whether clause 48 shall or shall not be recommitted. The general question of the position of the Government is not under consideration.

Mr. POYNTON.—I was not aware, Mr. Speaker, that it was a breach of the rules of this House to—

Mr. SPEAKER.—Does the honorable member withdraw the words objected to?

Mr. POYNTON.—Withdraw the words "contemptible"?

Mr. SPEAKER.—The two remarks to which objection has been taken.

Mr. POYNTON.—I shall withdraw them, Mr. Speaker, and say that we are being treated to an exhibition, not of sewerage, but of underground, politics. The "steerage politics" has become famous since its use by the main conspirator in the plot that has been hatched to defeat the Government.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—What has this to do with the question under consideration?

Mr. SPEAKER.—I have on two occasions called the honorable member's attention to the fact that the question under consideration is whether or not clause 48 shall be recommitted. I must ask him to confine himself to the matter under debate or I shall have to ask him not to proceed with his remarks.

Mr. POYNTON.—I shall endeavour, Mr. Speaker, to obey your ruling, but will point out that there is no occasion for anxiety on the part of the honorable member for Macquarie. The little time that he shall occupy in placing my views before the House will not materially delay his securing a seat on the Treasury benches.

Mr. MAHON.—The honorable member does not mean that.

Mr. POYNTON.—I do. I am ashamed of the party with which I was associated for several years. I believe in fair play and certainly do not look with favour upon any exhibition of hypocrisy or cant.

Mr. SPEAKER.—I must ask the honorable member either to debate the matter before the Chair or to discontinue his speech. He is distinctly out of order, and his attention has twice been called to that fact.

Mr. POYNTON.—Do I understand you to rule, sir, that it is out of order to use the words "hypocrisy" and "cant" in dealing with the matter under consideration?

Mr. SPEAKER.—The honorable member will recognise that the question is not as to any word that he may use, but whether he is dealing with the subject-matter of the motion, to which I have twice called his attention. He must debate the question as to the recommittal of clause 48, and that only. Any other matter is inadmissible.

Mr. POYNTON.—Do you rule, Mr. Speaker, that I cannot discuss the attitude

honorable members who are opposed to the committal of the clause—

KER.—The honorable member has said clause 48, and nothing else.

TON.—In dealing with that clause, I am referring incidentally to the case of those who do not desire that it be committed. I wish to deal with the reasons which have been advanced in an attempt to defeat the Government proposal. If there is one thing more than another, it is honest fighting. I object to the methods, and exceedingly regret that those who desire to gain possession of the Treasury benches have not taken the more manly course. These unwise measures have been adopted in order that the Opposition may secure an additional vote through the question being put to the House instead of in Committee. An attempt has also been made to divide the Government pair. I refer to the right honorable member for the County of Devon, an honorable member who is a member of the Ministry.

KER.—I am sure that the right honorable member's parliamentary experience will convince him that he must confine his remarks to the clause under consideration, and not to a discussion of the conduct of the honorable members, whether it be wise or otherwise, is out of order. The right honorable member can deal only with the reasons for and against the committal. I am reluctant to say so often, but he must obey the Orders.

TON.—I regret, sir, that you will not be able to give the reasons—

WILLIS.—The honorable member may discuss the clause.

TON.—It is hardly likely that I shall be able to accept my instructions from the members of the Opposition. I know that the Opposition are not in a position to give a vote.

KER.—That is not before the House.

TON.—I am not making any statement.

I am not prepared to repeat what I was told of the incident which took place at the entrance to the Chamber. I have heard that the trades unionists should be treated in the way in which the members of the Opposition are told by the Opposition. I sympathize with trades unionists, but I think that sympathy is always wanting when

a proposal is made to give them some practical support. At one time in the Parliaments of the States, one heard nothing but the cry of "property, property, property." That was the "gag," that was commonly used when efforts were made to extend the franchise to those who were termed "the lower classes." We are told to-day that we are seeking to interfere with the liberty of the subject. That is an old cry. It was raised when Lord Shaftesbury first took steps to improve the conditions of pauper children who were being worked in the factories of England to such an extent that many of them became cripples. It was then asserted that if the existing factory system were interfered with, commerce would be ruined; and we are told again to-day that if we grant preference to unionists we shall interfere with the liberty of the subject, and damage commercial interests. Some honorable members have no regard for anything but commerce. What have trades organizations done that they should be treated as the Opposition propose? Why should they be penalized? Have they not been in the forefront of every reform? Have they not had the courage to take up questions with which weak-kneed politicians were afraid to deal, and to boldly fight for reform? In England, America, and Australia, and indeed in all parts of the civilized world, we find members of trades unions bearing the brunt of the fight for reform.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—There is no compulsory arbitration in the United States of America.

Mr. POYNTON.—That might have been said a few years ago of New Zealand. Trades unionists were at the bottom of the agitation for the non-employment of women and children in the mines of England, and they were behind the great movement against the employment of children for unduly long hours in the factories of England. In every country they have fought for the improvement of the working conditions of the people. Have not many of them suffered for their efforts? Some honorable members would have us return to the days when certain miners in England were transported to Australia because they stood up for the interests of their associations. History tells us of case after case in which trades unionists sacrificed their liberty, suffered exile, and in some cases lost their lives in their efforts to secure the

advancement of mankind. They have fought not only for themselves, not only for the workers with whom they have been immediately associated, but for the industrial classes generally. Yet some honorable members speak of trades unionists as if they were criminals. They have no consideration for any one but non-unionists.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—Have not non-unionists a right to be considered?

Mr. POYNTON.—Have trades unionists never done anything for non-unionists? Has not every reform which they have secured—the better ventilation of mines, the improvement in the sanitary conditions of factories, and a thousand and one other things—benefited non-unionists as well as unionists?

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—We agree that they have done good work.

Mr. POYNTON.—Some honorable members speak as if the Government desired to subject non-unionists to an injustice.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—No. Have we not made trades unionists Ministers of the Crown?

Mr. BATCHELOR.—The honorable member did not give much assistance in that direction.

Mr. POYNTON.—In the fact that some of the members of the Ministry are trades unionists is to be found the root of the trouble. In the early stages of the present political unrest, the Government was referred to as a trades union Ministry. That is the only fault that can be found with them. It is because the present Administration comprises trades unionists that the Opposition are prepared to sacrifice not only them but trades unionists generally. They desire to make the Bill so useless that it will be a reproach to the Ministry.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—Was the Bill designed in the interests of unionists, or of labour?

Mr. BATCHELOR.—In the interests of the public.

Mr. POYNTON.—The Conciliation and Arbitration Bill was designed in the interests of organizations. Can any honorable member point to an organization of non-unionists? That is why in New Zealand, in scores of cases, when other things have been equal, preference has been given to unionists. The New Zealand Court has recognised that the whole basis of this kind of legislation is the recognition of organizations.

Mr. JOHNSON.—According to the honorable member's showing, there is no need for the clause at all.

Mr. POYNTON.—I have not said though that may be the opinion of honorable member. I think that if clause is not inserted, great numbers of men will have black marks placed against their names. I have known men to be black-marked for miles and miles around. Employers may not have gone to the length of sending their photographs ahead of whom they deemed objectionable, but they have taken every other precaution to prevent them from getting employment. It is less the giving of preference is provided for, that state of things would exist under this measure. The honorable member himself knows that what I have described is done. The honorable member Mr. Dalley has repeatedly admitted that it is done, and the honorable member for Parramatta knows that men have been black-marked throughout a whole district, because they had been chosen as delegates to ask for some concession, not for unionists alone, but for non-unionists as well. I ask honorable members why they not make an example of these trades unionists? What have they done for society that they deserve consideration? Honorable members appear to prefer to go back to the old methods. Why are they not honest? Why do they not say that they do not wish to have an Arbitration Bill, and prefer to allow disputes to be settled by strikes? Let us make that issue. Although they profess to desire arbitration, they are not ready to assist the Government in passing a workable measure. Has any one of them been behind the scenes during a strike, and known the hardship, suffering, and loss which such occurrences bring in their train? Yet they wish to pass into law a measure under which, as it stands, not one organization in Australia would register. One Ministry has been placed in difficulties, and another has been sacrificed already, in connection with this Bill, and the better part of the sessions has been spent in discussing it. The last five months have been occupied in the miserable pretence of doing something in the public interest, but the real desire of honorable members opposite is to secure possession of the Treasury bench. They are ready to neglect the interests of industrial organizations, and to forego the opportunity to secure industrial peace.

in possession of the Treasury
do not care who occupies those

dy.—Then why all this

TON.—Have we not a right
we think that an important
d be amended? It is aston-
t a small pretence some per-
from grace. The honorable
surprised me. I remember
he would not have treated
lightly. No one knows bet-
the need for establishing
for the settlement of indus-
He has been in the thick
bles. He is not like honor-
who have had no experience.
his duty, as it is the duty
House, to try to place upon
ok a workable measure to
al peace—not a mere rotten,
ce such as this is.

dy.—I am not going to assist
coerce a majority.

TON.—The honorable mem-
a Ministry which, during its
e, was in a minority.

dy.—That Ministry retired
when the fact was proved.

TON.—I admit that they re-
nity; but the members of the
nment did nothing unworthy
possession of the Treasury
eed, they tried to avoid tak-
n attempt has been made to
present position is similar to
sulted when the Deakin Go-
defeated; but on that occa-
no underground engineering.
ent were twitted a short time
ng tried to persuade men to
otes on this subject, and yet
orable member for East Syd-
the charge, had sitting along-
onorable member who intends
vote, and who was no doubt
do so by his leader. It will
to this Parliament if it places
book an unworkable measure.
dy.—But the Government are
the insertion of a provision of
ority has approved.

NTON.—We object to the
h are being adopted. There
an opportunity to consider in
e advisability of amending the
ost any amendment would

make the provision better than it is now.
Honorable members are not prepared, how-
ever, to give an opportunity for reconsider-
ation. They will not allow even a comma to
be added to or taken from the clause. They
have got their numbers.

Mr. KENNEDY.—The Ministry have, ever
since they took office, been asking us to take
action against them.

Mr. POYNTON.—The two leaders of
the Opposition have, day after day, and
week after week, threatened the Ministry
with no-confidence motions.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—They were always to
be moved next week.

Mr. POYNTON.—Yes. Now, however,
they are trying to defeat the Government
by a miserable subterfuge. They have not
had the courage to fight them on a straight-
out issue.

Mr. TUDOR.—Neither of the leaders of
the Opposition has yet spoken on this ques-
tion.

Mr. POYNTON.—No. They are not
game to take the risk of challenging the
Government. Therefore they have put up
a novice like the honorable and learned
member for Corinella. The *Age* says that
the amendment was fixed up at an interview
between the honorable and learned member
and the two leaders of the Opposition; but
they were ashamed to be present yesterday
when he was moving it.

Mr. WEBSTER.—As well they might be.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—Was not the mo-
tion moved by the honorable member for
Gwydir this afternoon fixed up after con-
sultation with the Government?

Mr. BATCHELOR.—It was not a motion
to gag honorable members.

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—Did the Minis-
try not mean their statement that they
would retire if defeated on this clause?

Mr. BATCHELOR.—Yes.

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—Then why do
they complain?

Mr. BATCHELOR.—We complain of the
methods by which it is sought to defeat us.

Mr. POYNTON.—If we go
to the country we shall be asked, "What is
all this fuss about? Why are certain hon-
orable members so anxious to get on to the
Treasury benches? In what way does
their policy differ from that of the Labour
Party?" The *Age*, on the 18th May,
published the two policies side by side, to
show their striking similarity. The Go-
vernment are not being criticised for either
their policy or their administration. What

reason have the Opposition for their attitude other than the desire to obtain possession of the Treasury benches?

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—The honorable member expects other honorable members to reverse their votes in order to save the Ministry.

Mr. POYNTON.—What about the honorable member for Dalley? We desire an opportunity for reconsideration and second thought on a very important provision.

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—Have not any of the honorable members who intend to vote for the Government changed their views?

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—Yes; two or three.

Mr. POYNTON.—There is always some change on occasions of this kind. No man is so perfect that he has never reason to change his mind. Does the honorable member for Macquarie dare to say that he never changed his mind, or tried to get other honorable members to do so, when he was a Minister?

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—But the honorable member complains that the honorable member for Dalley has changed his mind.

Mr. POYNTON.—I regret the fact.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—We have a right, therefore, to ask, what about those on the Government side who have changed their mind?

Mr. POYNTON.—It was the right honorable member for East Sydney who complained in effect of the bad taste of the Government in trying to secure the recommendation of the clause, in order to get members who had voted in a certain direction to change their votes. There is nothing disgraceful about that, nothing more than has been done on a number of occasions.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—The honorable member would not consent to a recommendation of the salt duty.

Mr. POYNTON.—The honorable member knows the reason. An honorable agreement had been entered into for the imposition of a 12s. 6d. duty; instead of either a 15s. or a 10s. duty.

Mr. SPEAKER.—I must ask the honorable member not to enter into a discussion upon that point.

Mr. POYNTON.—Those honorable members who vote against the Government on this question will have a very hard row to hoe. The people of Australia have demanded a Conciliation and Arbitration Bill, and honorable members are pledged to give them one. Such a measure must be passed, whether it be by a Reid Go-

vernment, a Reid-Deakin-McCay Ministry or a Watson Administration, and until it is done there will be no rest for this Parliament. I complain of the attitude taken up by honorable members, not only in this case, but on previous occasions. They are now absolutely refusing to afford honorable members an opportunity to discuss the Bill in Committee, and ascertain if it can be made workable. This conduct is comparable with the tactics which have been used by some honorable members ever since they have been here. I would ask how many times the right honorable member for Sydney has voted in favour of the Bill which was introduced by the Ministry of which he was a member; also, how many times he has had the support of the honorable member for Eden-Monaro, or of the honorable member for Denison.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—A number of clauses had been passed without division.

Mr. POYNTON.—The attitude assumed by some members of the late Ministry has introduced a new feature into political life. They have made it appear that a man's convictions will depend upon the side of the House on which he sits. The position which some honorable members occupy is a contemptible one, and is entirely new in my experience. In other Parliaments, honorable members have always had the courage and manliness to give their support to the measures to which they have committed themselves. Are we to assume that the measure has become objectionable merely because it is being handled by the Labour Administration? We have been told that it is desirable, in the interests of some persons, that there should be a change of Ministry. It has been pointed out that if a new Ministry came into power, there would be no necessity to introduce a measure to amend the Immigration Restriction Bill, because all that was desired could be effected by a change in the administration.

Mr. SPEAKER.—The honorable member is proceeding beyond the scope of his motion.

Mr. POYNTON.—I am endeavouring to indicate the nature of the tactics adopted by honorable members towards the present Government. No Ministry has ever received such wretched treatment. A month ago I expressed the opinion, which has since become a conviction, that the Bill as it stands is unworkable. I should have been prepared to accept it in a modified form as a basis upon which we could work.

passed in its present shape the work will be rendered nugatory. Not one organization will support it.

MR. JOHNSON (Lang).—So far as I am concerned, I am thoroughly in favour of the action taken by the hon. member for Corinella. The present opportunity should be taken by honorable members to express their opinions, and to deal with this in a manner that will insure a permanent unnecessary waste of money. I see no practical difference between the Government proposal and the amendment in the Bill. The omission of the word "substantial" from the amendment proposed by the Government would put it on the same footing as the proposal for the retention of that word. The vagueness of expression has been expressed by other members with other portions of the Bill. All along objected to the proposal to give preference to unionists, and the delegation of the fundamental rights of citizenship and equal opportunities. Unfortunately, the amendment to which I proposed, was lost, and I regretted the amendment proposed by the honorable and learned member for Corinella because it appeared to me to be the right thing to do. I am unwilling to support the present provision, but if it is recommitted, I should certainly support an amendment upon the lines of which I previously proposed. The provisions of the Bill are really against the interests of the community in the light of the principle of majority rule. That is a delicate position for them to take, and it will be exceedingly difficult for them to defend it. Honorable members sit behind the Government and speak with one voice. The party of the proposed party, which has one member non-unionist, and another for the unionists, are for use to catch the votes of the unionists, the other to dish the votes whose votes have largely put the party into Parliament. The hon. member for Hindmarsh defended the preference on the ground that it was as well as the members of the union. It must be obvious that preference is to be given to one party and another, equal benefits cannot be conferred upon both. The honorable member for Darling contended that

only unionists had any right to derive benefit. Here we have two diametrically opposite statements coming from two members of the same party. The honorable member for Darling contended that the benefits of the preference provision should be restricted to unionists, because they, and they alone, had been responsible for bringing about the adoption of this class of legislation. The honorable member has, at other times, told us that the party to which he belongs does not advocate the interest of any particular section, but of the whole of the workers of the Commonwealth. Apparently, he is now prepared to ignore the rights of workers who are outside the unions, because he says that, from the point of view of the advocates of the Bill, they are not entitled to any benefits. Those honorable members who are opposing the recommittal of clause 48, take the view that all citizens have equal rights in the eye of the law. We are advocating equal rights of citizenship. That is a position which I regard as absolutely unassailable. I wish to direct attention to a case, which came under my notice no later than last Monday, which indicates the disastrous effects of this class of legislation upon a great number of those persons who are outside the trades unions. The statement which I am about to read, and which was taken down in writing by me, was made by a man who called at my house last Monday morning, and asked me, "for God's sake," to try to do something for him.

MR. CROUCH.—Was he a trades unionist?

MR. JOHNSON.—He had been, but had fallen into arrears through illness and lack of employment. He is an educated man, and has been well brought up, and he feels his position very keenly. He said—

I was at one time a member of the Wharf Labourers' Union, but through illness and loss of employment, was unable to keep paying into the union; and I got work from time to time at other occupations. For months past now, however, I have been unable to get work, because I am not a unionist, and cannot afford to pay the fees to become one. My wife, therefore, has had to go to work, while I have minded the house and the children, much to my own sense of humiliation. However, my wife took ill, and after a period of semi-starvation, I at last obtained, through the Peninsula and Oriental Steam Navigation Company's wharfinger, a job on the wharves as a labourer, after the usual hands had been taken on. I had not been at work very long

—about one hour—when the union officer demanded to see my ticket. I, of course, had none, and explained matters. I offered to rejoin the union if they would accept my signed order on my wages, countersigned by the wharfinger, for the entrance fee and a month's subscription, as I was starving, and had no money. This was refused, and I had to knock off, and after having walked five miles to my job, had to trudge five miles home to my sick wife and starving family.

Mr. FRAZER.—What is his name?

Mr. JOHNSON.—I will not divulge his name, but would not give the statement to the House unless I was fully convinced of the substantial accuracy of these statements, because they were made to me by a man whom I have known for years.

Mr. FRAZER.—Is the honorable member aware of the fact that a union does not collect subscriptions from its members when they are out of employment?

Mr. JOHNSON.—I doubt if the honorable member can speak for every union in Australia. That is the statement which was made to me, and I have every reason to believe that it is true.

Mr. FRAZER.—When a unionist is out of employment, he is not called upon to pay his subscriptions.

Mr. JOHNSON.—I cite that instance to show that the effect of legislation of this character is to create a close corporation of labour unions, and to displace from employment a large number of men whose only crime is that they are not attached to these organizations. The idea that unionists only should participate in the benefits conferred by such legislation is a most selfish and narrow one. What would be thought of the missionaries to the heathen if they invoked salvation only on behalf of the members of their own denominations? What would be said if they urged that only their own particular sects should receive the benefits of the work which they professedly performed in the interests of humanity at large? That is exactly the position which the honorable member for Darling is taking up to-day. Because trades unions have been pioneers of the movement for the up-lifting of the workers, he wishes the members of those organizations to secure all the advantages which may result from improved conditions, to the exclusion of that large class in whose interests honorable members opposite are accustomed to declare upon the hustings they have been unselfishly working. I have no desire to prolong the discussion of this question, which was fully debated when the

clause was considered in Committee. I merely wished to draw attention to a case of hardship which had come within my personal knowledge, and which had resulted from legislation of this character, which seeks to create special privileges for some workers, and to impose great disabilities upon the majority. Whatever legislation may be passed, it should be the duty of honorable members to see that it is based upon equality of opportunity for all, just to all, and special privileges to none.

Mr. FRAZER (Kalgoorlie).—I may preface my remarks by an expression of regret that the field of this discussion is so limited. In the past, it has been used to extend to Governments, whose rights remain upon the Treasury benches has been challenged, the privilege of defending the policy upon a motion which enabled the whole of that policy to be debated. I do not compliment the Opposition upon the way in which they have endeavoured to "gag" honorable members—

Mr. REID.—I rise to a point of order. I desire to know whether a reference to the "gagging" of honorable members is relevant to a question of this sort?

Mr. SPEAKER.—The statement is strictly relevant, but if the right honorable member objects to it, I must ask the honorable member to withdraw it.

Mr. REID.—I do object to it earnestly.

Mr. SPEAKER.—Then I must ask the honorable member for Kalgoorlie to withdraw it.

Mr. FRAZER.—Certainly. The right honorable member for East Sydney does not relish heavy criticism. No doubt he finds himself in such an awkward position that he realizes it would be inadvisable to allow honorable members too wide a field for discussion, lest they should be in a position to fire too many effective shots. At this stage I think I am justified in referring to the circumstances which have led up to the present Government's assumption of office. It will be recollected that when this Parliament assembled, it was for the purpose of that a majority of its members were in favour of extending the provisions of the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill to public servants of the States and of the Commonwealth. The Government of the day refused to give effect to the wishes of that majority.

KER.—I must ask the honorable member to confine his remarks to a discussion of the 48.

KER.—I was just about to vote upon the proposal to bring amendments within the scope of this Bill in the position in which the Government find themselves to-day.

KER.—If the honorable member is satisfied, he will be in order.

KER.—With the assistance of the Government wreckers, the present Labour Government will be into power.

HONORABLE MEMBER.—What are the grounds?

KER.—In that term I include honorable members who are prepared to give any opportunity which presents itself out of a Ministry to which they are opposed. The present Government went into office upon the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill, they announced that they would proceed with that measure, and if necessary, they would relinquish it. Thereupon, assurances were given by the right honorable member for East Sydney and the honorable member for Ballarat that fair play would be accorded to them.

KER.—I rise to a point of order. I do not know whether this question as to the fate of the Ministry, is open for discussion at the present time?

KER.—Certainly it is not. I do not intend to draw the attention of the honorable member to the fact just now, and I do not intend to connect his remarks with the Government before the Chair.

KER.—I trust that I shall not be misunderstood from the matter which is under consideration. I desire to show that the Government are not the Government which the Government are the reverse of creditable to the members opposite. The Conciliation and Arbitration Bill, in the form in which it was introduced by the Deakin Government, provided that, other things being equal, a preference should be given to the unionists. Upon its advent to the present Ministry accepted that it was a reasonable one. But what has happened since? The members of the Government have absolutely deserted the Bill.

KER.—Some of them.

KER.—With the exception of the honorable member for Hume, they have forsaken their own measure.

KER.—The honorable member has deserted some of its principles.

Mr. FRAZER.—The honorable member for Hume has always been prepared to adhere to the provisions contained in the Bill as it was introduced by the Deakin Government. There has been a remarkable change of front on the part of members of the late Administration. When we find them playing fast and loose with the electors, I hold that it is our duty to show the public of Australia the attitude which is adopted by them. In my judgment, unionists are certainly deserving of some consideration at the hands of the Government in a measure of this description. We must recollect that if it had not been for their strenuous and self-sacrificing efforts, compulsory arbitration would have been impossible in Australia to-day. It is very easy for honorable members to declare their belief in that principle upon the hustings, because they know that the majority of their constituents uphold it. It is very significant, however, that in Parliament these very individuals are prepared to vote for proposals which render industrial peace absolutely impossible. So far no objection has been raised to unionists as such. Even the right honorable member for East Sydney has admitted that the trades unions comprise the very cream of the working men, and that, if he were a working man himself, he would be a unionist. Honorable members opposite admit that these organizations have rendered invaluable service to their fellows, and yet what do they offer them in return? Absolutely nothing. They say in effect, "By refusing the Court the power to grant you a preference award, we shall make you the victims of unscrupulous employers." When the Bill was under consideration, on a previous occasion, the honorable member for Maranoa produced a black list, bearing the names of most of the pastoralists in the western districts of New South Wales and Queensland. On its title page was the following statement:—

REGISTER OF SHEARERS WHO SHORE FOR THE MEMBERS DURING THE YEAR 1895.

This register has been compiled at the office of this association for the information of members only, and in accordance with counsel's opinion taken as to its legality.

This register must be kept strictly private and confidential.

N. J. WESTERGAARD NEILSEN,
Secretary.

The object of this register may be briefly explained. If any man who shored in those districts was prepared to stand out for reasonable conditions, or dared at any time to

dispute the will of the boss of the board, he was described in this register as "a good shearer, but strong unionist." In other words, such men were black-listed. On leaving a shed, a unionist shearer might receive a reference setting forth that he was an excellent shearer, and could "do a good tally," but in the private list circulated among the different station managers the statement would appear opposite his name that he was a strong unionist, and therefore an undesirable character. It is necessary that we should provide for preference to unionists, in order to guard against such tactics. In Western Australia, certain men who brought a dispute before the Arbitration Court, and obtained a settlement by peaceful means, found, on returning to places at which they had been employed for a number of years, that it had suddenly been discovered that they were not competent, or that some other reason was forthcoming for the refusal to further employ them. They were dealt with in this way, merely because they had taken part in the effort to secure an award of the Court granting reasonable conditions to those engaged in the industry. These cases illustrate the object which we have in view in urging that the Court should have power to grant preference to unionists. Without a preference clause the Bill would be useless. If we thought that unionists would even be placed on an equal footing with non-unionists we should not be found fighting so strongly for preference, but it is because we know that without a reasonable provision for preference unionists have been and will be victimised that we deem it necessary to fight so strongly against the clause as it stands. It has been asserted during the course of this debate that the policy of the unions is to starve the non-unionist. I deny that that is so. Every precaution has been taken to safeguard the interests of workers, whether they be unionists or non-unionists. The Bill already provides that a man shall not be refused the right to join a union. That provision was insisted upon, and was rightly inserted. In providing for preference to unionists, we shall assist in the building up and maintenance of those organizations which are absolutely necessary in order that the Bill may be a workable one. It is admitted on all sides of the House that without organizations it is not likely that any satisfactory means of submitting disputes to the Court will be obtained. We hope that by granting prefer-

Mr. Fraser.

ence to unionists, and holding out an inducement to men to join organizations, and to take an interest in this measure, we shall conserve the industrial peace of Australia. The cry which is so glibly uttered that unionists desire to deprive non-unionists of the means of obtaining a livelihood has no foundation in fact. The honorable member for Lang has referred to a poor unfortunate fellow, who alleges that he was compelled by stress of circumstances to leave the ranks of unionists, and that the unionists subsequently refused to allow him to work on the wharfs, although his wife and children were starving. That is a cowardly charge to make in this House, unless the name of the man be given. If the name were disclosed it would be possible for us to trace the story to its source, and to ascertain whether it was accurate or not. I have heard many complaints made by disappointed persons against unions and unionists, but on investigating them have invariably found that they could not be substantiated. The case to which the honorable member has referred may possibly come within the same category. The clause as it stands would make it absolutely impossible for the Court to grant preference to unionists. The experience which I have had in gauging the number of persons engaged in a particular industry convinces me that it would be impossible for an organization to obtain evidence showing that the majority of those affected by the award desired that preference be granted. It has already been explained by several honorable members who are associated with the great bush unions that the number of persons engaged in the shearing industry varies very considerably from time to time. In addition to that, we know that when men are scattered all over the country it is impossible to ascertain their opinions on a given question. A union might be able to ascertain the opinion of the workers when they were congregated in large centres, but it would be almost impossible to ascertain the opinion of every man connected with an industry carried on in scattered districts. Under the clause as it stands, it would be absolutely impossible for an organization to ascertain the views of a majority of those likely to be affected by an award. I have no hesitation in saying that the Government proposal is not one that I should like it to be.

Mr. WILKS.—The Prime Minister has said that it is substantially the same as it

and learned member for Corinella.

MR. FRAZER.—If the Prime Minister's statement, I have reason to doubt. While I do not like the proposal, I feel that it is inferior to the amendment carried by the honorable and learned member for Corinella. I believe that it is a remarkable, while the clause, as it stands, did not; and, consequently, I do not accept that which is the approach to perfection that we are in from the Committee.

MR. KELLY.—Does the honorable member think that unionists would register their opposition?

MR. FRAZER.—I see nothing in the event of them from registering.

MR. KELLY.—But what about clause 62?

MR. FRAZER.—We are dealing with the clause and the honorable member has decided to vote in a way that prevents the reconsideration of clause 62. The clause adopted by the honorable member is certainly remarkable. He finds a variance with the old adage, "The loaf is better than no bread." The effect, "If I cannot secure the clause as originally introduced, I cannot obtain an undisputed clause for unionists—I shall accept the clause as it stands."

MR. KELLY.—I made that statement myself.

MR. FRAZER.—Whether that be so or not, the honorable member has certainly made a remarkable process of reasoning, and that his constituents will receive a reasonable explanation in regard to the clause.

MR. KELLY.—I shall not receive any explanation from the honorable member in regard to the clause.

MR. FRAZER.—If I were one of the members for Dalley, I should endeavour to get the honorable member to treat the clause as it stands and undoubtedly do so.

MR. KELLY.—Labour men have been so for years.

MR. FRAZER.—That is not a question that we can now discuss. The fate of the clause really hangs in the balance between honorable members opposite and those who do not think the motion should be discussed from that stand-point, but are hiding behind a most miserable excuse.

I am certainly surprised to

find in the Australian national Parliament a number of honorable members who are prepared to introduce what, in my opinion, is an undoubted gag. I should have thought that honorable members would endeavour to secure the passing of any measure designed in the interests of the people who are looking to this Parliament to save them from so great a disaster as another maritime strike, or any other Inter-State industrial dispute. It appears to me that the Bill is to be thrust aside simply because certain honorable members are anxious to obtain possession of the Treasury benches. The fate of this Bill is nought to them as compared with the question whether the right honorable member for East Sydney is to be Prime Minister. This is a most unfortunate state of affairs, and when the people of Australia learn, as they will in the course of the next few days, of the reasons leading to the downfall of the present Administration, and of the sacrifice of the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill, they will entertain nought but feelings of disgust towards those who have brought about the present situation. I have little further to say. The clause as it stands does not meet with my approval, and I should have been better pleased had we been permitted to consider it in Committee once more. Had the course proposed by the Government been adopted, we should have been able to avail ourselves of the advice of honorable members on all sides of the House, and, possibly, some amendment might have been suggested and have received the approval of the majority of honorable members.

MR. KELLY.—And have saved the Government?

MR. FRAZER.—That seems to be a matter of great importance to the honorable member.

MR. KELLY.—The Prime Minister says that the Government proposal is practically the same as the honorable and learned member for Corinella's amendment.

MR. FRAZER.—I can assure the honorable member that the fate of a Government is not so important, to my mind, as is the placing of a Conciliation and Arbitration Bill on the Statute-Book of Australia.

MR. KELLY.—Hear, hear.

MR. FRAZER.—In view of their present attitude, I do not know why honorable members opposite should applaud that remark. The Bill is to be thrown aside and its ultimate fate to remain undecided for weeks. We do not know what the defeat

of the Ministry may mean. There is always the possibility of a dissolution. I do not hold that out as a threat to any honorable member, but it is possible that within the next month or six weeks we may be engaged in contesting our constituencies, and in the interval there may be an Inter-State strike. If that happens, the responsibility will be at the doors of those whose action has caused us to be without the machinery to effectually settle such industrial disputes.

Mr. KELLY.—In any case, the Bill could not receive the Royal Assent for probably six weeks.

Mr. FRAZER.—The delay will be much longer if there is a general election. The Opposition are trying to defeat the Government on a false issue. The honorable and learned member for Corinella has fired the gun for the leaders of the party, who do not seem disposed to show themselves. I do not wish them success; but if the Ministry are defeated, I hope that there will be an appeal to the people.

Mr. KENNEDY (Moir).—It is quite refreshing to hear the comments of Ministerial supporters upon the action of the honorable and learned member for Corinella, who is desirous of preventing a waste of time by the reconsideration of a question which has already been finally settled by a majority. For the past three months the Ministry and their supporters have, by means of press interviews and speeches from the public platforms, been inviting the Opposition to a trial of strength. They have taunted their opponents with continually deferring this trial. But now that they are actually put on their defence, it is they who cry, "Give us until to-morrow." A great deal has been said from the other side of the Chamber about the underground engineering, and the going back upon electoral pledges which has taken place on this side of the Chamber; but if honorable members refresh their memories by referring to *Hansard*, they will see that some of those who were once ardent supporters of the Deakin Administration, and are now sitting on this side of the House, have before this said clearly and distinctly that, when the opportunity offered, they would attempt to tone down several of the extreme proposals in the Bill. Reference has been made to the attitude of the members of the late Government in reference to this Bill. There are

one or two of them against whom the charge of inconsistency cannot be made, but certainly the honorable member for Hume for whom the present Ministerial supporters claim such wonderful consistency, not one of them.

Mr. MALONEY.—He has been a protectionist all his life.

Mr. KENNEDY.—I am dealing with the attitude of the members of the Government towards this Bill. The honorable member for Balaclava has been consistent all his political life, and I believe would have shown his consistency in this matter had he been able to attend sittings of the House. The honorable and learned member for Ballarat has also been notably consistent.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Inconsistent.

Mr. KENNEDY.—No; consistent.

the occasion when the honorable member for Hume refused to support the Bill, the honorable and learned member for Ballarat stood loyally by its provisions, and I think he has proved, even to the satisfaction of the Ministry, and their supporters, that he has been consistent throughout. What fault is it if the fate of the Government hangs on the question now before the House? Their present position is due to their own voluntary act. I have no cognisance of any attempts to form combinations on this side to secure a majority against the Government, nor do I think that the honorable and learned member for Corinella, who has moved the amendment which is said to place the life of the Government in jeopardy, acted after consultation with either of the leaders on this side.

Mr. FISHER.—The honorable member will admit that the original proviso was fully discussed.

Mr. KELLY.—It might have been discussed. It was printed and circulated day before it was moved.

Mr. KENNEDY.—Reference to *Hansard* will show that a number of honorable members referred to it before division was taken. In any case, the Government had control of the business, and are responsible if they allowed a division to be taken on a matter of vital importance before honorable members were thoroughly seized of the importance of the question. Moreover, why have they slept in regard to the matter for a month? Why have they not taken an earlier opportunity to try to convert a minority into a majority?

are they squealing now, like so red rats?

ONEY.—The honorable member is a unionist rat.

KENNEDY.—I take no exception to the statement emanating from such a source. I am responsible for my utterance. I am responsible for the election of the electors of Moira only, and the honorable member has any fault to find with them, let him, when the dissolution comes, oppose me at Moira.

ONEY.—The honorable member has a walk-over.

KENNEDY.—I have enjoyed that.

ONEY.—Not so often as I have.

KENNEDY.—I do not claim to be as good as the honorable member, but I possess his political virtues. All the Ministers and their enthusiastic supporters have been looking for trouble, and for a fight, they are now, after the underground engineering and mining, howling about the tactics of the Opposition, which is strictly parliamentary. Are we to believe that they did not see that the honorable and learned member for Corinella would stand in support of his provision? Was he not to allow another fortification of underground engineering to go on in its defence? Surely we have no more such guilelessness to honours than the Opposition. We have been in the Opposition since they obtained possession of the benches in an honorable way. I am not that. To some extent I admire the honorable member, which they have taken up. Although the numbers are against them, as though dynamite would blow their tentacles from the Treasury. Has any Ministry cried louder than they have done to be in the Opposition at the earliest opportunity.

DR.—We have not had an opportunity to discuss the position.

KENNEDY.—Honorable members have had a full and free opportunity to discuss the situation, and to put forward their stand-point.

DR.—Why do not some of the members of the Opposition speak? Why are they sitting up "squibs"?

KENNEDY.—I am not responsible for the actions of either the right honorable member for East Sydney or the honorable and learned member for Ballarat. The honorable and learned member for Ballarat has always taken direct courses,

and those who stood loyally behind him have no reason to regret their allegiance to him. It has been suggested that if there is a dissolution, our seats will be in jeopardy, but that is a question for our constituents to determine. What is the use of honorable members saying, "We will send you to the country?" We have also been told that if we refuse to amend the clause so as to give absolute and complete preference to unionists, industrial warfare will spread over Australia. Why are these threats made when an important matter of this kind is being discussed? I was amongst those who, with the late Prime Minister, voted for the insertion of sub-clause *b*, to give preference to unionists. The only qualification I desired to see attached was the proviso that the unions should be wholly industrial organizations, and not political machines. So long as they were unions, whose funds were not to be used for purposes other than the purposes of the Bill, I was ready to give them a preference. I cannot be charged with being opposed to the granting of preferences.

Mr. TUDOR.—The members of the Opposition tried to undo what had been done in regard to the giving of preferences by adding a proviso.

Mr. KENNEDY.—We were told by the honorable member for Barrier that he would be ready to reject the Bill if unions were not given the right to act as political party machines. Under those circumstances I felt justified in the action I took, with a view to preventing the minority comprising a political party machine from dominating the majority under the provisions of a measure to secure industrial peace. That was why I supported the amendment of the honorable and learned member for Corinella. The members of the Ministry and their supporters accuse the honorable and learned member and those on this side of the House with having acted dishonorably; but has not the Prime Minister been continually telling the country during the last three months that he wishes for a trial of strength—simply that he wanted a test of strength? The opportunity which he has desired is now presented to him. Ministers took possession of the Treasury benches upon a question of policy in connexion with this Bill. Did any Ministers ever retire with more dignity—with one notable exception—than did the Deakin Government. The present Ministers took office

in an honorable and straightforward way, and I regret to say that they are not continuing in that path, now that their existence is being threatened upon a matter of policy. Why should they complain? They must admit that the question on which they are being challenged is purely a matter of policy, and yet they appear to want more time for the purpose of playing to the gallery. A great deal of time has been wasted already by the honorable member for Gwydir in dealing with the whole range of politics of the last three or four years. The sole object was evidently to gain time.

Mr. SPEAKER.—The honorable member must not refer to another debate.

Mr. KENNEDY.—The threats which have been made by the honorable member for Gwydir cause a feeling of resentment on my part, not against honorable members opposite personally, but against the line of action which they are following in dealing with a question of policy affecting the whole industrial life of Australia. It is beyond question that an important principle is embodied in clause 48. I have nothing but admiration to express in regard to the action of the honorable and learned member for Corinella in bringing this matter to an issue in the way he has done. I have already stated that the Government have had practically a month in which to think over the situation, and, if possible, improve upon the proviso now in the Bill. What do we find? After a month's stewing over the situation, the Government now submit a proposal which is substantially the same as that embodied in the Bill. I venture to say that greater discretion would be vested in the Court under the present proviso than if the Government proposal were adopted.

Mr. CROUCH.—Under those circumstances, the honorable member ought to support the Government proposal.

Mr. ROBINSON.—The honorable and learned member for Corio voted against any preference whatever. He voted to strike out the clause altogether.

Mr. KENNEDY.—What is the explanation of the honorable and learned member's sudden conversion? Is he afraid of a possible dissolution upon the removal of the present Government from the Treasury benches?

Mr. CROUCH.—I was returned as a protectionist, and I am concerned as to the fate of the Government.

Mr. KENNEDY.—I am just reminded that, in the event of the House refusing to

consent to the recommitment of clause 4, Free-trade Ministry may assume it, and in that connexion it would be pertinent for me to direct attention to fiscal views entertained by members of present Ministry. The honorable learned member for Corio has overlooked the divergent fiscal views of members of the present Ministry.

Mr. SPEAKER.—That has nothing to do with the matter under discussion.

Mr. KENNEDY.—I do not think so. I was simply replying to the remark of the honorable and learned member for Corio, and I do not propose to pursue the matter any further. I will direct the attention of honorable members to the question immediately before the House. The Prime Minister tells us that the amendment which he suggests is substantially the same as the proviso inserted at the instance of the honorable and learned member for Corinella. Those who say that it is impossible to ascertain what number of employes in any particular industry will constitute a majority, forget that we have statistics available, which are, for all practical purposes, absolutely reliable. We know that we can rely upon the figures given in the *Statistical Register* from time to time with regard to the number of miners engaged in coal mining, or in mining, or other branches of that industry, and that we can also arrive at a very good idea as to the number of hands engaged in the various factories in our cities. We can even ascertain approximately the number of bush workers.

Mr. DAVID THOMSON.—There are statistics showing the number of bush workers.

Mr. KENNEDY.—Take the case of shearers, by way of illustration. We can arrive at a fairly good idea as to the number of shearers engaged in the different States, and it is absurd to confuse the number of men actually engaged in that occupation with those who were shearing fifty or twenty years ago.

Mr. POYNTON.—It is not a question of those who were working fifteen years ago only, but of those who were working last year, and who may be shearing next year.

Mr. KENNEDY.—We were told by the Prime Minister that those who were shearing fifteen years ago were still shearing for the purposes of the Bill. If that was correct, I might be regarded as a shearer, because the honorable member for Grampians has promised, if necessity arises

en in his shed. If the hon- intends to ship all his wool it may not be advisable for that opportunity. There is phraseology, but not in substance the Government proposal now in the Bill. The stands, provides that before ts a preference to unionists fied that a majority of those the application. It will be cretion of the Court to say t a majority is represented nts. Under the Government tically the same provision with regard to the numbers any organization that might ference. The Court, before preference shall be given, d that the organization sub- esents the industry affected mbers.

ER.—And what else?

EDY.—I am now dealing ers, because, as the provision o reference is made to com- n dealing with the points of een the Government proposal o in the Bill. The clause, as resent, provides that the ma- ssent before the Court can- ence. I contend that exactly ition must prevail under the ggested by the Government.

THOMSON.—Then why should e made; why do not honor- accept the Government pro-

EDY.—I want to know what s about. Is not the amend- d by the Government intended n an easy stairway by which pe from a difficult situation? me to be that, and nothing

THOMSON.—No. We think ference.

NEDY.—I grant that there mate grounds for a difference

as.—Does the honorable mem- t there is no difference?

NEDY.—Substantially, I do e is any difference with regard rs who will be required to in- lication for preference. There a difference between the Go- posal and the provision in the ar as the Government amend- o the question of competence.

Mr. HUGHES.—The honorable member has already been told that the provision which the Government propose is based upon the practice adopted by the New South Wales Court.

Mr. KENNEDY.—It does not follow that we should adopt the provision because it is contained in the New South Wales Act.

Mr. HUGHES.—I did not say that. I said that it followed the practice adopted by the New South Wales Court.

Mr. KENNEDY.—Even so, it does not follow that we should adopt it.

Mr. HUGHES.—No; but that affords an excellent reason why the Government should bring it forward.

Mr. KENNEDY.—There is no provision for preference in the Western Australian Arbitration Act.

Mr. CARPENTER.—That is a great defect in the Act.

Mr. KENNEDY.—It may be. I have already stated, in connexion with clause 48, and my vote on a former occasion proved the truth of my words, that I am prepared to give preference to members of organizations. I think that it is essential to the efficient working of the Bill that practically every person engaged in any industry should become a member of an organization. The Bill can never really be made effective unless we can deal with the workers as members of organizations. I differ from the Government and their supporters, however, with regard to the provisions which should be embodied in the rules of industrial organizations. I do not think that the organizations should be permitted to coerce persons to subscribe to objects other than those which are contemplated by the Bill.

Mr. POYNTON.—The provisions relating to that matter have been omitted.

Mr. KENNEDY.—They have not been omitted. The Government refused, point blank, to adopt a provision to the effect that the funds of the industrial organizations under the measure should not be used for purposes other than those contemplated by the Bill.

Mr. POYNTON.—That condition has been imposed in the case of those unions which apply for preference—that is in the Bill.

Mr. KENNEDY.—It is not in the Bill, and I hold that such a clause should have been contained in the measure. The rules of an organization should not contain any provision which could have the effect of coercing any of its members in

regard to matters of principle, unless the purposes of this Bill were at issue.

Mr. POYNTON.—Look at sub-clause b of clause 62.

Mr. KENNEDY.—I have read that provision, in addition to all the other clauses. It was only after I had voted in favour of extending a preference to unionists, and after the Government had refused point-blank to safeguard the interests of non-members of any organization, that I reserved to myself the right to achieve that end, by any subsequent proposal. That was why I supported the amendment of the honorable and learned member for Corinella, which to my mind will prevent a minority from coercing a majority.

Mr. WEBSTER.—An unorganized majority.

Mr. KENNEDY.—They may constitute an unorganized majority simply because some provision may be embodied in the rules of an organization, which is repugnant to the mind of any fair individual. Upon a previous occasion I quoted an instance in which a union that was registered under the New South Wales Arbitration Act applied to the Court for the cancellation of the registration of another union. What happened? Its application was refused, because its rules were deemed to be repugnant to any fair-minded man. That, I think, is sufficient justification for my attitude upon this question. Honorable members opposite have threatened us with all sorts of pains and penalties because of our action upon the present occasion. We have been told that a dissolution of Parliament will follow the defeat of the Ministry. I have contested three elections within a period of twelve months, and have had an appeal lodged with the Elections and Qualifications Committee against my return thrown in. Consequently, threats of that sort have no terrors for me. When I go down, I shall do so with a clear conscience. Now that this issue has been raised, I do not think that the Government or their supporters can show us any justification for the lamentations which we have heard from every speaker upon the other side of the chamber. The gauntlet has been thrown down. It has been thrown down upon a question of policy upon which the Government have had a month to reflect. During that period they have been constantly inviting the Opposition to meet

them in mortal combat. But now that political scalps are at stake they would defer a decision upon the issue for an week. Their constant cry is "Wait to-morrow."

Mr. TUDOR.—The Opposition have "Wait until next week," ever since Labour Ministry took office.

Mr. KENNEDY.—Now that the issue is being made, whence do the lamentations proceed?

Mr. CARPENTER.—They are all on the opposite side.

Mr. McDONALD.—We are quite happy.

Mr. KENNEDY.—The great trouble with the Government supporters is that they are not to be allowed sufficient time to effect the conversion of some of those who are inclined to vote against the recommitment of the clause. Only yesterday they, in effect, claimed, "Are we to be tested upon this question at once. Let us have another week for underground tactics."

Mr. SPENCE.—The honorable member seems to be experienced in underground work.

Mr. KENNEDY.—I have been accused of engaging in it, but I confess that I have yet a lot to learn. When honorable members opposite charge others with underground engineering, it would be just as well if they supported their statements with facts. It is not sufficient to make assertions. It has been urged by the Government supporters that they have been deprived of an opportunity of putting the question fairly. But I would ask, "Are they not exactly the same opportunity as have honorable members on this side of the chamber?"

Mr. SPENCE.—Our side do not fear light being shed upon their actions.

Mr. KENNEDY.—When the final appeal to our masters comes, there will be no shuffling upon my part. From the point of view of honorable members opposite one may imagine that in the event of the Government proposal to recommit this clause being defeated, none of those upon this side of the House would see the interior of Parliament again. It is beyond their power to determine whether we shall or not. If any of those honorable members who have me with having abandoned my pledge to my constituents to oppose my election should find the time to do so arrives. I candidly say that if my return were opposed by any honorable member opposite I should find myself a worthy opponent. I was pledged to

conciliation and arbitration be-
d public life.

FER.—And now the honorable
king to kill it.

NEDY.—That statement can-
ted by facts. I heard a simi-
when the fate of the Deakin
was at stake. Those who would
the amendment submitted by
Minister of Trade and Customs
as traitors to the cause of con-
arbitration. I can speak upon
one who has had some experi-
es and of the evils resulting
No sane man who is familiar
ditions which obtain amongst
ts of the workers during the
ich a strike is in progress can
be the evils attendant upon it.
fair-minded individual—no
at class he may belong—who
ly welcome any legislative en-
h will have the effect of pre-
industrial troubles, with all
s consequences that follow
. We have been assured that
ial of the Government be not
in three months, we shall ex-
petition of the well-remem-
e strike. Surely it does not
e mouths of honorable mem-
to make a threat of that sort.

ES.—Who made that state-

NEDY.—The honorable mem-
oorlie and the honorable mem-
dir.

FER.—I did not.

NEDY.—I accept the honor-
s denial, and I am prepared to
e records of the House to de-
her his statement or mine is
ose who affirm that I am op-
principle of conciliation and
ght to be in a position to prove
ion. I voiced my objection to
this Bill upon the very first
that presented itself. Upon
I took exactly the same stand
o-night. I have no desire to
sion. The issue before us is
ed.

ER.—The statement which the
mber made just now is abso-
ct, so far as I am concerned.

NEDY.—I accept the honor-
's denial. To my mind, we

are not burking discussion by dealing with
this question in the manner that has been
adopted. We are asked to decide whether
we shall impose a limitation upon the pre-
ference provision.

Mr. WATKINS.—The amendment of the
honorable and learned member for Corinella
will have the effect of robbing unionists of
all preference.

Mr. KENNEDY.—A similar statement
was made in the earlier stages of the con-
sideration of this Bill. It was urged that
if honorable members opposite had to choose
between depriving unions of the power to
utilize their organizations for political pur-
poses and offering them this Bill, they
would throw this measure to the winds.
Is it the desire of any fair-minded man,
whether he be in the ranks of the workers
or the employers, that the organizations to
be constituted under this Bill, in order to
secure industrial peace, shall be used for
party political purposes? That is the
point on which I join issue with honorable
members opposite.

Mr. SPENCE.—But it is not affected by
clause 48.

Mr. KENNEDY.—It is affected by the
Bill, of which this clause forms part.
When we were dealing with the clause on
a previous occasion, I said that, unless the
Bill safeguarded the rights and political
convictions of individual members of
organizations, I should be no party to giv-
ing the Court power to grant unqualified
preference to unionists.

Mr. McDONALD.—Is not the provision
safeguarded by the amendment which was
carried on the motion of the honorable
and learned member for Darling Downs?

Mr. KENNEDY.—No. I have spoken
at greater length than I had intended.

Mr. McDONALD.—Go on.

Mr. KENNEDY.—I am delighted to
think that I have interested honorable
members opposite, and I trust that I have
not said anything that may be considered
to be in any way personal.

Mr. DAVID THOMSON.—We are only
surprised at the views which the honorable
member holds, knowing what he does of
the situation.

Mr. KENNEDY.—I have not turned
any political somersault. The position
which I now take up is that which I
clearly put before my constituents, and it
will require something more than a threat

on the part of any honorable member to induce me to go back on my principles.

Mr. WEBSTER.—The somersault will come later on.

Mr. KENNEDY.—I have placed before the House the conclusions at which I have arrived, and, come what may, I shall go down smiling. I shall not ask any honorable member what might be the effect of any vote that I might give upon any action contemplated by Ministers.

An HONORABLE MEMBER.—The honorable gentleman is going to become a free-trader.

Mr. KENNEDY.—It is again suggested that I am to be converted into a free-trader. I have yet to learn, however, that my views on the fiscal, or any other question, are likely to be affected in any way according to the side of the House on which I sit. I do not think that there is any justification for the charges which have been levelled against the honorable and learned member for Corinella. I believe that he is fully justified in the course which he has adopted to uphold the position originally taken up by him. He has taken an action which is sanctioned by our rules of procedure, and, as I agree with the object which he has in view, I shall be found voting for the amendment.

Mr. FRAZER.—I desire to make a personal explanation. The honorable member for Moira has accused me of having stated, in the course of my speech, before the adjournment for dinner, that if the Opposition did not accept the Bill in its present form there would be a strike within the next three months. That statement is inaccurate. I did not say that there would be an industrial dispute within the next three months, but I did say that in the event of a strike occurring, as the result of the action of honorable members of the Opposition in hanging up this Bill, they would have to accept the responsibility.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE (Hume).—I trust honorable members will bear with me to-night, as I am suffering from a very severe cold, and can scarcely speak. I do not intend to detain the House at length, but I cannot refrain from making a few comments on some of the extraordinary phases of the speech made by the honorable member for Moira, who preceded me. He is an honorable member for whom I have the greatest respect.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—So we all have.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I admire his consistency, but on this occasion he appears to have allowed his feelings to run away with his judgment. He has accused the Ministry, and those who support them, of inconsistency in objecting to the unprecedented course which has been adopted by the honorable and learned member for Corinella, prompted, I have no doubt, by the right honorable member for East Sydney. When an honorable member, whom I have always regarded as a fair-minded man, makes such a charge, I cannot help thinking that on this occasion something has gone wrong with his reasoning faculties. I do not think the honorable and learned member for Corinella, the right honorable member for East Sydney, and, indeed, any member of the Opposition, to bring forward a precedent for the action now being pursued by them. They cannot refer me to any parallel case. I do not admit that occasionally, when a Minister has proposed to recommit an unimportant clause, they have met with opposition; I do not know of any case in which a proposal by a Government to recommit a clause involving so important a question as this has been treated in this manner. I have been in public life almost as long as any honorable member in this House. I cannot say what is the position of the representatives of Victoria, but I have had longer unbroken public career than any other honorable member for New South Wales; yet I cannot call to mind one case which approaches the technically tricky position with which we are now faced.

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—I remember a tricky one.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—No; the honorable member remembers—

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—When the honorable member came into office as Premier of New South Wales.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—The honorable member remembers that when I discovered that a sum of money had been paid as a bribe to an honorable member I made it the subject of an amendment to a substantial motion, as soon as I ascertained what was the reason for the giving of that bribe. Honorable members know that it was the right honorable member for East Sydney who gave that bribe, and that, in consequence of that action, he went out of office. What was the history of that bribe? £350 to which I refer?

AKER.—I must ask honorable to interject so loudly and so and I appeal to the honorable Hume to confine himself to the other discussion, which is clause

WILLIAM LYNE.—In justification on, Mr. Speaker, I would point as induced to make these observations the interjection of the honorable North Sydney.

OLD THOMSON.—The honorable discussing the point before I

WILLIAM LYNE.—No. The honor is mistaken if he thinks that point in view when he inter- shall not make any further re- matter, but I repeat that the now before the House has been omitted. The position is a grave use who are prepared to allow t of day to shine on all their g a public career extending over feel that it is degrading that members should be afraid to ne Government in a pro-

There are two ways in deal with a question of It is open to the Oppo- allenge the Government by a n of want of confidence, or to defeat them by a side-wind; ways been understood that when a Government is at stake the le discussion should be allowed.

history of this attack on the The Conciliation and Arbitra- introduced by the Deakin Ad- of which I was a member. ble member for Moira has ay consistency with that of le and learned member for nd I therefore feel con- deal with a matter which ot otherwise have mentioned. think that there are not many e me. have risked their advance- lic life before entering this use, and are prepared to do so f they stand alone. rather than ght honorable member for East The right honorable member's shed in smiles.

—Tell us—

WILLIAM LYNE.—The right honor- er will have an opportunity to I have concluded.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—He has not the pluck.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Sometimes he has courage, but on other occasions his heart fails him. Let me deal with the course of events leading up to the present situation. This Bill, as introduced by the Deakin Government, did not apply to the railway servants of the States, and it was because of their defeat on the amend- ment to extend its provisions to those public officers that that Government went out of office. I presume that the hon- orable member for Kennedy was referring to the attitude which I took up in regard to that question when he compared my consistency with that of the honorable and learned member for Ballarat. But my late colleagues know that from the very outset I was in favour of the extension of the Bill to all railway servants, and that I told my constituents so. Had it not been for a statement made by the Premier of Victoria, I should not have been compelled, as I was, in loyalty to my colleagues, to vote for the Bill as it stood. When the late Government retired I was free to exercise my individual judgment and to give effect to the view of the ques- tion that I had put before my constituents. My colleagues knew that I favoured the extension of the Bill to the railway servants of the States and of the Commonwealth, and surely when I was at liberty to give effect to that view, I had a right to do so, and, therefore, should not now be charged with inconsistency.

Mr. KENNEDY.—I was referring to the vote on the amendment to exclude agri- cultural and horticultural labourers from the operation of the Bill.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I think that I voted against the inclusion of agricultural labourers.

Mr. MCCOLL.—That is so.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—As a matter of fact, when the Bill was being drafted, I was opposed to their inclusion, and there- fore was not inconsistent in voting in that way.

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—But the Bill, as introduced by the Government of which the honorable member was a member, ap- plied to them.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—The honorable member knows very well that one member of a Cabinet cannot expect to have his own way in regard to every clause in a Bill. He must vote with the Government, or else retire from the Ministry. That was my position, and when I found myself at

liberty to exercise my individual judgment, I did not see why I should not do so. The right honorable member for Swan knows that what I say is correct.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—It is, and it suits my position exactly.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—As soon as the right honorable member was out of office, he went round like a whirlwind, and we have not yet felt the last whirl of that whirlwind. The late Prime Minister recommended the Governor-General to send for the honorable member for Bland, much to the chagrin of the right honorable member for East Sydney, who expressed his disappointment in the public press in the most childish manner.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—This is not in clause 48.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—Nor is it likely to be.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I am afraid that there is not likely to be an Arbitration Bill at all if honorable members on that side have their way. The present Ministry, before they accepted office, and after they took their seats on the Treasury benches, were promised by the late Prime Minister—and the promise is reported in *Hansard*—that they and their party would be given fair play.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—What has this to do with the question?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—It bears on the question, as I shall show. I wish to know where is the consistency of honorable members on that side of the House, and of the honorable and learned member for Ballarat? It was through his instrumentality that the present Ministers were placed in office, and he promised to give them fair play.

Mr. TUDOR.—Why is he not present?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I regret that he is not present. Until to-day the right honorable member for East Sydney and his following were absent, too. If there is one thing which I like in public life, it is open, fair play.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—The honorable member gives us a shock when he talks in that way, because we know him so well.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—The honorable member for Macquarie is not a judge of fair play.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I would not go to the honorable member for it. We know his tricky ways.

Mr. REID.—What is the use of making such a fuss about this matter?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I never knew any Premier make such a fuss as did the right honorable gentleman when he was put out of office. He went into a certain room the Labour room—and on his bended knee begged for a penny.

Mr. SPEAKER.—I am sure that the honorable member for Hume must be aware that he is wandering from the question. I ask him to set a good example to young members.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I always do, but when interjections are made I am tempted to reply to them, and you must blame me, Mr. Speaker, if my retorts are rather caustic.

Mr. REID.—Hear, hear. The honorable member has had the gout.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I wish the right honorable member had the gout in his tongue. The present position has been brought about by the intrigues of the right honorable gentleman, supported by 50 per cent. of those who voted to displace the Government. They wish to destroy the Bill, lock, stock, and barrel, and at all costs.

Mr. REID.—One would think that the honorable member was himself a Minister. I ask your ruling, Mr. Speaker, as to whether he is observing the ordinary Parliamentary rule which requires debate to be confined to the question before the House.

Mr. SPEAKER.—I have twice, if not thrice, called the attention of the honorable member to the fact that he is travelling beyond the question. I ask him to confine himself strictly to it. If the right honorable member will not interject quite so frequently, it may not be so difficult for the honorable member.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I will endeavour to confine my remarks to the question. The honorable and learned member for Corinella was quite justified, viewing the matter from his stand-point, in moving the proviso which was added to the clause. The Government, however, consider that it destroyed an important and practically a vital principle of the Bill, and they took what was about the only course they could take short of actually resigning, in regard to it. They intimated that they would ask the House to recommit the Bill, with a view to reconsidering its decision in regard to the clause. That was the proper constitutional course to take. The Prime Minister, shortly after making that announcement, said that it would take a week or two for the Cabinet to consider it.

which would probably have to the recommittal, and I was therefore, to hear the honorable Moira to-night accuse the Government having deliberately delayed the of the measure.

EDY.—I did not say that.

WILLIAM LYNE.—The Government being pestered by honorable including the leader of the Opposition party—

—I did not say a word to

WILLIAM LYNE.—The right honorable and his supporters asked the to deal with the Seat of Government in the interim. That measure considered to be of the gravest and the Ministry, true to their introduced it, and carried it now, however, the honorable Moira twits the Government delayed the consideration of present before the House.

EDY.—No.

WILLIAM LYNE.—The honorable in effect—"Why did not submit the recommittal for on at an earlier date?"

EDY.—I said that they had for the consideration of the carried by the honorable member for Corinella, and could of his present action.

WILLIAM LYNE.—I have great honorable member, and there surprised at the construction ned to me could be put upon remarks which he made to Ministry could not have done they have done. They have marvellous work in passing the Government Bill, a measure which circumstances might have up" for months or years, will now become law with days. Although I was in obtaining the adoption which I favoured, I submit mbling, and give the Ministry having stuck to the measure. will give them credit, too. the last two days when it was ssion, I felt that there was the wind, and when I tried er vote on the Welaregang site, at honorable member who was the cross-benches asked, "What f talking? I will give you a y one who is away"—

Mr. SPEAKER.—Order!

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I felt that there was something behind the beautiful smooth tones of the right honorable member's tongue.

Mr. SPEAKER.—If an honorable member of the experience of the honorable member for Hume does not confine himself to the question at issue, I ask him how is it possible for me to require other honorable members to do so?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Although I know that technically our remarks should be confined to clause 48, I have listened attentively to the speeches of many of those who have preceded me, and I have heard many divergencies from strict relevance to the question. I shall, however, try to obey your ruling. I was only incidentally describing the thoughts that entered my mind on the occasion I speak of. Then, next day—

HONORABLE MEMBERS.—What about clause 48?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I have a perfect right to say what I am about to say. Next day I ascertained what was the matter, because the "cat was out of the bag." The antics of the right honorable member for East Sydney are amusing, but he should remember that he is not now in the Tivoli Theatre.

Mr. REID.—Worse luck.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—That is where they would like to have him. If he is not careful, I will tell the House a little story about Harry Rickards' views on the matter. Under present circumstances the Government will not have an opportunity to defend its policy and its administration.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—What opportunity did our Government get?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I think that the right honorable member has had a pretty good show since.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—What show did we get when we were being put out?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—That was the right honorable member's fault. The case was altogether different then. There was no catch-penny business about what then occurred. The great fault was with the late Prime Minister. The present Government, however, are not, in my opinion, getting the fair play which should be extended to them. I am not with them on many of their principles.

Mr. CONROY.—The honorable member only votes with them.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I vote according to my conscience, which is what the honorable and learned member does not do. Although I may be opposed to the present Government in regard to many matters, I think that they are entitled to fair play before they are displaced from office. Although what is being done now is technically correct, and according to the rules of the House, the country will know that they have never had fair play since they have been sitting on the Treasury benches.

Mr. REID.—The honorable member is worse than a Minister.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—They have not had fair play from those who were attending to the work of Parliament. The right honorable member has not been here until recently. If I am any judge of the opinions of the country, however—

Mr. REID.—Are we discussing the opinions of the country or clause 48?

Mr. SPEAKER.—I think that honorable members may safely leave questions of order to me. If anything takes place which is contrary to the Standing Orders I will myself, as I have done many times already, call the honorable member who offends to order.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I would ask whether it is not competent, sir, for any honorable member to raise a point of order when he thinks that the honorable member addressing the Chair is straying from the point at issue? If honorable members have not the right to do that, they may be placed in a very awkward position. For example, you may not hear some unparliamentary language; but surely honorable members who do hear it should be allowed to draw your attention to it.

Mr. SPEAKER.—I should be very far from stating that any honorable member was not free to raise a point of order whenever he pleased. Every honorable member has that right, and if, at any time, I miss a remark honorable members may properly call my attention to it. I suggest, however, that they should abstain, as far as may be practicable, from taking points of order again and again, and rely upon my watchfulness.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—The action taken by the Opposition will have the effect of preventing the Government from placing before the country anything more than their policy with regard to clause 48. They cannot discuss such matters as preferential trade, or the offering of

the iron and other bonuses. If the result of the vote on the present occasion is, as expected, to displace the Government, and to hand over to a new Ministry the administration of all such matters as those relating to the maintenance of a White Australia—

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I rise to a point of order.

Mr. SPEAKER.—The honorable member for Hume is entirely out of order.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I shall do everything I can to keep the honorable member to the point.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I have doubt that the honorable member will decline to extend to me the courtesy that would exhibit to any other member of the House; but I can put up with that.

Mr. HUGHES.—The honorable member for Macquarie will get his thirty pieces

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—If the Government are defeated, and ejected from office the new Ministry will take charge of a number of important matters, with regard to which we are unfortunately unable to lighten the country at the present time. With regard to the statement that a threat had been made that if the Bill were lost a general strike would occur, I may say that I listened attentively to the statements of the honorable member for Kalgoorlie, and he certainly did not make any threat. What he said was that those who would destroy the Bill must bear the responsibility if a strike unfortunately took place. It is not fair to endeavour to fasten upon the honorable member for Kalgoorlie, or upon any other honorable member, a statement which he did not make. I think that honorable members generally would regret with sorrow anything in the shape of a great industrial conflict. The object of the Bill is to prevent the possibility of anything of that kind. I support the proposal of the Government, first, in the interests of fair play, and, secondly, because it is based upon the practice followed by the Arbitration Court in New South Wales. The Arbitration Act in that State goes a great deal further than is proposed under the Bill before us. For instance, farm labourers are brought within the jurisdiction of the Court, and there is practically no limitation to the scope of the measure in that regard.

Mr. SPEAKER.—Order. I would direct the honorable member's attention to the fact that he is referring to agriculture

are not in any way dealt with in clause 48.

JAM LYNE.—I was certainly surprised by the casual reference to them, but I do not object of acting contrary to the usual practice.

I simply wished to point out the fact that notwithstanding the dreadful consequences which some honorable members apprehend from the passing of the Bill, it is not nearly so serious as the New South Wales Act. I do not do it to do is to make my position clear. I feel that I cannot, under the present circumstances, support the Bill as it is composed as it is, and led by the Government who is at its head. What is the result, even though I support the Bill? I shall be consistent—I shall be consistent in my inconsistency. I do not intend to sacrifice my principles for office, and I do not intend to support a protectionist tail under a free-trade leader.

MR. NEDDY.—As a matter of explanation, I desire to say that the honorable member for Hume had accused him of inconsistency with the vote which he gave in reference to the extension of the Bill to public servants. What I did say was that the honorable member voted for the exclusion of labourers from the operation of the Bill, although, as a member of the Government, he was one of those who supported the Bill, which originally applied to the agricultural industry. The honorable member also stated that I had accused the Government of undue delay in passing this Bill. I made no such charge. I commended the Government for the watch with which they had dealt with the matter, but I did say that since the Bill had been previously been before the Government they had had some time for reflection, and that the proposed amendment represented a judgment.

MR. G. O'MALLEY (Darwin).—I do not see so much heat imparted to the Bill by some honorable members. There is no necessity for any extraordinary action in the matter. As a party, we do not die to-night. There is no on our part. For the three years during which I have been sitting in the House I have felt like a Rocky Mountain tiger cat, and I can go over to the Opposition, the better I shall be pleased.

I do not see why the prospect of the right honorable member for East Sydney coming over to this side of the House should arouse any great excitement. What we object to is the way in which the Opposition are taking advantage of the Government. No opportunity is being afforded to honorable members to discuss the vital issues before the country. If the right honorable member for East Sydney had moved a no-confidence motion, and succeeded in ejecting the Government from the Treasury benches, we should have been satisfied. Under present conditions, however, we are absolutely muzzled, because we are prevented from discussing anything but clause 48. The action of the Opposition might be all right, viewed from the stand-point of the Tammany Hall bludgers or the sand-baggers of Pennsylvania or the Louisiana Kuklux clans, but it is altogether out of place in a British Legislature. Ever since I have been here, British institutions have been held up to me as the glorious apotheosis of liberty and righteousness. We are not troubled at the prospect of crossing over to the other side of the House, but we should like to have an opportunity to discuss clause 48 in Committee. How can we go into Committee, when the numbers are against us? I do not blame the right honorable member for East Sydney. He is playing the political game.

MR. HUGHES.—He is playing a very dirty game.

MR. KING O'MALLEY.—It is a Tammany Hall game. I had hoped that there would be no political trickery or dodgery in this Parliament, but we now have presented to us a sorrowful and pathetic sight. When I look across the chamber and see the sadness depicted in the faces of honorable members opposite, I realize that in their heart of hearts they feel ashamed of what they are doing. I ask them to repent.

AN HONORABLE MEMBER.—Ask them to testify.

MR. KING O'MALLEY.—I do not ask them to speak, because they have the numbers. It is for those who have not the numbers to speak. The essence of democratic government consists in the preservation of human rights, and no scheming or trickery should be indulged in which would endanger those rights. Honorable members opposite have set themselves up as the party of negation. In this great Parliament of the Commonwealth

we are absolutely tied up. I have known nothing like it in the United States Congress. When that body was discussing the great Ben Butler case, there was nothing like that which we now see here. I admit that the Labour Government have not occupied the Treasury benches for any great length of time.

Mr. SPEAKER.—That has nothing to do with clause 48.

Mr. KING O'MALLEY.—I quite agree with you, sir; but nearly all the great discussions that we have had in this House have turned upon matters that have had nothing to do with the question before the Chair. I understand that a majority of honorable members are opposed to the recommitment of this clause. It is absolutely certain, therefore, that it cannot be recommitted, and if that be so, what is the use of endeavouring to recommit it? It must be painfully evident to all that there is a section of this House which does not exactly know where it is. Either honorable members or the Ministerial supporters are at sea. After the skipper of a vessel has been drifting at sea, in storm and darkness, for a prolonged period, what is the first thing which he endeavours to do? He endeavours to ascertain his bearings. I wish to ascertain our bearings, so that we may determine exactly our position. When speaking upon this question, some time ago, the honorable member for Franklin declared that the miners of the West Coast of Tasmania are not in favour of granting a preference to unionists.

Mr. McWILLIAMS.—I did not say that.

Mr. KING O'MALLEY.—Well, the honorable member said something to that effect. I hold in my hand a letter which I have received from the secretary of the Amalgamated Miners' Association, at Zeehan, bearing upon this point. This communication is important, as showing that the people of the West Coast of Tasmania are favorable to the extension of a preference to unionists.

Mr. McWILLIAMS.—How many persons resident in that locality belong to that union?

Mr. KING O'MALLEY.—There is a great crowd in Zeehan.

Mr. McWILLIAMS.—No objection can be urged against a preference being granted to them if they constitute a majority.

Mr. KING O'MALLEY.—I am not prepared to say that they do constitute a ma-

jority. The letter to which I have referred reads—

Mr. K. O'Malley, M.H.R.

Dear Sir,—During the debate on the Arbitration and Conciliation Bill now before the Federal House, a statement was made by Mr. McWilliams that the workers of Tasmania were satisfied with the existing state of affairs, and did not desire arbitration. This has caused a great deal of adverse comment here on the West Coast, where the population is more or less of a cosmopolitan description, being composed of workers who have travelled the whole, not only of Tasmania, but in most cases of the Commonwealth. The feeling here, which, I believe, is shared by the workers throughout Tasmania, is that the passing of the Arbitration Act will mark a new era in the history (industrially) of every portion of Australia; and in place of wishing to revert to the old order of things, we look forward to the passing of the Arbitration Bill as a further step in the march of progress and democracy. I trust that if this expression of dissent from the opinion expressed by the member for Franklin will assuage you or any member of the Ministry in their efforts to place this important and progressive measure on the Statute Book of the Commonwealth, I will not hesitate to use it. With every good wish for your continued prosperity, and regards from inquiring friends,

I am, yours sincerely,

S. FORD,
Zeehan

Mr. SPEAKER.—Does the honorable member say that that communication relates to the proposal to grant a preference to unionists?

Mr. KING O'MALLEY.—Indirectly does. It is not couched in the language of a lawyer, but in that of the ordinary miner.

Mr. SPEAKER.—The question immediately before the Chair is not the passing of the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill, but the recommitment of a clause which relates to the granting of a preference to unionists.

Mr. KING O'MALLEY.—Exact. That is the position which these miners take up. They say that without a preference to unionists the Bill will prove inoperative.

Mr. TUDOR.—Many honorable members will vote against that clause from a desire to kill the measure.

Mr. KING O'MALLEY.—I would not say that, because I do not think that we have a right to attribute ulterior motives to one another. I wish to put the position as fairly as possible. In the absence of this provision, can any honorable member assure me that there is any power on earth to enforce an award against an individual workman? If a wealthy individual against whom judgment

led in a civil action fails to judgment, his property can be auction. But if a preference to unionists, how can any arbitration Court be enforced individual workman? Such a t be granted, because the represent the capital of their personally, I should much pre- an action against a strong ation than against a solitary w can we extract blood from orable members are being stipend of £400 a year; but know is how we can enforce st the individual workman. A member of Parliament still strike.

O'MALLEY.—I am not at rike. That liberty was from me, when I had much money in fighting I do not think that my nds opposite have studied They have been consumed an anxiety to displace the know that the right honor- or East Sydney is usually a e individual. But, reason- who has renounced his readministering medicine to a t is inefficacious. No man expressing an opinion unless or himself.

oy.—A man requires some- with.

O'MALLEY.—My honor- ll never be troubled by his more we examine this a financial stand-point, shall come to the conclusion ust be organized. I firmly onorable members opposite under a frightful hallucina- r anxiety to jump the seats Ministry they have neglected uestion.

—What question?

O'MALLEY.—The honor- should go home and sleep lieve that he is open to rea- ould recollect that prejudice enemy of investigation.

EDWARDS.—Four twelves.

O'MALLEY.—I do not the honorable member has e Rocky Mountains, but if probably familiar with the n flea. With that insect, it

is a case of "Now you have him, now you haven't," but he is always bothering one. I am anxious to put this matter so clearly that even the most unintelligent may understand it. There is no reason why we should attempt to destroy each other. This is a socialistic House, and we are all partners.

Mr. WILKS.—Except in the matter of allowances.

Mr. KING O'MALLEY.—The time will come when Ministers will have to divide with the brethren.

Mr. REID.—There will be no trouble then.

Mr. KING O'MALLEY.—I shall not deny the fact that I believe that the Labour Party have, in one respect, set a bad example.

Mr. SPEAKER.—The honorable member must discuss the question before the Chair.

Mr. KING O'MALLEY.—It is remarkable how a man will wander away from the question. I believe in preference to unionists, and think that we should give effect to that principle in the Bill. I am anxious that honorable members should consider this question in an impartial manner, and, banishing all sordid considerations, endeavour to deal with it on its merits. I appeal to honorable members to say how an award could be enforced if each individual in the land had to be dealt with separately?

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—No one proposes anything of the kind.

Mr. KING O'MALLEY.—If it were merely necessary to found organizations consisting of 100 members each, and having only a few pounds at their disposal—the moneys of the unions on which they were based being kept entirely apart from the organizations themselves—it would be impossible to give effect to any award imposing penalties upon them. That, however, would be the position if the course proposed by the Opposition were adopted. I should like honorable members not to be carried away by the awful fears which some appear to entertain in regard to members of the Labour Party. They are no more dangerous than are members of any other party in the House. They are endeavouring to carry out that which they believe to be in accordance with the principles of justice. Some persons have not so clear a conception of the principles of justice as have others, but every member of the Labour Party is filled with his

mission to repletion. So far as this question is concerned, the Labour Party are missionaries among the heathen. Honorable members remember that the cannibals in Fiji used to eat missionaries—

Mr. SPEAKER.—That question has nothing to do with the matter before the House.

Mr. KING O'MALLEY.—I bow to your ruling, sir.

Mr. WILKS.—It shows a preference.

Mr. KING O'MALLEY.—A preference to unionists for white men, as missionaries are unionists. After cannibalism was abolished, they had to substitute mutton for missionary.

Mr. SPEAKER.—The honorable member is out of order.

Mr. KING O'MALLEY.—I agree with you, sir. Unions may exist among savages. We had various unions among the Yaqui Indians in Mexico, and the Grand Sagamore used to sit back in his chair, while the members fell at his feet to worship him. We are making a great mistake in proposing to deal with this question without carefully investigating it. It is proposed to turn out of office a Ministry which, during its short career, has set a splendid example to the world. I should not object so strongly to their defeat if it took place after the presentation of our case in the clearest possible way, so that the people might judge for themselves of the attitude which we take up. But I seriously object to the action of the Opposition, for we have no such opportunity to discuss the general question as we should have if a straight-out motion of want of confidence were submitted. Many persons condemn the Labour Party—men who have no chance to place their views before the country by means of the press. Could the evil which is in the minds of our opponents die with them, and their bad example also, we might enjoy the luxury of forgetting all about them. That, however, cannot be, because the evil which men do must live after them. The action which honorable members of the Opposition are now taking against the Government may recoil on them with tenfold strength long before they anticipate anything of the kind. Evil and the example of evil acquire tenfold strength when they speak from the grave. We have good memories, and we shall never forget this night. It may be necessary for us to metaphorically gibbet those who are treating

the Government in this unchristian, righteous, and dishonorable manner, so with the steel pen of a century to cut their names will be written so high, and letters so black, that their children's children will be ashamed to bear their names am sad to-night. When I think of honorable members opposite, after a struggle for protection—

Mr. SPEAKER.—The honorable member is again wandering away from the subject.

Mr. KING O'MALLEY.—I admit, that I am. It is because I cannot to the main question that I feel so sad. To-night we see among the ranks of the position honorable members, whom we invited to carry the great policy of protection, standing up and denouncing us.

Mr. MAUGER.—Not all of them.

Mr. KING O'MALLEY.—No; but the Lord, there is one saved. I have witnessed sad scenes in the United States of America, but have never seen so sad a spectacle as that which now confronts us. We may be mistaken, we may feel that cannot endure it—

Mr. SPEAKER.—I must ask the honorable member to debate the clause, and cease speaking.

Mr. KING O'MALLEY.—I come to the consideration of clause 48. I do not desire in any way to come into conflict with the Chair, but I should like to point out that there is at least one essential difference between capital and labour. Labour is an organization possessing a heart, and a conscience, while capital is an organization that is soulless, heart-grasping, and vicious.

Mr. HIGGINS.—There is no soul in clause 48.

Mr. KING O'MALLEY.—I am sorry to say there is not.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—It has been torn out of it.

Mr. KING O'MALLEY.—That is what I am really amazed that Ministers should have been so foolish as to make this a question. If ever I obtained office the Opposition would have a difficulty in replacing me. They would not put me in such a light and easy way.

Mr. SPEAKER.—That has nothing to do with the question.

Mr. KING O'MALLEY.—I desire to be absolutely fair, and I wish to know what the Opposition propose in lieu of the Government amendment.

EDWARDS.—The proviso alone.

O'MALLEY.—But it will round. It certainly does not unionist shall have preference. The members opposite any contention that which the workers are engaged in submitting themselves to a High Court? We know that the High Court is nurtured, trained in a school remote from the vast multitudes who toil in the year. These people are surrender the right to strike themselves to the Court, and even them in return? At the attack on labour there is the for some reason or other, an man is made of inferior clay with that of which the so-called are composed. The gold-diggers, whose bank overdrafts are nobility, think that the ideal of workmen is that of a hater; and that they should in hopes and prospects to the unattached slave masters. Throughout the world awakened people to a sense of community sentiments of comradeship, and of associated effort to such an end as day philosophers and other who are devoting themselves to one of the troubles caused by arrived at the conclusion that the arch-enemy of the workers is the State. If that be the case, and have worked to secure the up-lift of wage-earners, why should they be side and branded as bodies of that is what the clause, as it do.

EDWARDS.—Preference is

O'MALLEY.—It would be a vast aggregation of money; a monopoly when you say to men, "Organize, and form associations, so that we may" There is no greater union-honorable member for South to-night he has wandered from of unionism, as even the best go astray when he gets into. The honorable member ask that I have not a great reason however. We ought not to

take this vote suddenly. We ought to try to look into the question.

Mr. McDONALD.—Why should not the vote be taken?

Mr. KING O'MALLEY.—Are honorable members anxious for it?

Mr. McDONALD.—Yes.

Mr. KING O'MALLEY.—If they are ready to die, it is all right. I do not wish to talk for hours, if there is nothing to be gained by doing so.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—The honorable member is delivering the funeral oration of the Government.

Mr. KING O'MALLEY.—The Ministry is being sacrificed to the commercial and corporate greed of Australia.

Mr. TUDOR.—At the mandate of the Employers' Federation.

Mr. KING O'MALLEY.—I would not say anything like that. But the liberty-loving, truthful workers of Australia, the great toilers of this country, if they cannot get justice from this House, may eventually be forced to demand the restoration of the Mosaic law, which requires "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth." During the three months that the Ministry have been in office, they have proved themselves to be as good administrators as we have had in Australasia, and as there have been anywhere else in the world. In this southern, sunny land we may yet see a monument erected which will for ever perpetuate the era when corporate and commercial aggression met its doom, and humanity achieved its regeneration.

Mr. HIGGINS (Northern Melbourne—Attorney-General).—I considered that the few words which I may say were ill-suited to so warm a temperature as we had in this Chamber a short time ago; but now that the honorable member for Darwin has brought the House again into good humour, what I have to say may not be so inappropriate. The limits of the discussion have, if I may say so, been very rightly narrowed by your ruling, Mr. Speaker, and in my remarks I shall narrow them still more. The question before the House is simply whether the Government shall be granted leave to recommit one of the gravest and most difficult clauses to frame which there is in the Bill. Some honorable members wish to refuse the request for recommitment, and they are, of course, perfectly entitled to do so. But the effect of their action will be that a proviso, which all must admit was inserted without argument and without

discussion, by a snatch majority, when honorable members were hurrying away to catch the trains to other States, cannot be re-discussed.

Mr. ISAACS.—Discussed, not re-discussed.

Mr. HIGGINS.—Yes, discussed; because it has never yet been discussed. Honorable members who were present on the occasion, remember that the Committee had been wearied with the discussion of other amendments.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—With the discussion of clause 48.

Mr. HIGGINS.—With the discussion of amendments in that clause. The Prime Minister at last arranged to allow a certain amendment to be accepted. Another amendment was rejected, and then the honorable and learned member for Corinella moved the proviso of which he had given notice. It is quite true that it had been printed and circulated; but he said, "I will not argue it, if Ministers will not do so"; and Ministers did not argue it. There was a division forthwith, and the Government were beaten. That proviso has not yet been discussed. Any one who wishes to refer to the proceedings will find them recorded on page 2689 of the *Hansard* report for the current session, so that I am speaking by the card. Ministers who are responsible to the House and to the country for this grave measure ask the House, under these circumstances, not to merely consider the amendment which they propose to move, but to see whether some device cannot be found, by the ingenuity of honorable members, which will make the proviso workable. Apparently a majority, led by one or two, are inclined not to give us leave to do this. If the action of the House is meant to be an insult, a slap in the face to Ministers, we must take it as such. Honorable members are quite entitled to act as they have acted; but it is not the way in which statesmen act. It is not right to refuse to discuss the amendment of a proviso which was inserted in such a grave clause as that now before the House under the circumstances which I have detailed. I assure honorable members that I have studied the proviso with the utmost care, and I have to warn them that I have come to the conclusion, which is shared by others whose opinions I regard very highly, that it is most unskillfully drawn, and if passed into law is likely to cause

great difficulty to the President of the Court. Furthermore, it certainly will not carry out the object which its mover has expressed himself as desirous of carrying out. I say that, knowing that I am speaking in some respects to deaf ears; but I think it is my duty to let the House know that the proviso will not achieve the object which its mover, and those who have supported it, think it will achieve. If honorable members will look for a moment at its concluding words, they will see that before a preference is granted there is required a majority, "of those affected by the award who have interests common with the applicants." Who are those who are "affected by the award"? I should think that they are not merely those who are bound by it, but their families and others as well. But, in order to come to graver matters, I will assume that "affected by the award" means "bound by the award." The proviso, however, assumes that it is only by the award that preference can be given. That is a mistake. Preference may also be given by an order. Clause 48 itself allows preference to be given by an order, but there is no proviso that there must be a majority of those who are to be affected by the order. That is not the way of it. Let us go a step further. The proviso says, "those who have interests common with the applicants." Who are they? The words used are not "those who are in the industry," but "those who have interests in common with the applicants."

Mr. WATKINS.—Every workman in Australia.

Mr. HIGGINS.—That may or may not be; but let me give the House a concrete instance. Let me assume that an award is made affecting all seamen amongst whom are unionists and non-unionists, including lascars in receipt of, say, 15s. per week. Incidentally, I may observe that honorable members who say that where workmen are not united they do not get fair play are perfectly correct. Suppose that an award is made affecting all seamen, and application is made for the granting of a preference to unionists. Who will be "those who have interests in common with the applicants"? Surely the lascars, and those who are not unionists but the unionists themselves, and it will be easy to obtain a majority of unionists in favour of the granting of the preference. The honorable and learned member

is not now present, is a man who deserves great credit for which he prepares his work. The first to admit that the Bill should be reconsidered.

EDWARDS.—So does the honorable and learned gentleman who is more slovenly drafting in the House "the industry affected" on both sides.

INS.—The honorable member to express his opinion on the Bill which he alludes to. I am quite responsible for it, though I did not draft it. It was not mine. What the Government are not at all anxious to do is to amend any amendment down the honorable members. We wish the Bill shall be recommitted and we are determined that the House shall know what our position is.

Y.—Is it not monstrous that the Bill should be asked to reconsider and may take the bread out of the mouths of the people?

INS.—I wish that we could get out of some men's mouths. I shall respect that the phrase "the industry affected" is obscure. Honorable opposite, however, do not ask the House to put it right. I will even allow their own meanly expressed, and to be so. They say, "We are opposed to it." We shall not have any limit to the debate, we shall let the Ministerial supporters from their minds with regard to the Bill that has been pursued, and we shall secure the vote of one honorable member whose vote will count two votes, and that will give us a majority.

COOK.—Does the Attorney-General intend the recommitment merely in order to delay the drafting?

INS.—I wish to remedy the Bill in order to effect my object, and I am sure my honorable and learned member for Corinella, to delay the drafting of his amendment to prevent the provision being nonsensical. The only question is, are we going to trust the honorable member for the task of converting a stupid amendment into one which will be effective? When we come to the clause which we get to it—some honorable member says that they wish it to read

in one way, whilst I may wish to adopt another phraseology. Surely that will be the time to discuss it. A number of honorable members have sought to persuade us that we should have no alternative but to adopt the Government proposal, or allow the proviso to stand. That, however, is not the case. The question is, is the House to be trusted, or not. Is it to be allowed an opportunity to put the clause right, and to make its meaning clear? I feel that I have no right to complain of the action taken. As a Ministry we can submit. We came into office without seeking it, and we shall go out without having disgraced ourselves. We came into office without cadging, and we shall go out without cringing. All that I can say is that our occupancy of office has provided a beneficial lesson for the country, which will see that a Labour Ministry has been displaced before it has committed any fault of administration, before it has proposed anything contrary to the programme put forward by its leaders at the outset. I must say that I think it is fortunate for us that the present course has been followed by the Opposition. It might have been difficult for us to explain from the platform, to those who are not versed in the intricacies of unionism and arbitration, the difference between the clause as it stands and as it would appear if the Government proposal were adopted. When, however, it comes to a question of taking the conduct of the business of the House, and the ordinary machinery of Government out of the hands of Ministers, we can make our position clear to the constituencies. We can show that, because the Ministry has been sneered at as a Labour Ministry by snobs, therefore, it has been regarded as not entitled to fair play. If the clause be not re-discussed, we shall be able to go to the outside public untrammelled. Our hands will not be tied, even by the amendment which we have put before the House. We shall be absolutely free. I think we went to the utmost limits in that amendment. I am not at all sure that we did not go too far; but we went so far in order to save the Bill from being wrecked. Whenever the people ask for bread, whatever we do—no matter what the consequences may be—we shall not give them a stone. When the people are asking for an Arbitration Bill which will work, we shall not give them a Bill which will not work. We were

quite willing to exclude from the scope of the Bill for the present the agricultural industry, domestic occupations, and so forth, to which the House did not think the Bill should apply. But when it becomes a question of amending the Bill in such a way as to make it useless for any industry we hold our hands and say, "No; we will have nothing of the sort." I regretted to hear the speech delivered by the honorable member for Moira, whom I have respected extremely in the Victorian Parliament and here. I did not understand the unjust way in which he treated the action of the Ministry in regard to the Bill now before us and the Seat of Government Bill. I ask any fair man if we have taken any unfair advantage, or have been guilty of any trickery. I am quite sure when the honorable member comes to think of it, he will see that this Ministry, whatever its faults may have been, has acted honorably and above board, and has not been guilty of any underground engineering; that it has fought for its principles, that it has not sought office, and that it will leave it with a good record and an unstained flag. The right honorable member for East Sydney is not here. He has always spoken of this measure as one embodying "a great reform." A certain air of cynical irony has characterized the right honorable gentleman, but still that is the expression that has been recorded in *Hansard*, and that can be referred to when there is need. He has spoken of this as a great reform. I suppose because it is a great reform it is to be whittled away as much as possible—the greater it is, the more can be cut off. I am surprised at the position taken up with regard to clause 48 by my friend the honorable and learned member for Ballarat, whom I have followed with great interest and great enthusiasm. The honorable and learned member voted for the insertion of the proviso proposed by the honorable and learned member for Corinella.

Mr. DEAKIN.—Hear, hear.

Mr. HIGGINS.—The honorable and learned member said that he had not voted against a single line of the Bill he introduced.

Mr. DEAKIN.—Hear, hear.

Mr. HIGGINS.—That is true, but although it is literally true, it conveys an impression which I am sure the honorable and learned member would not wish to convey.

Mr. DEAKIN.—I said that I had voted for two alterations.

Mr. HIGGINS.—Yes, but the point that it is not necessary to cut a clause, even a line, out of a Bill in order to injure it. You may kill a man as well by poisoning him as by cutting a piece out of him and you can kill a Bill as effectually by inserting a proviso as by taking one out of it. We never entertained the least idea that the honorable and learned member would favour the proviso. He never suggested in his great second-reading speech on the Bill. We brought down clause 48 in the exact form in which it had been proposed by the honorable and learned member, without any warning to us, the proviso was inserted, with the assistance of the honorable and learned member.

Mr. CONROY.—The Attorney-General blaming the honorable and learned member for making two alterations, whereas three alterations are proposed by the Government.

Mr. HIGGINS.—I can assure the honorable and learned member that I was referring to him when I was speaking just now. The best test of the present situation is this: Let us talk of this great reform. The right honorable member for East Sydney frequently reiterates that this is a great reform. Let us see upon which side those who are honestly opposed to all arbitration matters are going to vote on this occasion.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—The honorable member who proposed arbitration—the honorable and learned member for Ballarat—voting on this side.

Mr. HIGGINS.—The honorable member is very ready at edging away from the point. The point is, upon which side are avowed opponents of the Arbitration Bill going to vote?

Mr. BATCHELOR.—They are wrecking the Bill.

Mr. LONSDALE.—They put the Ministry on the Treasury benches.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—We did not do them for it.

Mr. LONSDALE.—Ministers were pleased to accept their assistance.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—That is not true.

Mr. SPEAKER.—I must ask the Minister to withdraw that remark.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—I withdraw.

Mr. HIGGINS.—All I desire to say is that not only will the proviso not have the effect which the honorable and learned member for Corinella wishes, but it will prevent

The majority of those en-
industry cannot be ascertained
us is taken. It will be ne-
ve practically an electoral roll,
revision court, and practic-
ndum, and all the machinery
ascertaining who are on this
t. Other honorable members
th this measure with a grasp
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ing given. I feel convinced
ference is given to union-
oyers will be able to weed out
uits them those men who stand
hts of their fellows. I thank
mbers for having listened to
ng. I do not speak at any
s a rule, and I do not propose
y remarks beyond reiterating
e is vague and imperfect, and
y out the purposes of its

ONEY (Melbourne). — I am
honorable member for Moira
. Before he left I directed
to certain remarks which he
gard to the honorable member
and he was manly enough to
n. He declared that he would
rty to voting for preference to
ss it was qualified, after hear-
able member for Barrier say
s should be political machines,
nds should be used for poli-
s. As a matter of fact,
e member for Barrier did
, and did not speak be-
te for preference to union-
vote for the qualification.
sely refrained from speaking
in order to facilitate its pas-
he House. I do not suppose
rable member will deny that
peeches which have been deli-
have emanated from the Op-
of the Chamber. A reference
will establish that fact. An-

other reason why I did not address myself
to this measure was that the other Chamber
is absolutely unable to proceed with its
legislative work for lack of business. At
the present time it is anxiously waiting for
this Bill. That House represents the demo-
cracy of Australia by the votes of the whole
of the States. Shall it be said that honor-
able members denied to the other
branch of the Legislature an oppor-
tunity of expressing its opinion upon
this Bill? I confess that I was fairly stag-
gered by the incontestable proof which the
Attorney-General advanced that this very
provision has never been debated. In the
Victorian Parliament I have seen many
Ministries displaced from office, but I have
never known methods to be employed simi-
lar to those which are being adopted in the
present instance. This Government would
have welcomed a straight-out want of con-
fidence motion, the discussion upon which
would not have been limited. During
the two election contests for the re-
presentation of Melbourne in this House,
the dominant questions raised had re-
ference to protection and the Concilia-
tion and Arbitration Bill. After having had
two elections and a law suit crammed into
the brief space of two and a half months,
honorable members will understand that a
a little rest would be acceptable to me.
Nevertheless, so fond am I of fighting, that
if honorable members opposite are willing to
appeal to the country, I shall gladly wel-
come the opportunity of again facing my
constituents. Who is responsible for
the delay in the passing of this
Bill? The columns of *Hansard* will
show that the fault does not rest with the
Ministerial supporters. Is it not a signi-
ficant circumstance that upon an amend-
ment affecting the existence of the Govern-
ment, neither of the two leaders of the Op-
position have uttered a single word?
Where are those leaders now? They
should be seated at the table of the House.
It seems to me that the honorable and
learned member for Corinella must have
studied the words of the great American
jurist—one of the greatest jurists in the
world—who said that—

For the betrayer of a country or of a great
cause we have not far to seek. We shall find
him in the lawyer ready-made.

I know that the honorable and learned
member for Corinella acted in a similar
manner in the Victorian Parliament, and
I am sure that he regretted his action. It
is true that by Act of Parliament

he could call himself, as Minister, "honorable," but his constituents did not indorse his right to that title. I am sorry to have to say that. No man ever entered parliamentary life with better opportunities. His keenest admirers, however, will experience a feeling of regret when they see him attempting by a legal quibble of this kind, to oust the Government from office. Personally, I should much prefer to support the right honorable member for East Sydney, because I have studied a record of the measures which he passed when Premier of New South Wales, than the honorable and learned member for Ballarat. The former, with the assistance of the Labour Party, was instrumental in placing some very good laws upon the statute-book of that State. But I cannot find any record of a single good measure which has been passed at the instance of the honorable and learned member for Ballarat, and I challenge anybody else to point to one.

Mr. McCOLL.—Who introduced the first Factories Bill?

Mr. MALONEY.—But did not I receive my first cold douche when, a few weeks after the magnificent meeting which he addressed in the Melbourne Town Hall, I asked him if he would make an attempt to put down sweating? His reply was, "How can we put down sweating?"

Mr. McCOLL.—What about the Factories Act?

Mr. MALONEY.—The honorable and learned member for Ballarat never accomplished as much good in the Victorian Parliament as did the honorable member for Echuca. Does any honorable member of this House affirm that it is possible to give effect to the principles contained in this Bill unless a preference be granted to unionists? Why do honorable members object to the Government proposal? I do not believe that there is any member in this House who wishes to see a continuance of the accursed system of strikes. The legal union is the strongest union in the world.

Mr. FISHER.—But the learned professions are privileged.

Mr. MALONEY.—They will not be privileged when the proletariat obtain the voting power, when the universities of the world are thrown open to the children of the workers. The honorable member for Franklin declared that it was slavery to compel a man to conform to the judgment

of the Arbitration Court. I admit that the honorable member is an honest opponent but his criticism of the Bill reminds me very forcibly of those persons who used to argue that the prosperity of England would disappear if the employment of child labour were prevented by the Factory Act. I am sure that if he had read the words used in this connexion by one of the greatest of English nobles—I refer to Lord Shaftesbury—he would never forgo them. In volume I., page 418, of *Life* by Edwin Hodder, his Lordships says:—

We were told that without the employment of child labour the pits could not possibly be worked with a profit, for after a certain age the vertebrae of the back do not conform to the required position.

The backbone of the child—if it were old—could not bend to the proper position. Consequently, children of five years of age were preferred, and they died like flies in a summer swamp. The honorable member for Dalley, in his straightforward way, has declared that he is not a member of the Labour Party, and that he always has to fight its candidates. I trust that they will always fight him fairly. He says that he wishes to secure a workable measure. But is he not aware that this particular clause has never been properly considered? How does he propose to secure its amendment. Would it not be better for the Bill to be reconsidered in Committee, and afterwards transmitted to the other Chamber, so that its members might have an opportunity of expressing their opinion upon it. The Senate is a more democratic Chamber than is this House. Why should we prevent its members from voicing their opinion upon one of the most important questions which could possibly occupy their attention? What is more important than the avoidance of strikes? I hold that nobody can advocate that method of settling industrial disputes without doing violence to his intelligence. I am perfectly satisfied that if the electors were consulted as to what they would prefer this Bill in the form in which the Government desire that it should be passed, or in the form which its opponents advocate, they would unhesitatingly declare in favour of the Ministry. They wish to obtain a workable Bill. Since it was returned to this House, upon 31st March last—some four months ago—I have not occupied ten minutes in discussing proposals contained in this measure. It is now to be thrown aside, the fault of

the Ministry, or with their chiefly rests with the honorable member for Ballarat. One where he is going, because he more backbone than does a jelly

—That is a most improper remark to make. He is than is the honorable member. NEY.—I do not think that know that in every way I am than is the honorable and er who interjects. With the which the honorable and er for Ballarat had behind have passed an Arbitration a years ago. The mightiest oria was at his beck and call ars, and had he desired he en Premier of Victoria years

—He might have had the ar.

NEY.—He might, at all een a kind of dictator. There er as that to which I am re- w South Wales, and during s the honorable and learned s full support. I wish that bkbone of the grey-haired man ng exercised that power; if racy would be the better for t months which we have de- nsideration of this Bill are t wasted. I could have wished Government had been able ll into law. One honorable aid that all should be equal f the law. It was because t that we endeavoured to ex- nsions of the Bill to the public e States and of the Com- Wou'd it not have been be- lfare of the Commonwealth become law long ago? Do at many cigar-makers are to- the streets of Melbourne in oyment, and that their posi- the absence of such a law id I not meet last week a ho had found it necessary to e for Sydney to earn a liveli- of the action taken by a a monopoly in this State? e is employing girls in South manufacture cigars at such many men in this city have out of employment. That e been possible had this Bill nto law. Men are being

deprived of an opportunity to earn a livelihood as cigar manufacturers simply because of the action of this syndicate, which would rob any one in the tobacco trade. If a Royal Commission were appointed to deal with the industry the disclosures which would follow would be almost as bad as the iniquitous and infamous proceedings which have been brought to light by the Butter Commission. What will be the result of the consideration which we have given to this Bill during the last four months? I suppose that if the Government be defeated, and a dissolution does not follow, the incoming Ministry will require an adjournment of something like three weeks, and that we shall then be called upon to go over the whole fight again. If we succeed in carrying the Bill into law by December next we shall be fortunate.

Mr. GROOM.—We shall not see the Bill again.

Mr. MALONEY.—I am sure that the honorable and learned member hopes with me that that will not be the case. It is only by such a Bill as this that we may avoid strikes.

Mr. McDONALD.—The honorable member need not expect to see such a Bill supported by the incoming Government.

Mr. MALONEY.—I hope that if, as the result of the attitude which we have taken up in regard to clause 48, the Bill be lost, our masters — the public — will take action. If a referendum were taken the whole question would be very speedily settled. The people of Australia would demand the passing of this Bill, and we should have to carry out their behest. If there is to be a dissolution, I shall gladly welcome it. I shall go into the fight with a light and happy heart; but I do hope that, if we are returned, we shall come back pledged not to grant a preference to unionists subject to all sorts of restriction, but to give the unions some tangible security. We have no desire to lean to either side. Those who ask for preference to unionists are willing that the Bill shall be so framed as to provide that, when unions are in the wrong, they shall be liable to punishment. We are quite willing that, when a union is at fault, it shall be liable to be fined, just as an employer, who is in the wrong, should be liable to punishment. I have to-day experienced the bitterness of seeing in our gallery some of the men who organized the system now in operation in Adelaide, which has had the effect of robbing many men of their means of employment.

This state of affairs would not be possible if a Commonwealth Conciliation and Arbitration Act were in operation. There is no cigar-maker in Australia who does not deplore the absence of such a measure, and I believe I may say the same of those engaged in every industry. I cheerfully face the vote which is to be taken on this question, and I am sure that the Government do not fear it. If a dissolution be granted as the result of the defeat of the Ministry, I am sure that the honorable member for Moira will cheerfully face the consequence, and that even if his constituents wish him to object to the passing of the Bill in the form which we desire, they will admit that we should at least have had an opportunity to fairly discuss it.

Mr. ISAACS (Indi).—I wish to state in a very few words why I propose to vote against the honorable and learned member for Corinella's amendment. There are two considerations which appeal to me in connexion with this question. The first relates to the merits of the amendment which has been inserted in clause 48, and has given rise to this discussion, while the second deals with the merits of the amendment now before the Chair. With regard to the desirableness of preserving the amendment carried on the motion of the honorable and learned member for Corinella, as contrasted with the Government proposal, I think that there are various points which some of my honorable friends, who base their opposition to the recommitment of the clause upon their regard for non-unionists, would do well to consider. There cannot be the slightest doubt that whether we consider the interests of unionists or non-unionists, a fair comparison of the two amendments must tell heavily in favour of the Government proposal. Both proposals would permit preference to be granted. It cannot be too distinctly emphasized at this stage—having regard more particularly to the possibilities of the situation in the near future—that both proposals assume preference to be given to unionists under certain conditions. There should be no misunderstanding in regard to that point. It is a question not of refusing preference, or of voting that there shall be no preference, but of admitting preference, and of saying what are the fair terms under which it shall be allowed. From the stand-point of the unionists the Government proposal is infinitely superior, because

it is workable, while the clause as it stands is open to the animadversions we have heard to-night from the Attorney-General—animadversions which, to my mind, are nearly all, if not all, thoroughly well founded. The clause as it stands a provision that may be evaded, and if evaded, may render the whole proposal to preference either illusory or harsh. As far as non-unionists are concerned the proposal of the Government is much fairer and much more liberal. The clause, as amended, on the motion of the honorable and learned member for Corinella, prohibits the granting of preference where it is not proven to the satisfaction of the Court that organizations making application represent a majority in number of the workers of the industry. It says nothing about competency. A mere majority of one, without any other condition, would enable the Court to give any preference that it pleased. On the other hand the Government proposal, while being more workable in the interests of unionists, would conserve the interests of non-unionists. It provides that the Court shall merely have regard to the bare majority number; but that it shall see whether the unionists making application substantially represent the industry, both in number and in competency.

Mr. LONSDALE.—How would the Court decide the question of competency?

Mr. ISAACS.—The Court would be required to decide what is competency.

Mr. LONSDALE.—Then the Government proposal is only a make shift?

Mr. ISAACS.—The Court will not be required to decide the competency of employers, but to determine whether the unionists substantially represent the industry in number and in competency.

Mr. LONSDALE.—What is the meaning of "substantially?"

Mr. ISAACS.—Something more than the honorable member's interjection.

Mr. LONSDALE.—It is too substantial for the honorable and learned member to answer.

Mr. ISAACS.—If we compare the merits of the two proposals—I was going to say before the House—one of which is embodied in the clause, while the other cannot be brought before us, although it is within our cognisance, I have no hesitation in saying it must be recognized that the Government proposition would be fairer to the Bill, fairer to unionists.

rer to non-unionists. If, honorable friends on the House, who pro-
inst the Government on this
cerely actuated by a desire
interests of non-unionists,
t their votes with the other
r phase of the question is,
al meaning of the amend-
ly before the House. I
rse what has been said as to
y nature. I cannot conceive
ble member, desiring fairly
estion as a matter to be de-
e determined, could refuse
overnment an opportunity to
ause in Committee. The
of Parliamentary procedure
a such a question in Com-
is to happen if that course
?

—In this case a full House
ssion to its opinion. Every
ted for.

CS.—The honorable and
has, perhaps, forgotten that
the knowledge of the House,
been repeated to-night—that
rich led to the amendment of
the motion of the honorable
mber for Corinella, was taken
s of the week. It was taken
The proposal of that honor-
ed member was that the vote
ace without debate. The
expressed the view that he
efficiently met the wishes of
he consented courteously, to
nience of the honorable and
r and others, who desired to
wed the division to be taken

Whatever the decision may
as unfortunate that so impor-
a matter—for it was a vital
r we may regard the merits of
should have been determined
and ordinary consideration.

WILLIS.—Is not the House

S.—If the honorable member
sified of the strength of his
does he not allow the Go-
ke the Bill into Committee,
e clause there? Of what is
he is satisfied of the strength
r, why does he not welcome the
take the Bill into Committee
matter discussed? I never yet
stance in which a man who

was convinced of the strength of his argu-
ment feared to put it to the test. I have
had some years of experience in parliament-
ary government, and I have never yet known
an honorable member who was convinced
that his position was right, and who yet
refused to his opponents the opportunity
to test it.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—We are testing the
matter now. Let us get to the vote.

Mr. REID.—The Government cannot turn
any more votes, so what is the use of wast-
ing time?

Mr. WATSON.—The right honorable mem-
ber is afraid of light being thrown on this
subject.

Mr. ISAACS.—He must not be in too
great a hurry to wear his crown.

Mr. WATSON.—He is very anxious; he
has been out of office for a long time.

Mr. ISAACS.—We should have regard,
not to the desire of any honorable member
to sit upon the Treasury benches, but to the
interests of hundreds of thousands of our
fellow countrymen; and any course which
burkes deliberation, which blocks improve-
ment, and which amounts to the applica-
tion of the closure, is not one which should
commend itself to those who support and
admire representative institutions. There
is only one course marked out by our par-
liamentary procedure as a proper one to be
followed in the present instance. If the
only desire of honorable members is to fling
an insult at the Government, and to oust
it from office, whether it be in the right
or in the wrong, the course now being
taken may be the right one. But it is the
invariable practice of Parliaments to allow
a Government to take its proposals into
Committee, and to deal with them there
upon their merits. In Committee objec-
tions can be answered, suggestions may
be made, and there are no limitations
beyond those imposed by his own
reasonable discretion upon the number
of times which a member can rise to dis-
cuss the matter. No one would grudge
any honorable member the opportunity to
speak more than once in Committee on a
question of this magnitude. Yet, we are
now discussing it in the House, where hon-
orable members can speak only once. An
honorable member who has spoken may hear
arguments adduced in opposition to the
views which he has put forward, but he
has not an opportunity to reply. Beyond
all other considerations, the course which
is now being taken abridges the ordinary
rights of debate in regard to the question.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—Will the honorable and learned member give an interpretation of the words "substantial majority"?

Mr. ISAACS.—I should say that they mean a greater majority than will vote against the Government upon this question. I do not wish to occupy more time than is necessary for the expression of my views. The strongest reason I have for voting as I intend to vote, is that I think it is only just that the Government should have a full and fair opportunity to place their proposals before honorable members. I do not think that they will have the opportunity which they should have, and which the country desires that they should have—which perhaps, in the interests of fair play, the country will see that they have in the future—if they are blocked from taking this question into Committee. I know that it will be said of some honorable members that they were so satisfied with the correctness of their views upon this question, that they felt that there was no need for debate; that they were so imbued with the feeling that non-unionists are the persons to be protected, that they were prepared to go to any lengths, and beyond the fair limits of parliamentary warfare, to protect them.

Mr. LONSDALE.—No. Fair play to all.

Mr. ISAACS.—Fair play to all! Then why not give the Government fair play?

Mr. LONSDALE.—We have discussed this matter over and over again, and the honorable and learned member knows it.

Mr. ISAACS.—I do not think that the Government have had fair play since they have come into office.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—That is perfectly true.

Mr. MCCOLL.—The honorable and learned member's statement is a mere assertion, and requires proof.

Mr. LONSDALE.—They have had fairer play than they gave to the last Administration.

Mr. ISAACS.—I think it is common history that before the Government had done one single public act, efforts were made to dislodge them. I regard the amendment as the culmination of such efforts, and therefore I feel bound to give them fair play in this case, and to let them deal with the question on its merits.

Mr. CONROY.—The Government have been perpetually saying that we will not challenge them.

Mr. WATSON.—The Opposition game to meet us openly even now are creeping in.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—That is the game which the last Administration got.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—No.

Mr. ISAACS.—I intend to vote for the amendment. I feel as strongly as any honorable member can that there is no coercion against any worker.

Mr. LONSDALE.—No coercion against unionists.

Mr. ISAACS.—No coercion against unionists.

Mr. LONSDALE.—That is what the honorable and learned member is getting.

Mr. ISAACS.—The honorable member forgets that the power which we place in the Bill is a power which has been confided to the Judges in the States. No one has yet been brought against them the charge that they have done anything socialistic, or to the detriment of non-unionists. Surely, we are not afraid to confide to a Justice of the Court of Australia the power that has been confided to the Judges in the States. Can anybody believe that that high authority, clothed with all the power and full command, who will be under the sanction of no party, who will have no bias for any party, nor hope of benefit from one, will do anything socialistic when we frame an Arbitration Bill? We do not say that preference will be given, but merely that the Judges will have power to give preference under strict conditions, to prevent an evasion of the Act, and so that it may not be a dead-letter—who is there in the House who can say that we are doing anything to coerce non-unionists? We are doing nothing of the kind. But by whom does that said?

Mr. DAVID THOMSON.—By the opponents of the Bill.

Mr. ISAACS.—Let me remind the House that, in the interests of the employed, we have framed clauses in this Bill to drive men into unions, in order that they may bring industrial disputes before the Court. All workers must join the union if they wish to bring their disputes before the tribunal. No dispute can be brought before the Court, except by a union. We were to propose to disband the tribunals and to provide that any number

kers should be able to bring es before the Court, would members of the Opposition be provision? Of course, they ay would say that unionists ave the opportunity to submit e Court. When the Court is y grant preferences under cer- ences which commend them- ood sense—and the proposal nment is that the appli- he preference shall sub- resent not only in num- a competency, the whole ave my honorable friends ere is the coercion of non- ? If I were to speak for a not more fully express my ave done. Although I feel not be superior in numbers ion is taken, I trust that we satisfaction of knowing that the right course, and have to the country and to the

M (Darling Downs).—Mr.

Bridge-builder number two !
[Bill-wrecker number one !
ere a desire to prevent the ng into Committee for the his clause, but there has been tion on the part of some bers from the discussion of f the proposal of the and when an honorable s to discuss it a taunt him the moment he rises s is done by the members of claim to give fair play to at in this matter the Govern- receiving fair play from the d particularly from those esirous of having the prin- ulsory arbitration placed on k of the Commonwealth. nister has treated the House with a degree of fairness r been surpassed in this Par- position he has taken up in Bill is that there are certain hich are vital, and other ch may be modified. One ovisions is that which gives nionists. But the honorable allowed modifications which hinted at during the second-
The leader of the Opposi- ed himself as a firm believer

in compulsory arbitration. He is not going to his constituency as an opponent of that principle. He does not believe in voluntary submission to a self-constituted board. He stands before the public of Australia as a believer in the principle of compulsory arbitration. He is also pledged to a coalition with the party led by the honorable and learned member for Ballarat, who is also a supporter of compulsory arbitration. Therefore, should we go to the country, there will be no misunderstanding as to the issue. It will be not whether there shall or shall not be compulsory arbitration, but whether there shall or shall not be fair discussion. That is the sole issue now. It is not a question of preference or no preference to unionists. The House has affirmed the principle of preference to unionists, and the question is now whether a small modification shall be made, and whether we shall have in the Bill a proviso which is workable or a proviso which is not workable. What position has the Prime Minister taken up in respect to the clause? The Bill was first introduced by the honorable and learned member for Ballarat, as Attorney-General in the Barton Govern- ment, and on each occasion on which the Bill has been before the House it has embodied the principle of preference to union- ists, unmodified, and in exactly the same terms that are adopted in the New South Wales, Western Australian, and New Zea- land Acts.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—There is no provi- sion for preference in the Western Aus- tralian Act.

Mr. GROOM.—Perhaps the terms are not the same, but the effect is the same.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The Court has re- fused to grant preference.

Mr. GROOM.—Yes; the Court, in the exercise of its discretion, has refused to grant preference, but it has the power to give it all the same. The right honorable member has all along supported the prin- ciple of the Bill, and I respect him for it. He has always been a liberal man, and he is not in his right place among the Conser- vatives.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I never intended to give preference to unionists.

Mr. GROOM.—I am sorry to hear it. There is no doubt that the clause, as in- troduced by the honorable and learned member for Ballarat, contained pro- vision for preference without any modi- fication whatever, and, further, the

honorable and learned member recommended the Bill to the House on two occasions. It is also well known that the right honorable member for East Sydney supported the Bill, and never asked for any modification of the preference clause. The measure was not attacked by any responsible member of the Opposition on the ground that it contained provision for preference to unionists; but when the Bill was considered in detail, after the defeat of the Deakin Ministry, honorable members attacked the principle. A great many of those who opposed it desired simply to knock out the Bill, whilst others, like the honorable and learned member for Ballarat, who throughout has been a conscientious and consistent believer in the Bill, honestly desired some modification. I do not for one moment question the motives of my honorable friend, because I know he is still a firm believer in the Bill.

Mr. WATSON.—He is not a believer in his own Bill.

Mr. DEAKIN.—I am not a believer in the Bill of the present Ministry.

Mr. WATSON.—Nor in the Bill as first introduced, either.

Mr. GROOM.—When the Bill was discussed in Committee, the Prime Minister showed that he was prepared to accept certain amendments. He agreed to a proviso that before any preference was granted notice must be given to all those engaged in the industry affected, so that any persons interested might appear before the Arbitration Court, and raise objections. That was absolutely a new provision that was not to be found in any existing Statute, and yet the Prime Minister was prepared to accept it. Again, it was urged that men might be forced to join unions with objects repugnant to them, and the Prime Minister expressed himself as willing to accept an amendment moved by the honorable and learned member for Bendigo, to enable the Court to suspend its award in cases where it had directed that preference should be given, and review the rules of the unions concerned. At the instance of the honorable and learned member for Ballarat, a provision was made that if any rules of an organization proved to be oppressive or obnoxious, the person aggrieved could make application to have them cancelled. That was the third modification accepted by the Prime Minister. It was urged by honorable members that some of the unions were political organizations, and that men might be compelled to join those bodies

against their inclinations. Again, the Prime Minister was prepared to meet the objection in a fair and reasonable way. He accepted an amendment to the effect that, before preference could be granted, the Court must be satisfied that the rules of the applicant union were of a non-political character. I contend that he has treated the Committee with the utmost fairness. Even at this moment, he says, "I am willing to go a step further stage, and to provide that before any preference can be given, the Court shall be satisfied that the organization applies for it substantially represents the majority of the persons affected, both as to number and competency." Let us compare the state of the clause as introduced by the honorable and learned member for Ballarat and the provision as it now stands with modifications agreed to by the Prime Minister. It contains no less than six conditions and all that the Prime Minister asks is that at least the House shall do him the courtesy of considering the justice of his proposal.

Mr. KELLY.—What is the proposal?

Mr. GROOM.—The honorable member must know it.

Mr. KELLY.—Yes; but what does "substantially represents" mean?

Mr. ISAACS.—That is a matter to be considered in Committee.

Mr. GROOM.—If it is only a question as to the particular words to be employed, let us consider the clause in Committee, and adopt the right phraseology. I am sure that the Prime Minister will take up too rigid an attitude with regard to that. If other words would have the same effect as those which he proposes, they could be substituted. I think that the Prime Minister has treated the Committee with every courtesy and respect, and that he is perfectly justified in asking that honorable members shall have an opportunity to consider a proviso which was inserted as a result of a snatch vote, and without any previous consideration.

Mr. MCCAY.—That is not correct.

Mr. GROOM.—The amendment moved by the honorable and learned member for Corinella is nothing more nor less than subterfuge. It is a want of confidence in motion in disguise, and is being supported by honorable members who are not prepared to attack the Government upon the weakness of their administration. I am not appearing here as a defender of the Government, but I claim that every honorable member should receive fair play,

a fair opportunity to consider. The Opposition have taken on that those honorable members have not already expressed their will not have an opportunity to commit, and shall not be consider the rival proposals, any other amendments. They are applying the closure. They are in a majority, and they are going to use power for the purpose of the Bill. There is a desire on the part of the honorable members, whose antagonistic to the feelings of the majority of the electors, to take possession of the Treasury benches; and, under the cover of the present majority, are carrying with them men who sympathize either with their methods or with their methods. I feel on an occasion upon which we are expressing our opinions, we are entitled to know the truth. We are actuating honorable members against the Government. We are attacking the Government by a motion of this description. The rival proposals were put forward, and would be found that the proposed Bill would not compare with the one suggested by the Prime Minister. Even if the clause were passed in its present form, there would not be any objection for throwing the Bill on one side. It would simply make good the principle which has been in the States Acts, under which the Government is exercising a reasonable discretion. It does not give mere arbitrary power in each case require that evidence be given which would justify granting a preference. They are not intelligible principles. It is not grant a preference unknown that the organization substantially represents those industries affected. Judge Edmonds' judgment in the New South Wales case, in one case refused preference, and found that the union did not get the greater number of orders in the trade. I have seen the decisions of the New South Wales Court, and I find that the Prime Minister acts on the same principle. The Prime Minister says that the law has been in operation for years, and that the Judges have acted on definite principles which he is

prepared to embody in the Bill in black and white.

Mr. WATSON.—We already have a practice established.

Mr. GROOM.—Yes, and we know that the Judges will be prepared to follow the precedents already laid down. There has been a great deal of press criticism with regard to the granting of preference, and Judge Cohen has directed attention to it, and has stated that persons who were affected by the awards should have come to the Court and represented their case before the award was given, instead of complaining afterwards.

Mr. WATSON.—He has also stated that if there is any complaint it should now be made to the Court.

Mr. GROOM.—Exactly. The Court can always vary its award, and the Prime Minister has anticipated many objections by accepting a provision under which notice must be given to the persons likely to be affected by an award, so that they may have an opportunity of representing their case before preference is granted. Therefore, every safeguard is being provided. We should make it perfectly clear that in this Bill the granting of preference is to be purely discretionary. Several articles have appeared in the newspapers, and several speeches have been made at banquets and elsewhere, from which it would appear that preference to unionists is to be made compulsory. That is an absolute misrepresentation. I should not like to see preference unduly given or granted without discrimination.

Mr. CONROY.—The honorable and learned member said that he would vote for absolute preference. Why has he not the courage of his opinions?

Mr. McDONALD.—The honorable and learned member for Werriwa has not the courage of his opinions. He sits like a dumb dog.

Mr. SPEAKER.—Order! Interjections are disorderly, but conversations across the chamber are grossly disorderly, and I must ask honorable members not to further offend against the rules of the House.

Mr. McDONALD.—I apologize, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. GROOM.—I was pointing out that the granting of preferences was to be purely optional, and that the Court would not act until a full investigation had been made. The discretion to grant preferences is to

be given to a Judge who is to be selected on account of his integrity, ability, and learning, and also because of the confidence which he will command from all classes of the community. Further than that, we shall know that he cannot be removed from his high office unless for some proved misconduct. Therefore, the discretion will be exercised by a reliable and responsible person, to whom we may fairly look for fair and impartial decisions. Some of the greatest strikes have arisen owing to unionists being called upon to work with non-unionists, and some honorable members desire to take away from the Court the means of disposing of one of the most fruitful sources of trouble. It is desirable that we should proceed to a division as soon as possible, and also that the attitude of honorable members upon a principle which has been approved by the whole of the constituencies of the Commonwealth should be fully understood. Our constituencies sent us here to pass an Act dealing with compulsory arbitration. That measure has been before us upon two occasions, and, with the exception of one amendment, it has been fully discussed. But at this stage honorable members who desire to do what is fair and just are blocked by an intrigue to displace the Ministry. I shall not lend myself to such a proceeding, and, therefore, I shall vote for the recommitment of the clause.

Motion (by Mr. McDONALD) proposed—

That the debate be now adjourned.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH (Macquarie).—I should like to know when the Government propose to conclude this discussion. The Opposition have no desire to avoid fair debate. On the contrary, we wish to do everything to facilitate discussion.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—The Opposition have a peculiar method of showing it.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—There has been no attempt on the part of the Opposition to prevent full discussion. I understand that the Prime Minister desires to bring the debate to a conclusion, and, under the circumstances, I think that my question is a fair one.

Mr. MAUGER (Melbourne Ports).—I sincerely hope that the Prime Minister will not consent to curtail this debate in any way. A number of honorable members upon this side of the House are desirous of speaking, and the question involved is too important to be rushed.

Mr. WATSON (Bland—Treasurer).—The Government have no desire to prolong the debate unduly. It is a fact that the evening the right honorable member for East Sydney made a most insulting insinuation in this connexion, and one which resents. At the same time, the Government would not be justified upon an occasion of this sort in attempting to close the mouths of honorable members sitting behind them.

Mr. CONROY.—It is just a little too early to adjourn.

Mr. WATSON.—I do not think so. I have to reassemble at half-past ten o'clock to-morrow morning, and I do not suppose that all honorable members possess the pliancy of the honorable and learned member.

Mr. POYNTON.—It is quite refreshing to see all the members of the Opposition present.

Mr. WATSON.—I admit that that is rather unusual; but I suppose they think that the end justifies the means. The Government feel that it is their duty to facilitate the delivery of any remarks which their supporters may desire to make. The present is an important occasion, and I do think that honorable members opposite take the slightest exception to a reasonable statement of the views of Ministerial supporters upon this subject. The procedure which has been adopted on the present occasion very considerably limits the scope of the debate, so that honorable members do not make very long speeches. For that reason we need not fear that the discussion be unduly prolonged.

Mr. KELLY.—Will the Prime Minister promise to close the debate to-morrow?

Mr. WATSON.—I shall not attempt to close it before all those honorable members who desire to speak have had an opportunity of addressing themselves to this question. I have asked Government supporters to curtail their remarks as far as possibly can, with a view to bringing the debate to a close as early as possible.

Mr. KELLY (Wentworth).—I can assure the Prime Minister that I have no desire to add to the present embarrassments of the Government in any way. I merely wish to draw attention to the fact that when we were discussing the preference clause the Committee the honorable and learned member for Corio asked for an adjournment of the debate some time after 11 p.m. The Prime Minister thereupon replied—

We have been dealing with this clause for the past three days. That cannot be called a

... The principle underlying the
discussed on the second reading
upon other occasions, so that it is
much to ask for a division to-
er, I am prepared to adjourn upon
ing that there will be a division

out taking into consideration
speakers, the Government sup-
occupied 280 minutes, and
members only 78 minutes.

NALD.—Why will not the Op-
k?

LY.—It seems to me that, judg-
speeches of Government sup-
quite unnecessary for mem-
position to say anything upon

I only rose to point out
me Minister's present attitude
ly discounted by the attitude
Committee on this same clause
numbers lay with him, and not

O (East Sydney).—I regret
bsent from the chamber when
ent of the debate was moved.
that there can be no possible
such a motion. Every honor-
has a perfect right to an ad-
enable him to speak on this
fully as he may desire. Of
adjournment will be till to-
morrow?

ON.—Certainly.

O.—In the heat of debate we
observations that would be
said, but I wish to say at once
not, for a moment, seriously
Government as has been sup-

ABLE MEMBER.—But the right
member did.

O.—And I regret it. I sup-
n I may be allowed to express
etimes much smaller men than
not humble themselves to do

ER.—Will the right honorable
what he meant?

O.—When I am endeavouring
my honorable friend may just
make such observations. I can
either way—I can give him
e pleases. It is a perfectly
proposal to adjourn the debate,
not offer the slightest objection
e. That is all. I hope that
ive.

AKER—

R.—I understood the right hon-
er desired to make an explana-

tion and withdraw certain statements. This
afternoon he made the statement that the
Government were endeavouring to remain in
office a day or two longer, thereby in-
sinuating that Ministers were guilty of
cupidity. Such a suggestion is beneath the
dignity of the right honorable member.

Mr. REID.—Surely there may be some
other motive for such a desire than that of
cupidity.

*Several honorable members interject-
ing—*

Mr. SPEAKER.—Order. I shall have
to name honorable members who distinctly
and repeatedly disobey the Chair.

Motion agreed to; debate adjourned.

POSTPONEMENT OF BUSINESS.

Motion (by Mr. WATSON) agreed to—

That Orders of the Day, general business, be
postponed as follows:—

Order of the Day No. 1, till the 25th August.

Order of the Day No. 2, till the 8th Septem-
ber.

House adjourned at 10.52 p.m.

House of Representatives.

Friday, 12 August, 1904.

Mr. SPEAKER took the chair at 10.30
a.m., and read prayers.

CONCILIATION AND ARBITRATION BILL.

Debate resumed from 11th August (*vide*
page 4197), on motion by Mr. WATSON—

That the Bill be now recommitted to a Com-
mittee of the whole House for the reconsideration
of clauses 4, 37, 38, 39, 46, 48, 52, 67, 68, and 90
and schedule B and the consideration of proposed
new clauses 52A and 95A—

Upon which Mr. MCCAY had moved by
way of amendment—

That clause 48 be omitted from the clauses pro-
posed to be recommitted.

Sir LANGDON BONYTHON (Bar-
ker).—There is no reason why I should
detain the House at any length by my
contribution to this debate; but I feel
that it is desirable that I should avail my-
self of the opportunity which now presents
itself for explaining my position. That
position, I might say, I stated to a very
prominent member of the Opposition more
than a week ago. I told him that I could

not vote against the proposed recommitment of clause 48. I was paired, as honorable members know, in favour of the amendment of the honorable and learned member for Corinella.

Mr. FISHER.—How did the honorable member get to know that the Opposition were going to do this?

Mr. WATSON.—Yes. That is a very interesting question.

Sir LANGDON BONYTHON.—At any rate, I did know it. I am now prepared to re-affirm the vote which I gave when clause 48 was under consideration in Committee. I cannot, however, vote with the honorable and learned member against the recommitment of the Bill for the reconsideration of the clause, because I feel that to do so would be unfair. I admit that the action which has been taken by the Opposition is good party tactics; but I think that the Government are entitled to more consideration, and, personally, I shall do what I can to extend that consideration to them. There was nothing dishonorable in the way in which they obtained possession of the Treasury benches. Indeed, their action in the matter was distinctly honorable, and since they have occupied those benches they have, I think, done credit, not only to the party of which all except the Attorney-General are members, but to the Commonwealth as well. Although I am prepared to vote against the Government on this clause in Committee, I cannot give a vote against the recommitment of the Bill for the reconsideration of the clause, because I feel that to do so would be to act contrary to my instincts of fair play.

Mr. McDONALD (Kennedy).—I shall not detain the House very long, because I understand that it is desired to finish the debate to-day; but if, as one of the steerage members of the Chamber, I may be permitted to make a few remarks on the question at issue, without being accused of speaking merely to give the Government an extra day's pay—an imputation which has been made by some honorable members opposite—I desire to do so.

Mr. JOHNSON.—That was not stated.

Mr. SPENCE.—They judge us by their own standard of action.

Mr. McDONALD.—It was stated by the supposed leader of the Opposition.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—The honorable member knows that there is not a member here who thinks it.

Mr. McDONALD.—The right honorable member for East Sydney stated and he apologized last night for having done so.

Mr. REID.—Does the honorable member expect me to make another apology? That is most ungenerous.

Mr. McDONALD.—All I said was that I hope that I shall not have the imputation cast against me if I make a few remarks, even though I may be in the steerage.

Mr. REID.—There is no reproach in being in the steerage.

Mr. McDONALD.—No; but it has been spoken of as a reproach.

Mr. REID.—It does not affect one's moral character.

Mr. McDONALD.—There is no need to review the whole history of this measure. The trend of industrial development in Australia, and in other parts of the world, in years past has caused industrial organizations to recognise that a better method of settling of disputes than the barbaric method of striking is to refer them to conciliation and arbitration; and to enable this to be done, the Bill which we have under consideration has been framed, having as its foundation the recognition of industrial organizations. It will be only organizations which can bring disputes before the proposed Arbitration Court, and coming to the particular clause about which so much has been said, it will be only to organizations that preference can be given. When the Act recognises the existing unions, it requires the formation of other, and, perhaps, bogus organizations, whatever preference may be given by the Court must be given to organizations. It is useless to say that the proviso which has been so much discussed during the past day or two was inserted in clause 48 only to kill the Bill. I do not think any intelligent man who knows the circumstances would deny that. A number of honorable members, indeed, have openly stated that they would give all the opposition they could to the measure in order to wreck it.

Mr. McCOLL.—Not many honorable members have said that.

Mr. McDONALD.—The honorable members I speak of are sufficiently numerous to enable the Opposition to carry the amendment now before the House. Without their assistance it could not be carried. I am, however, finding fault with those honorable members, nor do I find fault with the members of the Opposition who are now taking a certain course in order to defeat the

the Government. They are their rights under the Standard I hope that when those on opposition, and are fighting sole members opposite, except taken to our tactics.

—They are not in our places

ALD.—No; but I am speaking when they will be here. If that the course which they are a better way to defeat the an to carry a direct vote of have a perfect right to take ne time, I admit that those red themselves to be opposed e justified in attempting to while I admire the conduct are openly opposed to the eelings are different with re- who profess to be in favour have voted to try to kill it. ent desire that preference to the labour organizations, organizations are giving up perful weapon against oppres- to strike. The organizations give up that weapon in order enefits which they think they om the judicial settlement of utes, and I think that in resurrender I speak of, they the fullest preference asked. It has been said that, if given to unionists, non-starve; and we have been ne man in seven is a unionist. it affect the non-unionists to e to unionists? Let us sup- are 700,000 workers in the , of whom only 100,000 are he Court gave preference to ould the other 600,000 be out of work? To say so ulous. I do not think any ber would make such a state- ue that the majority of the ustralia are not organized; ast becoming so.

N.—In New South Wales f of the members of the h unions exist are members

NALD.—Yes. Then, too, of the shearers, the seamen, labourers of Australia, are ne members of those three obtain preference under the ands now. But my point is the majority of the workers

of Australia are not members of industrial organizations, the experience of the last ten years shows that they are drifting in that direction. It seems to me that the proviso was inserted in the clause in order to hinder this tendency to organize, because it is seen that the organizations are realizing that political as well as industrial action is necessary for their salvation. It is because it is realized that we are prepared to fight politically as well as industrially, that an attempt is being made to prevent the further growth and extension of our organizations. In spite, however, of all the opposition that is now being directed to the labour movement, it will gather strength. The political organization to which I belong has been subjected to the very strongest antagonism, and the most despicable methods have been adopted to break it down, but its growth has been stimulated by oppression. One of the results is that seven out of the nine representatives of Queensland in this House belong to the Labour Party. One other member—I refer to the honorable and learned member for Darling Downs—is a strong sympathizer with many of our aims and objects; and the only representative of Queensland who is opposed to the political aspirations of the Labour Party is the honorable member for Oxley. What was the result of the anti-Socialist laws passed in Germany under Bismarck? At the time that legislation was adopted, only 800,000 Socialist votes were recorded, but within ten years the number had increased to 4,000,000.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—What caused the increase?

Mr. McDONALD.—The oppressive laws directed against the Socialists.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—Was it not the excessive military expenditure?

Mr. McDONALD.—No. I am surprised that the representatives of New South Wales should take up an attitude of opposition to the Bill. In Victoria, the Wages Boards control only a very small number of industries, whilst in Queensland, where manufacturing and other industries are being developed to a very large extent under the Tariff, there are no restrictions upon employers, who can sweat their workmen as much as they please. A similar condition of affairs obtains in South Australia and Tasmania. In New South Wales, the Arbitration Act compels employers and employés to submit their case to the Arbitration Court, and in most instances the former are required to pay much higher wages than

those prevailing under the ordinary competitive system. The result is, that the New South Wales employers are being placed at a great disadvantage, as compared with manufacturers in other States who are subject to no restriction as to the terms and conditions of employment. Honorable members must know that the effect of clause 48, as it now stands, will be to render it impossible to give preference to unionists, and that it will practically kill the Bill. The object of some of those honorable members who are supporting the proviso introduced at the instance of the honorable and learned member for Corinella, is to weaken the unions; but if the Bill is passed in an ineffective form, the opposite result will be brought about. If this Parliament refuses to afford the workers the means of redress that would be given by a good arbitration law, they will organize their unions more strongly than ever, in order that they may be able to attain their ends by means of strikes. If honorable members believe that the methods of the strike are to be preferred to those that are provided for under the Bill, I can quite understand the position they take up, but, otherwise, it is difficult to conceive how they expect to accomplish any good purpose by rendering the Bill ineffective. If the Government are defeated on the present occasion, they will have no recourse but to resign. As I have previously stated, I do not blame honorable members opposite for trying to defeat the Government. They are quite within their rights, although I think they might have adopted fairer methods of accomplishing their object. I am very pleased that a Labour Government has been able to retain the Treasury benches for even such a short time as they have done, because I believe that their administration has reflected credit upon the labour movement, and has established the party in the public confidence. They have taken an honorable and straightforward course in connexion with this matter, and I hope that their successors will follow an equally commendable line of conduct.

Mr. RONALD (Southern Melbourne).—In dealing with this amendment, honorable members are required to keep rigidly to the question before the Chair, and I think we may congratulate ourselves upon the fact that you, sir, whilst allowing a certain amount of latitude, have displayed appropriate firmness in exacting respect for the rules of debate. Still, whilst

forms of procedure and rules of debate have to be recognised, we have to pay some regard to the laws of reason, logic, and ethics, and we are entitled to examine the motives which underlie any action that may be taken upon an occasion of this kind. The proviso introduced at the instance of the honorable and learned member for Corinella has for its avowed object not the amending of the Bill, but the defeating of the Bill. Members of the Opposition, after having voted for the second reading of the Bill, and having affirmed general principles, are now seeking to defeat the Bill by stealth and stratagem, to make it null and void, and the politest phrase I can use to describe their conduct is that of unadmitted political hypocrisy. Their conduct reminds me of the practice which used to be followed by ship-owners who had complete and useless ships. After insuring them, they sent them to sea with explosives in hold, so placed that when fired they would knock the bottom out of the ships and sink them. Some honorable members opposite have been guilty of unparalleled political hypocrisy. Whilst professing to approve of the principle of the Bill, they have assisted to eject the Deakin Minister, and put the present Government in their place, and they are now seeking to retain in the measure a provision which will make it utterly useless. Such conduct is anything but fair, straightforward, or manly, and I would remind honorable members not to further degenerate the traditions of Parliament. If honorable members are opposed to the principle of conciliation and arbitration, let them, as men, stand up and say so. Without a provision for preference to unionists the Bill would be utterly useless. Why should not preference be allowed? As an illustration of the position in which the Opposition would place all unionists, I would remind the House of a short beautiful story told of Beethoven. After he had composed his great cantata, became stone deaf. When the cantata was produced in Berlin, he acted as conductor, and as the vast audience came to cheer to the echo his magnificent production, some one turned him round to see the effect of his handiwork. But though he had composed the music, he never heard a note of it. And so with the trades unions. They have brought conciliation and arbitration within the sphere of practical politics, and now, forsooth,

propose that they shall not the fruits of their years and denial. Trades unionists who about such a state of affairs become rational in politics, settle industrial disputes by men who have fought far have done, although we a, to achieve this result—are date in the fruit of centuries ought, and of travail towards prosperity.

WILLIS.—They have already uit of their toil.

LD.—They are to have the striking, and of endeavouring r their rights just as any other ection of the community might

ISON.—And the privilege of rved.

LD.—The privilege of being n the process. The condition h the Opposition seek to bring confusion worse confounded. e be a party to such hypocrisy? posed to conciliation and arbi- say so in a straightforward have no hypocrisy in such us rather have that hon- y, and earnestness, which ged to be an ornament sphere of activity. If honor- opposite are opposed to the nciliation and arbitration, let e decency and honesty to against it. As a matter of , they voted for the second e Bill, and by so doing com- elves to an affirmation of the ple. That being so, what ld think of these honorable , giving with the one hand, back with the other? I was e the scriptural quotation in If a son ask bread of any of father will he give him a he ask a fish will he for a fish erpent" ? I said that the for bread, and it was pro- them a stone; that they asked d the Opposition would give nt. That has been repeated ain. The workers ask for he Opposition are offering but, instead of giving it to owing it at their heads.

WILLIS.—What are the non- ving?

Mr. HUTCHISON.—All that the unionists have gained for them.

Mr. RONALD.—The honorable member for Hindmarsh has anticipated my reply. The non-unionists would have participated in the good results that we hoped to secure from the passing of this measure. They have toiled not, neither have they spun for these things. They hope to reap where they have not sown, and to gather where they have not strawed. It is permissible that they should share with others the fruits of what has been the work of centuries; but it is not reasonable that they alone should reap and enjoy those fruits. It is right that at this stage, in speaking of trades unions, we should consider what they have done. Those who know anything of sociology, and especially those who have a knowledge of the causes responsible for that amelioration of the lot of man which has taken place during the last century, must admire the splendid work that has been done by trades unions. When one recalls the position of the workers in the earlier years of the nineteenth century, and remembers that the average working day was then one of fourteen hours, while to-day it is only one of nine or ten hours—when one remembers that something like 90 per cent. of the workers were toiling seven days in the week, and had no time to attend to the sacred duties of domestic life, no time to devote to culture, education, or recreation—what must he say of trades unionism? The workers of those days were as much galley slaves as if they had been chained to their oars or their work. I have lived in the great shipbuilding centres of the old world, and have witnessed the effect of piece-work and other abominations in cities where there was no limitation of working hours. I worked among these men on Saturday afternoons, and know that when Sunday came round they were prostrated by their labours, and unfit for anything but the mere animal repose that their systems demanded.

Mr. CONROY.—Clause 48.

Mr. RONALD.—This state of affairs has ceased because of unionism. The connexion between it and clause 48 is that those who wish to prevent the reconsideration of that clause are seeking to shut out unions from the benefits of the Bill, and would deny that they have been one of the biggest factors for the amelioration of the lot of man that the world has ever known. Greater than our churches, our Parliaments

our press, or any other institution, has been the combination on the part of men to lighten the load of life, to brighten its conditions, and to make it worth living. Under the conditions which the Opposition would impose life would not be worth living.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—Unionists now wish to spoil their career by seeking to stand on velvet.

Mr. PAGE.—The honorable member for Robertson would spoil their career by feeding them on stones.

Mr. RONALD.—That is so. A great naturalist has said that the very essence of existence is the struggle and the fight. That is true. If we could bring about such a state of affairs that there would be nothing for which to fight, the world would be a poor, monotonous place. The struggle and the fight are the very essence of life. But there are higher aspirations than even the betterment of the working classes for which we may fight, and we should endeavour to rise higher and higher; "Excelsior!" being our motto. If the Opposition have their way, however, unionists will be shut out from the benefits of this Bill. The cry on which we shall go to the country, and which will cause us to come back with an increase in our numbers, is that, if the Opposition have their way, those who have wrought, fought, and struggled for such a condition of affairs that there will be no strife, no war, and no animosity, are not to participate in the realization of the great industrial ideal which has been kept before them for at least a century. We can be no party to anything of that kind. I sincerely trust that honorable members of the Opposition will throw aside their rags of hypocrisy, and say straightforwardly that they do not like this measure, that they do not believe in Conciliation and Arbitration, and that they will adopt the direct and open course of voting against the principle rather than the subtle devious methods to which they are now resorting—giving with one hand and taking back with the other.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—We are seeking to amend the Bill.

Mr. POYNTON.—On the contrary, the Opposition refuse to permit it to be amended.

Mr. RONALD.—We are told that the Opposition wish to preserve the amendment which has been made. We have to remember, however, that a Bill is only a means to an end. The Bill is not in itself the end. It may be possible to improve the measure,

but will it be the better for the amendment which has been carried on the motion of the honorable and learned member Corinella? Will it be followed by better fruits? Will it, in fact, be of any service whatever?

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—It will give birth instead of a stone to the non-unionists.

Mr. RONALD.—The honorable member will surely allow that the working-men know what is bread, and what is a stone. Surely he would not dictate to them the difference between the two. What might be a stone from the honorable member's point of view would be bread from the point of view of the workers, and *vice versa*. The workers are the best judges of that which is for their good.

Mr. FRAZER.—They ought to be proud to have as their champion the honorable member for Robertson.

Mr. RONALD.—Quite so. The people know what is best for themselves. In matters of life and death, we appeal to the common sense of men. The late William Ewart Gladstone, who was one of the greatest students of mankind the world has seen and a better judge of human nature than any other man of whom I have heard or with whom I have come in contact, has shown down the rule that a true verdict on a question of fact or policy is more likely to be obtained from among the masses than from among the classes. He pointed out that as we ascend in the social scale, we generally find a greater percentage of mistakes, and that that fact is recognized in our jury system. We do not choose specialists—from the classes to deal with a matter of life or death; we select juries from the masses. In such cases ordinary common-sense men are availed of, because it is from such men rather than from those among the classes that it is possible to obtain a verdict on matters involving the exercise of common sense. That principle applies to the matter now under consideration. The workers know what they require. They desire Conciliation and Arbitration, and know that union is absolutely indispensable, not only to the passing of this measure, but to enable it to work satisfactorily. Those who are averse to granting preference to unionists also know very well what object they have in view in opposing the Government proposal. They know that this Bill would be rendered nugatory if the clause be passed which it stands. Preference to unionists is

er that men may despair of union. If the object of the w before the House were to enable amendment of the Bill ally entertain it. We are ex- out to conserve the rights of destruction of unionism would ew method of reform. If ave rights, and we do not y have, have not unionists The right of the non- join a union. That is the ch every man possesses. He isolated; no man can live this world. Unionism is in the very essence of progress. to obtain any ideal, even if vative ideal, he has to form we are aware that even the arty have unions. We know ill be if we discourage the unions. So long as we en- ns, and encourage those heir trust in the law, so long n that they may organize and eason one with another for of their conditions, so long away the motive that has bred others who have despaired of reform by law. The day n Governments will thank God ight of entering into union, nise that unions have more or urpose in view. What we not to set ourselves against o endeavour to guide them. e members opposite wish to unions. They seek by stealth o compel the working men of se all faith in unions, to em- . They do not believe in go- ordinary progression. These y objections to the amend- onorable and learned member I think that the alternative e Government is all that preserve the admitted and un- s of non-unionists.

ns.—But it goes too far.

LD.—My only objection to es too far. No one will deny exhausted the resources of n our endeavours to meet our site. Now, I desire them to uestion—"Are they in favour ation of the principle of con- arbitration to industrial dis- I have said again and again,

the general principle, the cosmothetic ideal of arbitration, is to substitute a rational legal and sane way of settling disputes for the old time-dishonoured method of deciding them by force and strife. We desire to bring about that better time depicted by the late poet laureate, when he sang—

That God, which ever lives and loves,
One God, one law, one element,
And one far-off divine event,
To which the whole creation moves.

That divine event is represented by the peace which will exist between man and man, class and class, and nation and nation, when strikes are spoken of as amongst the things of the past, and when in the archives of an ancient people, future generations will read of industrial animosity and strife, of which the world knows naught. This Bill marks the beginning of that era. Our gospel is one of peace, progress, and rational development. Those who believe in the old time-dishonoured method of settling industrial disputes by brute force are endeavouring to nullify our efforts to give to the people a machine which shall render strikes and industrial strife for ever impossible.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—The principle of compulsory arbitration will continue to be upon its trial in New South Wales until 1906.

Mr. RONALD.—I am often assured that legislation of this character is yet upon its trial. Let me remind the House that it has been tried and not found wanting. My indictment against the alternative policy, is that it has been tried in all ages, and amongst all people, and has been found utterly wanting. The alternative must lie between the old *laissez faire* method of allowing things to right themselves, and the new method of interference by the Government for the good of the whole community. It is true that no good can be conferred upon the community without cost. Incidental evils accompany every reform. But we ought not to be discouraged upon that account. Undoubted hardships were imposed upon the aged workers of Victoria in connexion with the Factories Act in which the Legislature made provision for the payment of a minimum wage. No sane man would ever dream of looking for a perfect instrument which was framed by human hands. There is nothing perfect in this world. I freely admit that there are incidental evils connected with the adoption of legislation of this character. But I hold that the general trend of such legislation is

for good. That fact has been established by experience. I trust that honorable members will discard the sham and hypocrisy of pretending to give this Bill a fair trial, whilst inserting in it a provision which will destroy its whole intention and purpose. Not long ago, I read a very fascinating story, and one which was quite worthy of the imagination of a French sensationalist. It related how a courtesan in Paris had sent to her rival a beautiful bouquet, in which a miasmatic poison was so concealed that, when the string of the bouquet was broken, the fumes escaped and killed the recipient. That is what the opponents of this measure seek to do. They pretend that they are giving to the workers of Australia a beautiful bouquet, in the shape of this Bill, knowing full well that the means of its own destruction are contained within it. The Government propose to induce non-members of unions—not to compel them—to join organizations where there will be a rational development of their aims and ideals. The very essence of unionism is progress, order, and good government. Honorable members are the living representatives of unionism in one phase or another. Without unionism, we should have no State. Without unionism, those engaged in industry would be merely a mob. The final intention and purpose of the amendment of the honorable and learned member for Corinella is to destroy that in which the workman glories.

Mr. KENNEDY.—Organization of the workers is the basic principle of the Bill.

Mr. RONALD.—The basic principle of the Bill is the organization of the workers.

Mr. KENNEDY.—But not necessarily trades unions.

Mr. MAUGER.—Yes it is, necessarily.

Mr. RONALD.—That brings me to a point which otherwise I might have forgotten. No difficulty would be experienced in circumventing the amendment of the honorable and learned member for Corinella, if it were inserted in the Bill. Every Victorian representative knows that in connexion with the Trades Hall there is a political labour league and the trades unions proper. There is a distinction between the two organizations.

Mr. KENNEDY.—A distinction without a difference.

Mr. RONALD.—Exactly. Honorable members opposite wish us to perpetuate that hypocrisy by compelling men to draw a technical distinction between the political

labour league and the trades union. If we were organized for the purposes of the Bill only—

Mr. KENNEDY.—The party to which the honorable member belongs refused to insert such a provision in the Bill.

Mr. RONALD.—We did not. We say that however reasonable the provision may appear from some points of view, it would constitute a piece of hypocrisy. We have no desire to perpetuate shams of this sort. Nevertheless, such a distinction could be drawn without seriously inconveniencing us. We wish the world to know that we are inspired by high, noble, and patriotic motives—that we wish to benefit all mankind. Whilst men declare in the programme the rules and objects of the organizations, and the methods by which they seek to attain their ends, those who disagree with them have nothing to fear. But when we drive them into secret political combinations there is danger. We do not wish to be obliged to carry on a dual organization merely for the satisfaction of those who believe that there ought to be a technical distinction between trades unions and organizations which are constituted solely for the purposes of this Bill. I sincerely hope that the proposal of the Government will appeal to the rational and moderate members of this House, to those who are prepared to confirm their consent, who after professing to be favourable to the principle of compulsory arbitration, and wishing the ship *bon voyage*, are not prepared to send her away with a dangerous explosive concealed on board for the purpose of wrecking her. Away with such contemptible, sinister methods in politics. Let the opponents of this Bill declare themselves. They had an opportunity of voting against it upon the motion for the second reading of the measure. Immediately after its general principle had been affirmed, honorable members opposite seek by a hypocritical and sinister amendment to destroy the benefits which would accrue from its operation. I trust that we shall never again descend to such base tactics in politics. I hope that in the future we shall be called upon to face those who are prepared to nail their colours to the mast—that we shall know them by their second-reading speeches. I trust that they are opposed to the principle which is contained in any measure, they will honestly declare themselves, but that they do not, by indirect methods, seek to im-

our corners a provision calculated to destroy its value to render it of less value upon which it is printed. The Ministry hangs upon the House in this matter. I take issue with the act of any man or woman who is at liberty to take no consideration. I cannot see how we can logically discuss any subject unless we are perfectly satisfied that the honorable members opposite are right against the Ministry particularly against the Bill itself. If we have arbitration legislation is the honorable members opposite are to delay it as long as possible; motive for their present action is contemptible, lacking, as it is, in honesty and courage. I can admire a toryism which declares boldly in favour of innovation; but I find no reason in my heart for a toryism which delays legislation of this kind by professions of friendship. Sympathy with those whose only motive under this Bill absolutely useless idea is to ridicule legislators of dealing with industrial questions profess to make concessions, without any serious good care to load the amendments which can lead to confusion and legal technical amendment shows the mark of a foot.

MR. WILLIS.—Does the honorable member refer to the Government pro-

MR. ALD.—I am not condemning the Government proposal.

MR. WILLIS.—I thought all the honorable member's remarks applied to the Government proposal, and I regarded them

MR. ALD.—I cannot supply the honorable member with ordinary intelligence has failed to do so. For the last forty minutes I have been speaking in condemnation of the amendment of the Bill by the honorable member for Corinella, and I thought the honorable member for Corinella does not seem to be aware of the fact that the cumbersome amendment of the Bill by the honorable member for Corinella has any final purpose in the Bill. I think it is to make work for the Government. I hope that simplicity and common sense will always characterize our legislation. Sir George Grey once said that the Government should be so drafted

that he who runs might read; our whole aim should be simplicity and perspicuity. We ought to say on the face of a Bill what we mean, and nothing but what we do mean; there should be no provision which an ordinary artisan jurymen is not as well able as the most skilled and learned lawyer, to construe and apply. This amendment, which emanates from the legal profession, is evidently intended to give work to the lawyers by causing endless disputes and delays. If that should be the result of this legislation, workmen will despair of the law, and fall back on the old direct method of strikes. If we wish to make the measure useless—if we wish to disgust workingmen with legislative remedies for their grievances—there is no better way than by raising intricate, complex questions, such as are foreshadowed by the amendment of the honorable and learned member for Corinella. The Government, in their proposal, have hit upon the proper phrase when they provide that an organization shall "substantially represent the industry affected in point of number and competency of its members." I am perfectly well aware that lawyers will argue and make trouble—and exact fees—no matter how clear and plain a law may be. I can quite see that even the proposal of the Government may lead to days of expensive argument as to the meaning of "substantially represent." That, however, is part of the price we must pay for the evil of having lawyers, rather than the result of endeavouring to say exactly what we mean. The proposal of the Government satisfies all that is openly demanded by honorable members opposite, and, in every respect, is infinitely superior to that of the honorable and learned member for Corinella. At the same time, whether intentionally or not, the clause drafted by the Government places certain obligations on trades unions, by the use of the words "competency of its members." My great belief in trades unions in the past has been based on an idea that there should be some such obligation—that a trades union, properly organized and properly worked, ought to take care that those who become members have properly served their apprenticeship and learnt their trade. This is a highly important matter to which great prominence ought to be given. An onus is thrown upon trades unions of seeing that all the members are first-class tradesmen—competency as well as numerical strength ought to enter into

consideration. The Government proposal is an amendment in the literal sense of the word, while the proposal of the honorable and learned member for Corinella does not amend, but seeks to end—to make null and void the whole measure. Under the circumstances one would have been glad to see a little political heroism. We should have liked to see honorable members opposite come boldly to the front and declare themselves against conciliation and arbitration root and branch.

Give me th' avowed, th' erect, the manly foe,
Bold I can meet, perhaps may turn his blow;
But, of all plagues, good Heaven, thy wrath
can send,
Save, save, oh, save me from the candid
friend!

Those who are now playing the candid friend seek to insert an amendment which will sap the very vitals of the measure; and my voice shall always be raised in protest against the hypocrisy of those who in public life have not the courage of their convictions. But the tide of public opinion is against honorable members opposite, while it is flowing with those who advocate this legislation. When the day comes, there will be heard a rising murmur like that of distant wind, gathering in volume and strength; and the oftener the people are appealed to, the greater, and the more sure and certain will be the sound, until it bursts upon us with a roar like that of the ocean on the beach. The people desire a rational method of settling industrial disputes; they are tired of the animosity and strife of social war. The people believe that the reign of peace is at hand; that this measure is an augury of a better age, when we shall regard industrial strife as a quaint relic of barbarism and fossilized torism. I trust that the well-worded proposal of the Government will receive the unbiased consideration of this House. I confidently leave the decision in the hands of all fair and unprejudiced members, whatever opinions they may entertain in regard to the existing Government. In taking my present attitude, I have no personal end to serve. I neither have, nor expect, pension, post, or pay, from one party or the other. My only desire is to pass a Bill that will redound to the credit of the Commonwealth Parliament. I hope that in ages yet to come, measures such as these will be a worthy monument of our patriotism. and that, on their being read by our descendants, it will be admitted that

Mr. Ronald.

we did what we could to avoid unnatural and disastrous struggles between the class and the masses. I trust that it may be said that we brought into existence a moral political force which tended to the settlement of disputes for all time, so that Australia may justify its appellation of Australia Felix, the land where there is no industrial war and, God grant, no national war.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—Is the honorable member opposed to war?

Mr. RONALD.—The honorable member ought to know my feelings on that subject. I am a servant of the Prince of Peace, and wear His garb; and, therefore, I am against all strife and war. I ask honorable members to bring their best powers to bear upon the consideration of the relative merits of the two proposals. I leave the question to be settled by men who are not tied to a party and soul to party—I leave it to those men to decide which proposal will commend itself to posterity as being in harmony with the tenor of the Bill. My only object is to have a measure which, characterized by political consistency and moral intent, will promote the greatest happiness of the greatest number of the citizens of the Commonwealth.

Mr. WATKINS (Newcastle).—I have not a word to say against honorable members who have openly declared themselves as opposed to compulsory arbitration, but I am bound to say that some honorable members, who have from time to time in the Chamber told us that they favoured trades unionism and compulsory arbitration, are now taking a course which is not honorable to themselves as politicians, and which is not fair to trades unionism in Australia.

Mr. DAVID THOMSON.—They are coming out in their true colours now.

Mr. WATKINS.—As the honorable member says, certain honorable members coming out now in their true colours, they will find that they have failed to convince the workmen of Australia that they any longer believe in the principle of compulsory arbitration.

Mr. WATSON.—It is just as well to let them placed.

Mr. WATKINS.—About two years ago I declared protectionists in this Chamber claimed that a preference, in many cases of forty per cent., should be given to Australian industries. They believed in a preference for the Australian producer against the foreign producer. They

at that preference should be any qualification whatever. It to them to ask that those who ve in their protectionist policy consulted before that preference

When the same honorable now asked to accord a preference whose duty it is to toil in s which they have protected, they are prepared to cross the o follow the arch enemy of olitical faith in an endeavour e very Bill which grants the What does the amendment of e and learned member for an? It entirely destroys the ill as a compulsory measure. It ited by every honorable mem- legislation, to be successful, ased upon compulsion and sm. Of what use can we measure to be when we ren- ible for the Arbitration Court s awards? The amendment ver the whole of the Common- f an award is asked for involv- ce to unionists, it will be im- he Court to discover the opin- e people throughout Australia concerned in the matter until aised will have been forgotten. merely my opinion, but it is hich has been expressed by the er of the Opposition, the ole member for East Sydney. eference clause was last be- mmittee, and the Government first part of the amendment the honorable and learned Corinella, the right honorable East Sydney said that he was overnment had accepted the e because it was something e doubted whether it would e clause as it stood. I shail honorable gentleman no injus- I propose to quote exactly the d. At page 2689 of *Hansard*, he right honorable gentleman ghly in favour of the amendment, that the Government have accepted o point out that it would practi- effect of hampering the operation t the clause.

AM LYNE.—Who said that?

WATKINS.—The leader of the

ON.—Which one?

Mr. WATKINS.—The right honorable member for East Sydney.

Mr. WATSON.—I am not surprised at anything he says.

Mr. WATKINS.—The right honorable gentleman further said:

It will involve a harvest for our literary friends that I do not grudge, but the time which the Court would have to allow, in order to permit any one living at the Gulf of Carpentaria, or in the pearl fishery settlements, or other remote parts, to come in, would lead to so much delay that when it expired the whole matter would probably have been forgotten.

Yet to-day the right honorable gentleman leads a party who are prepared to prevent the Government from having a reconsideration of this amendment, which he admits will nullify the whole effect of the clause. Honorable members are prepared to refuse to the present Government the right to have the amendment reconsidered in order that it may be put into some practical shape. The right honorable member for East Sydney and his party are evidently determined to wreck the Bill. Has not the right honorable gentleman on many occasions, as Premier of New South Wales, found it necessary to recommit clauses which, in his opinion, required further consideration and remodelling; and was he ever refused an opportunity to reconsider a clause which he believed required amendment? To prevent a reconsideration of this amendment in the way proposed, is to prevent a discussion upon its merits or demerits. Apart from the honorable and learned member who moved the amendment, not one honorable member has attempted in any way to justify the position taken up in this regard. I repeat that if the preference clause, as amended, is adhered to it will render the Bill inoperative. Honorable members who have had any experience of the working of arbitration laws will know well that if a preference is not given to trades unionists, it will be possible, on the one hand, for any employer to supplant every man in his employ who has stood up for what he believes to be his rights in connexion with a particular dispute, by engaging other labour to take his place; and, on the other hand, it will permit of equal injustice being done to an employer. Let me say, in reply to those who have stated that the trade unionists of Australia do not represent the majority of the workers, that that is only because in many parts of the Commonwealth workmen have had no opportunity to organize. Although a great many are not absolutely within the ranks of trade unions, the very

great majority of working people believe in the essence and principle of trade unionism. I am satisfied that not 10 per cent. of the working people of Australia would openly declare themselves against trades union principles. Honorable members who, from time to time, have admitted freely that trades unionism has done much, not only for those within its ranks, but for workmen generally over the civilized globe, are now prepared to deny to trades unionists a fair meed of justice under this Bill, though the workers are prepared to give up every weapon that they have hitherto exercised to secure their due. Where it is popular to do so, they say that they believe in trades unionism, but they are nevertheless prepared by legislation to do everything they can to prevent its success in ameliorating the conditions of the workers. We know what struggling there has been in the past for the rights of trades unionists. Men have had to secure those rights by the only weapon in their power. They have, by strikes from time to time, been successful in improving the condition of the masses; but because of the turmoil and distress necessarily occasioned by the use of the methods which they were forced to adopt to secure their just rights they have been told time and again that they should go to Parliament to obtain a legitimate means of ameliorating their condition through the laws of their country. Now, when they are following the advice given them, and are endeavouring to secure necessary reforms by legislation, they are blocked in every direction. They are blocked here, not in connexion with a measure which provides direct reform for the benefit of the working people in Australia, but a measure which goes only so far as to set up a Court of Justice to hear their claims, and to which they can appeal for just conditions. The Court, it is admitted, will be absolutely unbiased, and it is expected to put an end to industrial struggles. With regard, again, to the question of preference, honorable members are aware that it can only be given where organization has taken place, and men have registered their unions. How can we give preference to those who will not take the trouble to organize and combine? The object of the amendment against which I protest is simply to provide, when trades unionists, who have taxed themselves to defray the expenses connected with their organization, have secured an award, that, before any pre-

Mr. Watkins.

ference in employment can be given them, every man throughout Australia has not taken the trouble to organize, in order to secure an amelioration of his conditions, is to be allowed to say whether or not only union shall be employed. If honorable members insist upon carrying the Bill without any modification of the amendment moved by the honorable and learned member for Corinella, we may as well throw under the table at once. The present position has, in my opinion, been reached because the Government, in order to meet views of the so-called friends of compulsory arbitration, have yielded too much. On three important principles in connexion with this legislation they have accepted amendments. They have yielded to the so-called friends of compulsory arbitration only to be stabbed in the back when the moment has arrived at which it is thought that that can be done effectively. I have had honorable members say that they believe in trades unionism so long as trades unionism can be carried on on the voluntary basis. In my experience of trades unionism, when it is a voluntary matter for a man to join a trades union, once he has become a member of it his voluntary action ceases absolutely, and he yields up his individuality for the benefit of his union. There is no voluntary principle in trades unionism in the full sense of the term. Let us consider the history of voluntary arbitration in these States. It has been tried time and time again, and has succeeded so long as awards given have suited the employer. It has failed when the award has been given in favour of the workers. Reviewing the legislative history of the subject we find the right honorable leader of the Opposition introduced legislation providing for voluntary arbitration in New South Wales, and that after three years' experience of this legislation, such was the ineffectiveness of the Arbitration Court provided, that the State Parliament absolutely refused to vote the money necessary to carry it on. In view of the results of past experience, we have come now to ask the Federal Parliament to give us a measure providing for compulsory arbitration. Men of common sense, we have come to the conclusion that this legislation cannot be successful with the enforcement of awards and preference to trades unionists. Just as no effect can be obtained from legislation unless it applies compulsion

ce, to some section or to the
nity, so it is with this legisla-
tive preference to a trades
but hampering him in any way
that which is fair and reason-
present Ministry attempted to
a measure which was fathered
overnment, and I ask whether
members opposite would have
defeat that Government by
they are now adopting. The
uced by the late Government,
in the proviso which was in-
honorable and learned mem-
ella; but if that proviso had
while the measure was under
of that Government, would
members opposite have tried to
from securing the recommittal
are in order that the clause
onsidered? I say that they
In my opinion, it would be
honorable members to come
pen, and to meet the Govern-
clear vote of censure. Why
challenge the Government upon
or upon their administration?
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elded too much to their op-
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particular measure, have ac-
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meet those whom they thought
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d of reform with them. Honor-
opposite cannot challenge any
istration by this Government,
be taunted with having gained
the Treasury benches by un-
The late Government announced
would accept defeat upon
out vote in regard to
d they made no attempt
able members to reconsider
I do not think that the vote
een reversed if they had done
certain that no attempt would
ade to prevent a reconsidera-
labour Party would not have
Government with an amend-
s that now before the House.
n of honorable members oppo-
They wish to destroy the
defeat the application of the
compulsory arbitration. Those
r the amendment range them-
who are opposed to the peace-

ful solution of industrial troubles by a
judicial tribunal.

Mr. CULPIN (Brisbane).—I wish to
say a few words on this question, and I
trust that I shall not wander from clause
48 in doing so. The honorable and learned
member for Corinella, whilst professing to
be in favour of the Bill, has moved an
amendment, the effect of which will be
practically to kill it, and I believe that he
has done so with that intention. If he
alone were concerned, of course his action
would not be important; but, as a matter
of fact, his action was instigated by those
supporters of the late Government, and the
members of the Opposition generally, who
wish to kill the Bill. I believe that all
those who vote against the recommittal of
the measure will be actuated by that motive.
When the late Prime Minister introduced
the Bill a year or so ago, he made a state-
ment as to his policy in regard to it, and
that statement should stand good now. He
said—

Any changes that I have proposed will be few,
will be small, and will relate only to drafting.

But, notwithstanding that statement, a pro-
viso was inserted in clause 48, on the
motion of one of his followers, the only
purpose of which was to kill the Bill. Is
it not an astounding change of front for the
honorable and learned member for Bal-
larat to be now attempting to choke
discussion, by refusing to allow the Govern-
ment to recommit the measure? In his
present action he shows himself to be worse
than the Chinese, who kill their superfluous
female children, because he is killing the
most virile progeny that he has yet fathered.
The right honorable member for East
Sydney, when the Bill was introduced, said
that he hoped that we would cheerfully pass
it; but he also is now attempting to kill it.
Honorable members are, of course, used to
the right honorable gentleman's ways, and
are not surprised at anything he may do in
this direction. The honorable member for
Ballarat also promised to give fair play to
the present Government; but he has not
given them any more fair play than he has
given to the Bill which he fathered. The pro-
viso requires that applicants for preference
must prove that they represent "a majority
of those affected by the award who have in-
terests in common with the applicants,"
while the Government wish to substitute for
that provision an amendment requiring them
to "substantially represent the industry

affected in point of the numbers and competence of its members." The method of electing Members of Parliament may be referred to to illustrate the difference between the two propositions. If honorable members could take their seats in this chamber only when they had been elected by a majority of the whole of their constituents, in such case that requirement would be similar to the requirement of the proviso inserted in clause 48 by the honorable and learned member for Corinella; whereas the Government wish to provide that a majority of those who take sufficient interest in the subject to vote upon it shall decide the question. That is the present system of voting. If the Bill is to be effective, it must safeguard the liberties of those connected with the industrial organizations. The men who require protection are not those who are content to be trodden down, and who only squirm and sink lower, but those who have the manliness to fight for higher wages and better conditions. The unions are to be deprived of the weapon of striking which they now possess, and preference is therefore a necessary protection to them. Honorable members who are opposed to the granting of preference to unionists, show themselves in their true colours as those who are in favour of making the Bill a measure for the suppression of strikes only. While they wish to take from the unionists the power to strike, they still leave to the employers the power to lock out. If the proviso were left in the clause, an employer could always refuse to employ unionists who had acted against him. The honorable member for Lang has honestly said that his object is to kill the Bill altogether. We can give him credit for being a straight-out opponent of the measure; but other honorable members do not avow that that is their position. Unless preference is given to unionists, those who complain of the treatment they are receiving may be refused employment, and will have no redress.

Mr. MAUGER (Melbourne Ports).—It would be well for honorable members, before voting on the amendment before the House, to consider what is involved, and to recall to mind the policy underlying the measure as it was enunciated at Ballarat by the late Prime Minister. The principle which the proviso inserted by the honorable and learned member for Corinella would undermine was undoubtedly championed by the honorable and learned member

for Ballarat. In the minds of some honorable members there is an impression that what is desired is to invariably give preference to unionists. That is a wrong impression, which I hope will not be conveyed to the people of the country. What we wish to secure is, not the giving of preference to unionists in all cases, but the giving of power to the Court to grant preference to unionists when it considers desirable to do so. That is an important difference, and one which should be clearly defined. The honorable and learned member for Ballarat gave particular emphasis to the clause which is being discussed. He urged that in New Zealand the power to grant preference had been used by the Court with great advantage, and was one of the necessary machinery of the system. He urged that in New South Wales no results had followed, and that in New Zealand the Court had exercised its power wisely that the number of trades unionists had decreased instead of having increased under its régime. In view of these facts it is not remarkable that the honorable member and some of his prominent supporters should, at this juncture, not seek to undermine the principle of the clause, but endeavour to prevent honorable members from arriving at some means of framing a provision which would meet the wishes of the majority. If honorable members opposite sincerely desire that this measure should be effective, they should allow it to be recommitted.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—Is not the honorable member satisfied with the amendment proposed by the Government?

Mr. MAUGER.—I am satisfied that it will be made clear to the country that the honorable members opposite wish to render it impossible to properly consider the matter. The honorable member for Robertson complains that the provision for preference is too exacting, too far-reaching, and too dangerous.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—Hear, hear; so is.

Mr. MAUGER.—And yet we find a discrepancy with him the honorable member Dalley, who says he feels compelled to vote against the recommitment of the Bill, because it is so emasculated as to be rendered useless.

Mr. WILKS.—I said so three weeks ago.

Mr. MAUGER.—There is a very wide divergence between the views taken by

of honorable members, and yet we find no voting on the same side in this matter. Mr. WILKS.—Not a single union will register under the Bill.

Mr. MAUGER.—I quite agree with the honorable member.

Mr. WILKS.—Then why vote for it?

Mr. MAUGER.—Because I do not wish to eject the present Government from office and to associate myself with those with whom I have no sympathy. The honorable member will be judged by the company which he keeps, and his position will be regarded as remarkably illogical one. There is something more than the recommitment of the Bill involved in the present attitude of the position.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—There is bread for the workers.

Mr. MAUGER.—May I ask who made the honorable members on the Government benches the champions of the workers?

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—The people.

Mr. MAUGER.—Did the people give the charge to honorable members opposite?

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—We are in the majority.

Mr. MAUGER.—The honorable member is now indulging in silly interjections, and I cannot afford to take any further notice of him.

Mr. WILKS.—This is a fight for preference on the Treasury benches.

Mr. MAUGER.—I am afraid it is. The majority of honorable members opposite is motivated by a desire to unseat the Government. The honorable member for Southern Devonshire said that he owed nothing to the Government, that they had given him nothing, and that he expected nothing from them. I can say the same thing. In some respects, particularly in connexion with the Free Trade question, the Government have disappointed me, but I do not intend to assist to get them from office, and put in their place a free-trade Government. So far as the policy with which I am particularly associated is concerned, I can gain nothing by voting for the proposal to recommit the Bill.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—Would the honorable member alter his views if he could do anything?

Mr. MAUGER.—No, certainly not; but I have nothing in common with those honorable members who are now anxious to remove the Treasury benches. Not only would they not give me the natural corollary of legislation of this kind, namely,

effective protection at the Custom House, but it is patent to every one that they are anxious to destroy the principle underlying the Bill, which is protection to the workers. It is the clear duty of honorable members, who are anxious to see a workable measure passed, to afford every opportunity for the framing of a clause which would prove effective. I rejoice to think that, whatever may be the result of the vote on this occasion, the Treasury benches have been occupied for three months by men who have risen from the ranks, and who have erected a milestone alongside the path of social evolution. Their administration has been as pure, their capacity as great, and their behaviour as gentlemanly as that of any other body of men occupying similar positions, and I have no hesitation in saying that the methods which are now being employed to displace them are unfair and unwarranted.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—If he wishes the clause to be made effective, why does not the honorable member induce the Government to accept the proviso of the honorable and learned member for Corinella?

Mr. MAUGER.—Why does not the honorable member consent to allow the Bill to go into Committee, so that a proposal may be framed which would be acceptable to both sides? Honorable members opposite evidently fear to allow the clause to be reconsidered. I am not an apologist for the mistakes of trades unions. I have been closely associated with them all my life, and I am now a member of a union. I know the aspirations of their members, and the great good that the unions have accomplished. While I am acquainted with their limitations, and the mistakes which they have made, I know, at the same time, that the highest principles ever enunciated have been associated with the greatest of those mistakes. Even with the dissemination of the principles of Christianity there may have been associated mistakes, as well as shams and humbugs, but that is no reason why we should disregard such principles. I recognise that the underlying principle of trades unions is industrial peace and progress, and therefore I do my best to encourage such organizations. I believe that the honorable and learned member for Corinella is perfectly sincere in this matter, but I am convinced that his proposal is impracticable, and that it will make the Bill a dead letter. I believe, further, that he is misrepresenting and misunderstanding the very men whom he is

supposed to be championing. I have been associated with non-unionists, as well as with unionists, and I am sure that the honorable member for Dalley will agree with me that, whilst the unionists may, in some instances, be in the minority, the vast majority of the industrial workers are in sympathy with the trade unions, and support their aims. The attempt which is being made to champion the cause of the non-unionists is unwarranted and uncalled for. No demonstration has been made in support of the attitude now assumed by the Opposition. Have honorable members been called upon by any section of workers to oppose the preference clause? Do they know of any organization outside of the Employers' Union that has opposed it? I should like to know in what way they have received any mandate or instruction to oppose the principle.

Mr. CONROY.—The sacred principle of justice alone demands that no man should receive a preference over his fellows at the hands of Parliament.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—We had a mandate from the electors at the general election.

Mr. MAUGER.—That is not the case.

Mr. McLEAN.—I was returned as an opponent of the principle of preference to unionists.

Mr. MAUGER.—The honorable member was not called upon to contest his seat.

Mr. McLEAN.—But I explained my views on this very principle.

Mr. MAUGER.—I grant that the honorable member has been consistent throughout, and that he is thoroughly sincere.

Mr. McCAY.—The honorable member knows that, although I was not opposed at the last election, I spoke a number of times in connexion with this Bill, and fully explained my views.

Mr. TUDOR.—When the honorable and learned member went to Bendigo to support the honorable and learned member for that constituency, he did not say that he would smash the unions.

Mr. McCAY.—I have not said it yet.

Mr. TUDOR.—The honorable and learned member is doing his best in that direction.

Mr. MAUGER.—A number of honorable members are posing as champions of the non-unionists, and it is remarkable that in many cases they should also be champions of the employers' unions, which are opposed to the principles of the Bill,

lock, stock, and barrel. Associated with those who are now so anxious to preserve the rights of non-unionists, are the very men who are opposed to the Bill outright. It was just the same in connexion with the discussion which took place upon the shops and factories legislation in Victoria. I, the honorable member for Gippsland, know very well that the poor widow was trotted out, and that great concern was professed for the poorest of the working classes. I should like to know what honorable members who now assume the role of champions of the non-unionists have ever done to assist the working classes? "By their fruits shall ye know them."

Mr. CONROY.—Is it the policy of the Government to decree inequality by law?

Mr. MAUGER.—Have their voices been raised in the interests of the downtrodden trades unionists? No. Undoubtedly the main features of this measure is the principle of collective bargaining which can be applied only under a system of effective trades unionism. Unless this is recognised by giving the Court power apart from any such trammels as are imposed by the honorable and learned member for Corinella, to grant preference, the Bill will be destroyed, root and branch.

Mr. CONROY.—The honorable member claims that preference should be granted to unionists, and we say "No."

Mr. MAUGER.—I contend that preference should be given to the Court to grant preference.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—Is not this higher Court than that which it is proposed to create?

Mr. MAUGER.—It may be; but it does not prove to be a wiser one. In connexion with the working of the Shops and Factories Act in Victoria, it has come to my knowledge that, in many instances, those who have been foremost in agitating for the establishment of the Wages Board, who have in some cases been members of such boards—have been discharged, because they dared to organize their fellow-workers.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—A very curious thing.

Mr. MAUGER.—Can the honorable member suggest any remedy for such a state of affairs, beyond giving the Court power to grant preference to unionists? That is really the position. Three men who represented the employés on a Wages Board relating to a certain industry, were discharged and were eventually compelled to beg bread for themselves and their families.

e result of the action they had taken to secure the creation of that board. Had there been a law in force in this State, to say to the employers, "Preference must be given to unionists," their position would have been different; they would have been rewarded instead of punished for their praiseworthy action. That is only one of many illustrations that might be given. Unless we give the Court power to protect the men who may be, and are the victims of unscrupulous employers, the result will be disastrous. I do not suggest that the practice to which I have referred is universal. The majority of the employers in Victoria are excellent men; it is the mere fact that a man is liable to be discharged for assisting in the formation of an organization to uplift his fellows which is sufficient to induce us to erect a barrier which will have power to direct that the play shall be conceded to all. I am convinced that the Government have given us to a very material extent. I invite the Opposition to compare the measure, as originally introduced by the honorable and named member for Ballarat, with the Bill of to-day.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—The Bill, as it is, is better than it was.

Mr. MAUGER.—It may be, from the honorable member's point of view, and the very fact that he holds that opinion induces me to consider that it is worse. My honorable friend champions the cause of what he describes as "liberty"—liberty to sweat and to die and licence to be dictated by employers. Under the guise of championing the cause of non-unionists—the cause of the widow, the old, and the low worker—we have often heard such tales.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—The poor and needy are represented in this House.

Mr. MAUGER.—The very fact that the honorable member considers that the Bill has been improved convinces me that it has been mutilated. If honorable members come to the Bill as originally introduced—if they glance at the clauses relating to trades unions, to the granting of preference to unionists, and to the powers of the Court—they will see at once that its beneficent provisions have been whittled away, line by line, so that even its author would scarcely know it.

Mr. WILKS.—Comparatively speaking, there is nothing left that is worth mentioning.

Mr. MAUGER.—Exactly. Notwithstanding the fact that various provisions to which objection was taken have been removed from the Bill—that unions will be compelled to throw open their doors to practically every one who can with the slightest reason claim admission; that their books will be open to inspection by the Court; that the Court will have an opportunity to ascertain for itself the kind of men who form them, and to take care before granting an application for preference that the majority of those engaged in the industry are in the organization concerned, or in touch with it—the Opposition still refuse to allow clause 48 to be recommitted even for the purpose of removing a difficulty.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—There is no difficulty. We had a majority on the last occasion, and have it still.

Mr. MAUGER.—The Opposition have a majority to secure the defeat of the Government. They are availing themselves of the present crisis to secure the advancement of their own particular theories. I am convinced that underlying this motion there is not only the defeat of the Government, but the parting of the ways, so far as many honorable members are concerned. I am sorry that it should be so. I regret very much that I shall have to part politically from men beside whom I have worked and fought for many years. But the division to be taken on this amendment undoubtedly means the parting of the ways. On the one side will be the men who are fighting for evolutionary, not revolutionary, progress, and who are determined that there shall be industrial as well as political emancipation. Political emancipation was only the commencement of a great movement of which industrial emancipation is the apex. Until absolute industrial emancipation has been secured, our political evolution and all our political privileges will be of no avail. On the one side we shall have the men who will fight in the interests of conservatism, and in the interests of *laissez faire*, under the guise of desiring to protect the widow and the old and slow worker, while, on the other side, will be those who are determined to conserve those interests which make for the social health and progress of the community, and to do their best for those who have sent them here to represent them.

Mr. BATCHELOR (Boothby—Minister of Home Affairs).—This debate has been

marked by some very extraordinary features. The attitude taken up by the Opposition in refusing the Government the right to recommit a clause which they conceive to be so framed that it would not work in harmony with the objects of the Bill, is in itself remarkable; but I wish to direct attention not so much to that phase of the situation as to the curious fact that whilst this is undoubtedly a no-confidence motion, not one leading member of the Opposition has, so far, seen fit to take part in the debate. Where are the leaders of the Opposition? I am inclined to think that this is the first time in the history of Australian Parliaments that a leader of an Opposition has declined to address himself to what is avowedly a no-confidence motion. The leaders of the Opposition have scarcely dared to show themselves. Occasionally they have put in an appearance, but finding, apparently, the criticism of their actions too warm for their peace of mind, have immediately taken their departure. I do not think that this is altogether fair. We might reasonably have assumed that those who intended to secure the defeat of the Government—

Mr. BAMFORD.—Did the honorable gentleman expect anything better?

Mr. BATCHELOR.—I certainly did.

Mr. BAMFORD.—The honorable gentleman is altogether too sanguine.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—I at least expected that the treatment usually meted out to Governments would be extended to even a Labour Ministry. It seems, however, that we are to be submitted, not to ordinary, but to extraordinary treatment, which, in my opinion, and I am sure, in the opinion of the people, reflects but little credit on those who are engineering our overthrow. What is the object of this Bill? That is a consideration to which we may well devote a few moments' attention. Is it designed to benefit honorable members on this side of the House? Certainly not. It was brought forward with a view to put an end to strikes, not in the interests of unionists, but for the public good. If this Bill be not in the public interest it should have no place in our deliberations. If it be a measure not solely to benefit unionists—although it has been treated by the Opposition as if it were—if it be designed to prevent strikes, in the public interest, because it is recognised that industrial disputes involve tremendous loss to the whole community, should it not

be worthy of our serious consideration? The Bill is not primarily framed in interests of unionists; as a matter of fact they will lose a great deal more than they will gain by submitting to the principle of compulsory conciliation and arbitration. During the debate on the Bill it was suggested that the Government and their supporters had failed while on the hustings to tell the unionists that this measure would probably work, in many cases, to their disadvantage. This assertion is incorrect. During the election campaign I announced from every public platform on which I spoke that the people imagined for one moment that compulsory conciliation and arbitration would invariably work for the benefit of unionists and the workers generally. This was a great mistake; I clearly told the workers that it would benefit them only members of the community.

Mr. WILKS.—The less the workers rely on it the better it will be for them.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—Undoubtedly. The only benefit which trades unionists and other workers can hope to derive from the Bill is simply that which it will confer upon them as members of the community. It is desired that they should be peacefully employed in carrying on their industry, instead of employers and employées being troubled by them too frequently have been, at any length. When employers and employées are constantly fighting with each other, a very large section of the community produces no wealth. It is solely to increase the production of wealth that we are for a measure of this kind. We ask for this measure, not to improve the status of unionists, but solely in the interests of the public. Every member of the community, from the largest capitalist in the Commonwealth, to the humblest labourer, is concerned in the bringing about of a state of affairs in which, instead of having a large percentage living on the labour of others, we shall find all persons producing to the fullest extent of their power. On these grounds, and on these alone, can the Bill be defended. I have been a trades unionist ever since I served my apprenticeship to engineering, and as such I have always recognised that nearly all that has been gained by the workers has been the result of agitation and of strikes, and that for them to sacrifice the right to strike would be to part with a very great power. In order that trades unionists might

order that they might not be without organization—it was at provision for preference to indispensable part of the Bill as essential to its proper at was the view adopted by the Bill, and the honorable member for Ballarat, who introduced it, recognised that of preference to unionists vital. After he had had an to carefully consider the ques- recess, extending over several after it had passed through the criticism associated with a on the honorable and learned moved the second reading of session, when, as the honor- for Brisbane has pointed out, that he merely proposed to ight verbal alterations in the still thought that preference to hout any qualification what- ally provided for in the Bill, and it must therefore be taken Government was in accord ciple. I do not mean to sug- ury individual member of the d to every detail of the Bill, airly assume that the Cabinet were favorable to the grant- rence without any qualifica- we are confronted by the fact s brought down by them on two vided for the undiluted appli- t principle. Up to the time sent Government took office unionists was recognised as art of the measure. There was from any quarter to whittle vision in any respect, but from which the present Administra- the reins of Government the yn process began. There was parently, on the part of the o damage the prestige of or- nd trades unions. And what on? Was it because trades among the Government sup- it was proposed that unions ipped for political purposes? o. At any rate, I am at a stand the move of the Oppo- ny other hypothesis.

s.—The Government accepted per of amendments.

CHELOR. — I admit that Government were naturally obtain from the House the best

Bill possible, in order that it might be of some service to the workers ; but I certainly do not think that in its present form the measure will be operative in the slightest degree. Upon this question my opinion has been sought by leading members of trade unions—by members of the organization with which I am associated, and by others—and I have advised them that unless a very substantial alteration is effected in the Bill before it becomes law, those organiza- tions ought not to register under it. I am convinced that they will not register under it. Have we not urged that honorable members ought not always to aim at an ideal of freedom? Why? Because we have recognised that it is incompatible with the working of a Bill of this character. We have taken this course, not in the interests of unionists, but in the interests of the public, and to prevent the Bill from being whittled down to such an extent as to render it inoperative. In its present form no trade union will register under its provisions, notwithstanding that we have been engaged in discussing it for some months. Why have the vital principles of the Bill been thus whittled away? Simply to spite the present Government. There is no other explanation of the extra- ordinary action of honorable members op- posite.

Mr. McCAY.—Is it not a fact that, with the exception of this amendment, every other alteration effected in the Bill has been accepted by the Government?

Mr. BATCHELOR.—As I have previously stated, the Government desired to obtain from this House the most effective measure possible. We could not make every amendment vital to our existence. We had to accept the best Bill that we could secure. But naturally there is a limit to compromise—a point at which we recognise it is useless to further proceed with the measure. To do so would be a perfect farce. I am not prepared to tell the unionists of South Australia that I assisted to pass a worthless Bill. I do not wish to gain kudos for having passed a measure relating to arbitration if it is of no real value. Having pleaded with unionists to subscribe to legis- lation of this character, having induced them to sacrifice their right to strike, can I tell them that we have enacted a law which will be ineffective? The honorable and learned member for Corinella has twitted the Government with having accepted other amendments.

Mr. McCAY.—I did not twit the Government with having done so.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—The honorable and learned member certainly did.

Mr. McCAY.—I did not intend to twit them.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—We fought against any whittling away of the vital provisions of this Bill. But modification after modification has been proposed merely for the purpose of creating an appetite for more.

Mr. WILKS.—The proposal of the Government would only feed that appetite.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—At any rate that proposal possesses the virtue of being a workable one, and it would achieve the result which the honorable and learned member for Corinella desires.

Mr. WILKS.—I am as opposed to his amendment as is the Minister himself.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—I do not think that our proposal is a necessary one, but, nevertheless, it is workable. A proposal which requires that any union before being granted a preference shall satisfy the Court that it substantially represents the workers engaged in the particular industry affected, is not one which I can characterize as highly objectionable, or as likely to impair the efficient working of the measure.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—It is a very astute proposal.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—If it be astute, it is certainly straightforward. The honorable member is at liberty to rise in his place, if he dares, and to explain in what way it is astute and not straightforward. The terms employed in it are those which are generally adopted by Courts charged with the administration of kindred legislation. In making their awards they have frequently required that a majority of the employes interested in any particular industry must be represented before any preference is granted to unionists. I do not intend to labour this question. The refusal of honorable members opposite to allow the Bill to be recommitted—an act which is unparalleled in party warfare—is thoroughly consonant with the treatment which this Government have received from the very moment of their advent to power. I care nothing for Ministerial office—I do not think that I can be accused of having exhibited any desire to grasp it.

Mr. McDONALD.—The leader of the Opposition accused the Government last night of hanging on to office.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—I know that distasteful remarks which were made upon that occasion were not meant. It is rather a pity, I think, that the first Labour Ministry in the Commonwealth should have been denied that fair treatment which is ordinarily accorded to Governments. It is regrettable, because of the appreciation of the public of that spirit of fair play which usually distinguishes Britishers. Not a single accusation has been urged against the administration of the Government, against the policy which we have put forward. I did not expect that we should be defeated by a union of the forces of honorable members who are opposed to this legislation, and of that section of the House which opposes the Government merely for party purposes. I did not anticipate that a procedure would be adopted which would have the effect of preventing the Ministry and their supporters from fully and fairly expressing their opinions upon other matters. There has been a conspiracy of silence on the part of honorable members opposite. One or two of them have been anxious to address the House, but they have been held down by other honorable members.

Mr. WILKS.—The Minister cannot apolo-
gize for that remark to all.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—I admit that the honorable member is an exception. I do not complain of the treatment which has been meted out to the Government. Generally speaking, he has been very fair.

Mr. McDONALD.—He has not sunk into a fiscal issue.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—I do not know whether he has done so, or not. It is a singular circumstance that the widest differences of opinion between honorable members of this House have been bridged over with the sole object of displacing the present Ministry at all costs. Even the honorable member for North Sydney must admit that the present Ministry is a cohesive body with one policy. We do not possess as many policies upon every conceivable subject under the sun. There are members in this House. The combination of honorable members opposite is a peculiar one, which we may allow the public to appraise at its true value. In conclusion, I am satisfied that if the Government are defeated upon the amendment submitted, its members have not brought discredit upon the position which they have held. They vacate office.

without one accusation of administrative failure having been levelled against them. They will relinquish the reins of Government—if they do so—owing to the action of a unique political combination, and simply because they happen to be members of the Labour Party. Under no other conceivable circumstances could such a remarkable union of forces have been effected.

Mr. HUGHES (West Sydney—Minister of External Affairs).—The amendment moved by the honorable and learned member for Corinella on the proposal of the Government to recommit certain clauses has a peculiar merit of being, so far as I know, and, apparently, so far as can be gathered from honorable members, unique in the history of parliamentary government—unique, at any rate, in this country and in Great Britain. Under certain circumstances very little could be urged against its action, but the present circumstances are peculiar. The Government, as the honorable and learned member, and every other honorable member in the House knows very well, have declared that they regard the amendment as vital, not to the measure and to their own existence as an administration. The action of the honorable and learned member, therefore, amounts to an attempt to prevent the Government, whose administration, whose policy, and whose very existence is challenged, from saying one word in their own defence. The honorable and learned member, in advancing some reasons why this clause 48 should not be committed, spoke in comparatively brief terms. When we recall the other occasions on which the House and the Committee have been privileged to hear the honorable and learned member, we can only wonder why he should have been so brief at the present juncture. Then, under circumstances of less importance, he has entertained us at great length. There is about big battalions a virtue which entails even the oratorical efforts of the honorable and learned member. Why, indeed, should the honorable and learned member speak longer than was necessary to declare, in so many set terms, the intentions of that body whose mouth-piece for the time being is, especially since he had to set an example which has been admirably followed by the gentlemen who now sit alongside him, and who have wrapped their sentiments and their ideas in sepulchral silence? The House is asked to decline to recommit

this clause. What is this measure? What is its purport? I think we are entitled to ask ourselves so much. Obviously, it is a Bill to prevent industrial disputes, and it can only take effect provided industrial unions give their allegiance to the main principles of it. The honorable and learned member who has moved this amendment knows that fact well. He and those who support him have, during the passage of this Bill through Committee—a passage of almost unparalleled vicissitude—moved a number of amendments, ostensibly for the good of the measure. Of these, some stand in the Bill to-day; others, happily, have been relegated to the waste paper basket. All alike, however, afford irrefragable evidence of the insincerity of the honorable and learned member and those who supported him. In his present amendment he proposes preventing the Government from having that opportunity which the honorable and learned member, in common with a number of others, solicited, when certain other clauses of the Bill were decided against them, to recommit certain clauses for the purpose of enabling honorable members to once more consider them. The honorable and learned member is denying to the Government that very right which he, and those who sit with him, asked on so very many occasions in reference to numerous clauses. The position, perhaps, is not quite clear to citizens outside the chamber, though it is abundantly clear to every man inside. It is perfectly useless for any man here to attempt to deceive himself; nor ought it to be possible for him to deceive others as to the true position. Those honorable members who vote against the proposed recommitment will stand condemned for having taken a course of action which does effectually prevent the Government from defending itself, and which does most effectually prevent honorable members from setting forth categorically the objections they have to the present Administration—from setting forth in clear, round terms, so that the whole country may know, and if necessary approve, or disapprove, the reasons why they wish to oust the present Administration. The leader of the Opposition, or the leader of one wing of the Opposition, in the beginning of the present régime, treated us to a number of reasons why the present Government should not be allowed to live a day without challenge. Now, however, we have a challenge put forward in an indirect and underhand way, and upon this indirect, circuitous,

and contemptible proposal, the right honorable gentleman has not taken the opportunity to say one word in condemnation of an Administration which he has continuously denounced, because of its lack of capacity and experience, its policy, its programme, and because, in his opinion, it stands for minority government. The right honorable gentleman condemned the Government, in short, on the ground that it imperils representative and good government. Yet, he does not now dare to say one word. The right honorable member is joined on this occasion by his colleague, who was lately his opponent, the honorable and learned member for Ballarat. To that honorable and learned gentleman, who has, during the progress of this discussion, visited the chamber but fitfully, I give credit for this much—that he is unable to be present, and to hear and to feel the full extent of his inconsistency. Lately the honorable and learned member had garlands placed upon his brow for the chivalrous and almost unique heroism which he exhibited in electing to go out of office rather than agree to a certain amendment. The honorable and learned member went out of office, not with our wish.

Mr. McCOLL.—That is all nonsense; we do not believe that.

Mr. POYNTON.—It is perfectly true.

Mr. THOMAS.—Ask the honorable and learned member for Ballarat himself.

Mr. HUGHES.—I say that the honorable and learned member for Ballarat did not go out of office with the wish of the Labour Party. To-day we ask the honorable and learned member to come into the chamber and give honorable members, and the Government, the reasons—some reasons, or any reasons—why he is supporting the honorable and learned member for Corinella on this occasion. Is the honorable and learned member for Ballarat supporting the honorable and learned member for Corinella? I do not think there can be any doubt upon that point. Those pleasant smiles which honorable members on the front opposition benches are endeavouring to hide, with more or less success, would not be seen if they were not quite sure that the honorable and learned member—the chivalrous member—for Ballarat had decided to allow the honorable and learned member for Corinella to fire this gun, while he stands firmly and securely enough behind the hedge. He still retains that mask of fair play towards us, though he does not even grace the chamber with

his presence, and remains ominously silent. This is a Bill to prevent industrial dispute and clause 48 cuts right into its very heart. The Bill will be either a success or failure, according to whether unions take advantage of its provisions or otherwise. I do not know whether honorable members recall some of those glowing phrases with which the honorable and learned member for Ballarat invested his speech on the motion that the measure be read a second time. I cannot imitate them; I have not that fine gift of fluency which distinguishes, and sometimes mars, the matter of the honorable and learned member for Ballarat. But those phrases are embalmed in *Hansard*, and any man who can may read them. The glorious picture of the promised land which was held before the Israelites during their forty years' wandering, is but dull and drab by comparison with that sketched to this country by the honorable and learned member for Ballarat in his forecast of the result of the measure. A land flowing with milk and honey was opened out to our gaze. The honorable and learned member said that this was a measure which he had received from his colleague, the right honorable and learned member for Adelaide, and that heartily did he approve of it that he had not found it necessary or desirable to make any amendment other than a few verbal and trifling alterations. Yet the honorable and learned member for Ballarat stands to-day, absolutely voting against the principle upon the insertion of which the success of the measure entirely depends. I shall deal more categorically with the honorable and learned member in a moment. In the meantime I wish to quote a few phrases which the honorable and learned member used in reference to this phase of the matter. He said it was not necessary to make any amendment. He so heartily approved of the measure as framed by his right honorable colleague, upon whose legislation all the Acts dealing with industrial conciliation and arbitration throughout Australasia had been framed, that he did not find it necessary to make any amendments at all. I ask whether the very heart of the measure, as framed by the right honorable member for Adelaide, was not the principle of preference to unionists? If it was not, if it is immaterial, a trifling matter, let the honorable and learned gentleman say so now. Let him say so after all this thundering which has been delivered from the

hes against preference to claiming that it would ins of a free people, that it ay the privilege of non-e a share in the bounteous vation—which was to fol- kable measure. Let the learned gentleman say ough in the opinion of bers opposite preference going to do all this, it is ing, not the kernel of the mere tassel on its very lenge the honorable and an to deny that there principles in the measure, compulsion and the other ionists. Without compul- e fails, without preference The honorable and learned declaring that the draft- ure, founded as it is upon n which the Arbitration alasia have been based, he could find no room at and no necessity for ehind the honorable and for Corinella, and intends nt a re-discussion of this in the Bill. This is the earned gentleman's chivalry, inauguration of a new era which a man shall retire welcome his successors as have not sought office. This fair play. I say that since as introduced we have not ce of fair play from the from the honorable and for Ballarat. Some honor- ave opposed preference to , others have done so in an covert fashion. Some honor- ave always been opposed to and we cannot object to to it now. But there are members who have pre- this measure the promise of Australia, who have pro- re that it would make this sed land. They, too, stated give to this Administration air play; and yet now when or generous treatment, but fair play which is extended in the dock being tried for ence, the honorable and r for Ballarat slaps us . He has not the courage elf, but he gets some other

person to do it, and he says nothing. That is fair play! I declare emphatically that clause 48 is one of the essential parts of the measure. If compulsion is the heart of the measure, preference to unionists is the lungs which oxidize the blood. Without it the measure must become stagnant and useless, and inevitably fall into decrepitude and decay. And the honorable and learned member for Ballarat, who has said that the measure of the right honorable member for Adelaide required no amendment, now votes against the principle without which the whole thing must fall into decay. The honorable and learned gentleman sits there and not one word have we heard from him to justify this most amazing, this unexampled, this treacherous change of front. He says very little now. There is a wisdom in silence which, had the honorable and learned gentleman learnt it earlier, would have served his purpose admirably to-day. Had he been silent when he spoke, or had he spoken when he remained silent, he would have commended himself more to the people of Australia than he has done. But his eloquence and his inconsistency have been his undoing. The honorable and learned gentleman has promised much, and he has done nothing. He said—

Speaking for those whom I have had the honour of consulting to-day, and who, I should inform you, sir, have paid me the honour of electing me their leader, I am charged to extend to the Government the assurance that the Opposition propose to extend to them the utmost fair play. We feel that the tasks which they have shouldered merit forbearance, and we hope that they will receive it.

"We hope that they will receive it."

Sir JOHN FORREST.—There was too much generosity that time.

Mr. WATSON.—We expected that from the right honorable member.

Mr. HUGHES.—There is the expression of a hope which has borne dead sea fruit. We have had more fair play from honorable members who have opposed us openly than we have had from the honorable and learned gentleman. The country is now asked to believe that these gentlemen are sincere, and earnestly desire to improve the Bill—and may believe it if it does not know the truth—and honorable members opposite are relying upon this, knowing that the press will not give publicity to the facts—

Mr. WATSON.—Hear, hear. No reports. Despicable journalism.

Mr. HUGHES.—Here, for the first time in the history of the world, the Labour

Party have had an opportunity to administer the public Departments. For three months we have been in office, and, as the honorable and learned gentleman said, we have shouldered its responsibilities. Let the honorable and learned gentleman say whether we have failed in carrying out any one of those responsibilities. But let any honorable member say so fairly, and not in this contemptible back-handed fashion. If we were accused openly, we might fight our opponents fairly, but we have not the chance to do so. The House is asked to believe that honorable members opposite are actuated in this matter by the most patriotic and honorable motives. I wish to deal with those who profess to believe that the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill now before the House is in no danger in the hands of the honorable members opposite. Let us see who sit opposite. Amongst them are one or two honorable members who have committed themselves to the principle of compulsory conciliation and arbitration; some by words, others by actions, and others by hustings pledges, which, unfortunately for them, they cannot go back upon. They are committed to stand by this great principle. I propose to deal with those honorable members. There is my friend the honorable member for Robertson. He believes in this principle.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—In what principle?

Mr. HUGHES.—In the principle of compulsory arbitration. Does the honorable member wish to withdraw that?

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—I have never said so.

Mr. HUGHES.—The honorable member has never said so! All I have to say to that is that the honorable member supported the principle on the second reading of the Bill, and he has never raised his voice against it. He has voted consistently in favour of it, and I recollect that he voted for the inclusion of the railway servants.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—That is the only thing I did. I said that I would do so, and I kept my promise.

Mr. HUGHES.—Quite so. Here is an extraordinary situation. The honorable member has had many hours and many days in which to explain his position, but until I make this remark, he does not think it worth while to break through the fetters by which he has been bound in common with other honorable members sitting opposite, not by a decision given in a caucus

in which all men are free to speak, and bound only by the decision of the majority, but where one man's voice and one man's eye swamps all their names. Now the honorable member wishes under cover of interjection to get in a speech which is yet ample opportunity for him to deliver.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—I kept a promise which I gave.

Mr. HUGHES.—I will deal with the honorable member. He claims that he never said that he was in favour of compulsory conciliation and arbitration. I voted to include the railway men. I, the honorable member mean to say he voted to include the railway men in principle and in a measure in which does not believe?

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—I assisted around the Bill that was carried on second reading.

Mr. HUGHES.—Why the honorable member signed the railway men's platform?

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—I made a pledge, and I kept it.

Mr. HUGHES.—The honorable learned member, or I should say the honorable and unfortunate member, signed a pledge of the railway men's platform.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—Let the honorable and learned member produce it.

Mr. WATSON.—We can produce it.

Mr. HUTCHISON.—Does the honorable member deny it?

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—Let the honorable and learned member produce the pledge. I say he cannot produce it.

Mr. SPEAKER.—I must ask the honorable member for Robertson not to interrupt. He will be at liberty to speak when he pleases, later, but he is not at all to interrupt the Minister of External Affairs.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—Produce the pledge.

Mr. KELLY.—I rise to a point of order. Are we discussing clause 48 of the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill, or the question whether certain honorable members have signed a pledge concerning a matter not under discussion at the present time?

Mr. SPEAKER.—I understand the argument of the Minister of External Affairs to be that the measure under discussion depends upon two principles, its being compulsory and its containing preference for unionists, and that these two principles are inseparable. The honorable and learned gentleman is, therefore, well within

ing those principles in con-
amendment which deals
m.

S.—It is an admirable il-
were needed, of the truth
een saying, and of the an-
le members opposite not to
and not to face the issue,
gh I say something which
arrow limits of the motion
House, we have an honor-
o desires to further restrict
the House to say what is
the honorable member for
onnexion with clause 48,
en his name at the foot
like that which I hold in
iving given his solemn and
se, at a public meeting or
ote for it?

WILLIS.—I did not sign the
hich the honorable and
refers, nor did I say at
g that I would sign it. I
hich the honorable and
cannot produce.

LYNE.—What about the
now?

ES.—I have to deal with a
orable members, of whom
member for Robertson is one
ffenders, and therefore, as
I hope that I may be per-
inue without interruption.
asked if he was in favour
Conciliation and Arbitration
ould apply to public ser-
en he said in a letter, or
way—

WILLIS.—The honorable
ember does not know what

ALD.—We have the letter;
le member cannot deny it.

ES.—Did the honorable
a promise, either in writing,
way?

WILLIS.—I voted for the

ES.—At the time the honor-
made the promise to support
as there not in it clause 48, as
e the proviso of the honor-
ed member for Corinella was
The honorable member
mitted himself by a definite
port that clause. The honor-
face proves that he has a
d it is pricking him now, so

that he cannot sit quiet any longer. He will
not allow his leader to any longer bind his
tongue. And when I have finished, he
will have his opportunity. Having voted
to include the railway servants in the Bill,
which provided for giving them preference
if they were unionists, he is now about to
vote against a motion to allow of the re-
discussion of this clause. The party with
whom he will vote cannot have a greater
majority than two, and to secure that ma-
jority, the honorable and learned member
for Angas, the honorable and learned mem-
ber for Wannon, the honorable member for
North Sydney, the honorable member for
Kooyong, the honorable member for Flin-
ders, the honorable member for Wilmot,
the honorable member for Grampians, the
honorable member for Gippsland, the hon-
orable member for Oxley, and other hon-
orable gentlemen, all of whom are opposed
to the principles of the Bill, have to be
reckoned. After having solemnly pro-
mised to include the railway servants in a
Bill which gave them preference, under
clause 48, the honorable member for Robert-
son is now about to deliberately prevent
them from getting that preference, and to
cast a vote to slay the measure which he
promised to support.

Mr. McLEAN.—If the honorable and
learned gentleman says that I am an op-
ponent of compulsory arbitration, his state-
ment is not true; and he knows it.

Mr. SPEAKER.—Honorable members
are again distinctly disregarding the Stand-
ing Orders. I have to ask the honorable
member for Gippsland to withdraw the re-
mark that something said by the Minister
of Home Affairs was untrue.

Mr. McLEAN.—I withdraw, in deference
to your ruling, Mr. Speaker; but every
one in this Chamber knows that I have
supported the principle of compulsory arbi-
tration, both in this House and before my
constituents.

Mr. HUGHES.—I am very glad to hear
it. All I can say is that there are various
ways of supporting a measure, and the hon-
orable member has been unfortunate in the
method which he has selected. I withdraw
his name, and substitute for it the name of
the honorable member for New England,
and that of the honorable and learned
member for Parkes.

Mr. SPENCE.—And that of the honorable
member for Lang.

Mr. HUGHES.—The alteration will
salve the honorable member's feelings, and

will suit my purpose very well, since 1 exchange one for three. At the same time, if the honorable member for Robertson will read the speeches of the honorable member for Gippsland to the council of the railway men in his electorate, he will know whether they will believe that in trusting the measure to the hands of so stalwart a supporter he was doing what he promised to do.

Mr. McWILLIAMS.—The railway men do not run Australia.

Mr. HUGHES.—If they do believe that, the honorable member for Robertson will still have to explain why he voted with men like the honorable member for New England and the honorable and learned member for Parkes, who have openly declared that they are opposed to the measure, root and branch. My honorable friend is voting with others to displace a Government whose members are pledged to carry out this principle, and who could not remain in office for twenty-four hours if they dared to do one of the things which honorable members opposite are doing every day. The honorable member for Robertson could not have got the votes of the railway men in his electorate if he had not pretended that he was in favour of bringing them within the scope of the Bill. I ask him, then, if he is voting as he said he would vote? Is he voting as his constituents, whom he is deceiving and abandoning, whom he is sacrificing on the altar of party and self-seeking, thought he would vote? Self-seeking is a characteristic which marks, with one exception, those who sit on the front Opposition bench; and as it required more than one righteous man to save the cities of old, so I think it will take more than one to leaven such a lump as I now see before me. I come now to the honorable member for South Sydney, who is most appropriately sitting next to the honorable member for Robertson. He is in favour of the measure. He has voted for it, and believes in its principles. He got the support of the railway men, and cast a vote to allow them to be included in the measure. Unless he gets their votes at the next elections, he cannot be returned to this Parliament. No man knows better than he does that what I say is perfectly true; that he must justify his conduct to those whom he promised to include in a measure which provides for preference to unionists. He never ventured to raise his voice against that principle when before his constituents. He must justify to them the fact that he is

voting with a party having only a majority of two, and composed of at least thirty members who are against the measure, and branch. The honorable and learned member for Wannon has had the politeness and pluck to say that he is opposed to it. He did not creep and cower for the votes of the unionists, and he told the House that he was opposed to the measure, lock, stock, and barrel. There be thirteen of these amiable individuals in the majority against the Government, the honorable member for South Sydney proposes to vote with them, in order to get the Government out of office, and to prevent the railway men from getting what he promised to secure for them. Yet we do not hear a word from him and other honorable members in explanation of this amazing change of front. In some Eastern countries, those who are suspected of crime are required to walk before the detection and are given a mouthful of rice. Guilty parties, whose lips are parched with fear, caused by the consciousness of guilt, cannot secrete sufficient saliva to chew grain, and thereby stand condemned. The honorable members opposite are unable to raise their voices to explain why they have thus changed their plans. They either cannot or dare not speak.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—I could speak for hours in defence of my attitude; but the Government wish to be kept here another week?

Mr. HUGHES.—The honorable member may be able to speak for hours; but if he could speak for years he could not expiate his present conduct. He has in another place a colleague who once spoke several hours at a stretch, and it was probably difficult for the honorable member to beat him; but if the honorable member were gifted with ten times that power of speech, he could not explain away the simple fact that he now proposes to vote with thirteen opponents of the measure to secure a majority of two against the Government.

Mr. KING O'MALLEY.—Thirteen is a devil's number.

Mr. McWILLIAMS.—The honorable and learned gentleman is not the absolute judge of other honorable members. There is another tribunal.

Mr. HUGHES.—I am his accuser, and he is his judge. His constituents are his judges.

Mr. KELLY.—Why does not the honorable and learned gentleman speak to his constituents?

Mr. WATSON.—We shall do so.

Mr. HUGHES.—Honorable members not be afraid that the Government will make an appeal to the judges of all. We do not appeal to men who have first put their hands, and then, abashed and ashamed of their tactics, keep their own mouths closed. We shall not appeal to the people outside, who, in spite of everything, have that sense of fair play which always brings home to those who violate its principles the consequences of their wrong-doing.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—I have violated no principle.

Mr. HUGHES.—The honorable member has broken his pledge; he has abandoned his trust. He proposes to betray those upon whom he has gained a credulous belief he got into Parliament.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—I do not.

Mr. HUGHES.—From such a galaxy of members presented by honorable members opposite, I hesitate whom to select. Take the honorable member for Parramatta, who in the whole of this discussion has said nothing. There is wisdom, the wisdom of the serpent, of Satan himself; because what he had said would have exposed him to the inevitable consequences of his inconstancy. The honorable member is opposed to preference to unionists. He is intrinsically in favour of excluding trade unions from the discussion of politics. He is barely, without any provocation at all, tempted to vote against the modification which the Government accepted from the honorable and learned member for Ringwood. He is against allowing unions even to register under clause 62. Yet everything that that honorable member has ever achieved in public life, the position he holds in public life to-day, he owes to unionism. If there is in this Parliament a man who should vote against the attempt of the honorable and learned member for Corio to prevent the discussion of this measure, it is the honorable member for Parramatta, who, by virtue of his past history, of the virtue of the faithful and unswerving glance that has been given him by those whom he now proposes to throw over, should support the principles of the Bill.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The Minister is a bad judge of loyalty.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Was not the honorable member for Parramatta once the leader of the Labour Party in New South Wales?

Mr. HUGHES.—The honorable member was in the New South Wales Parliament at the time when the Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Bill was under discussion. That Bill contained a clause which gave preference to unionists without qualification of any kind. The honorable member then had an opportunity to express his opinion with regard to that principle. Did he then vote against preference to unionists, or say one word against it? No, he covered the Bill with eulogy, and said it was an admirable measure.

Mr. WEBSTER.—He was then dependent upon the miners of Lithgow.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—He depends on them now, and will get their support. The honorable member need make no mistake about that.

Mr. HUGHES.—No doubt the honorable member will obtain a lot of support from them; but there is one thing he can never do. He can never rid himself of the fact that he proposes now to throw over those very people upon whose shoulders he has climbed up. Why, the honorable member who now has nothing but contempt to pour upon the Labour Party climbed into political life on their shoulders. He was the leader of the first Labour Party in the New South Wales Parliament, and stood by the principle of compulsory arbitration thirteen years ago.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The Minister is quite wrong.

Mr. HUGHES.—I am quite right, and no mere word of the honorable member will make me quite wrong.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Then why did the Labour Party rub me out ten years ago? Because I would not sign the party pledge.

Mr. HUGHES.—If that be an answer to what I have said, the Deity Himself might stand condemned, because He has not destroyed Satan. The honorable member, with his wiles, and his turns, and his tricks, and his subterfuges, and his appeals for votes—

Mr. SPEAKER.—I must ask the Minister to withdraw his last remarks. They are quite unparliamentary as applied to the conduct of an honorable member.

Mr. HUGHES.—Very well, I withdraw them. The honorable member, by those methods which are known to him and to those like him, has managed to temporarily evade the consequences of his sins. There stands behind him a press, without whose aid he could never for a moment hope to

come into Parliament again. What did he say in the New South Wales Parliament in 1899 with regard to the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill?—

The Bill was intended to recognise trade unions—its basis was the recognition of trade unions—therefore, it seemed to him we would not depart from the spirit of the measure by making it penal for an employer to discharge any employé simply because he was a trade unionist.

He moved an amendment to clause 26, which was intended to encourage trade unionism, and that was agreed to. He said—

The introduction of the Bill indicates a distinct step away from the regions of prejudice, of irritation, and of bad feeling, and towards those ideals of justice and reason, which we hope will eventually dominate our economical life. May I say, too, that it seems to me that this proposal means for labour (organized labour particularly) a more honorable place and recognition than it has hitherto received. . . . The Bill seems to me to make distinctly in the direction of peace—not of peace at any price—but of peace with honour to both sides. . . . The Bill will lay the foundation of a steady, busy, and prosperous future for all those engaged in our industrial occupations.

The honorable member will wish before very long, that it is merely my finger, and not the ballot-paper, that is being pointed against him.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I absolutely do not care about the honorable and learned member, or anything he can do.

Mr. HUGHES.—In the honorable member's district a union recently appealed to the New South Wales Arbitration Court, and obtained preference. That preference was secured under circumstances which the honorable member is now proposing to render impossible under this Bill. The honorable member assented to this measure during the last Parliament, and to the principles underlying it in the 1899 Parliament of New South Wales, and yet he now proposes to vote against the Bill, and even against giving honorable members an opportunity to discuss it, because his leader has decided that he must do so. Some honorable members speak about the tyranny of the caucus. What caucus? The honorable member for Parramatta, when he was in our caucus, at any rate—

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I never was in the Minister's caucus.

Mr. HUGHES.—The honorable member was in a caucus.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—That is untrue.

Mr. THOMAS.—It is quite true. If the honorable member had not been offered the

position of Postmaster-General in South Wales he would have been a member of the Labour Party to-day.

Mr. SPEAKER.—Order. The honorable member for Parramatta has stated a remark made by the Minister untrue, and I must ask him to withdraw the expression. At the same time, I say that there was some provocation offered and I think the Minister will do well to avoid any reference to caucuses.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I absolutely withdraw my remark, Mr. Speaker, and I wish to say that no one knows better than the Minister that what he is saying is absolutely incorrect.

Mr. HUGHES.—All I know is that the honorable member was the leader of Labour Party in New South Wales in 1890 Parliament, and that the party then governed by caucus, as it ever been.

Mr. THOMAS.—The honorable member was offered the position of Postmaster-General in the New South Wales Government—

Mr. KING O'MALLEY.—Did he get the billet?

Mr. THOMAS.—Yes; and he would have been with us to-day but for that.

Mr. HUGHES.—It is very extraordinary that the honorable member for Parramatta who has always been recognised by his low unionists as a man to be relied on in matters of trade unionism, and from whose speeches in the New South Wales Parliament when the measure upon which this is founded was under discussion, I read extracts, should now propose to vote against the very principles of the measure and to vote against even affording honorable members an opportunity to discuss it, and should, at the same time, not think it worth while to get up here and explain why he has changed his opinion, why he has abandoned his principles. Very likely the honorable members opposite will yet say that it is advisable to say a few words in order to explain, or to excuse, if they do not explain, their very extraordinary conduct. They have set us an admirable example of silence, and they would have been very glad if we had closed our mouths as well as they have closed their own. We are not to be denied some opportunity of pointing out to the people of this country exactly the position occupied by the honorable members. I accuse the honorable member for Parramatta, who, as I

been a trade union official—if I have wronged him, I apologize—

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I do not want the Minister's apologies.

Mr. HUGHES.—He has been a member of the Labour Party—if I have done an injustice I apologize. He has led the Labour Party of New South Wales, and has always been in favour of the principle of compulsory arbitration.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK. — I was connected with the Labour Party in which the Minister did not believe at all.

Mr. HUGHES.—The honorable member is wrong. I did believe in the Labour Party, but I did not believe in the honorable member. I stood upon the same platform as the Labour Party, and the difference between myself and the honorable member is that I have adhered to it, but he has abandoned it. If the honorable member will consider where he was in 1890, and where he stands now, he will see that between the two positions there is a chasm as wide as hell, a chasm that cannot be bridged by empty excuses he now seeks to make. I can justify to the deluded men in his district his vote in support of a party which has thirteen honorable members who have opposed tooth and nail to the whole principle of the Bill. Let him explain it if he can.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Terrible!

Mr. MAHON.—It is terrible for the honorable member.

Mr. HUGHES.—I believe that the honorable member for Lang is against the principle of the Bill. I include him as an addendum, and that brings the number of the opponents of the measure up to fifteen. The number is none the less lucky because it is fourteen instead of fifteen. There are fourteen men who are opposed to this measure, lock, stock, and barrel, and yet the honorable member for Manawarra proposes to bring them into the Bill. At the same time, he will try to persuade those credulous and unhappy men in his district that he is still in favour of compulsory arbitration, and that he would give them preference. If he succeeds, he will achieve a great victory. If he stands alone and had not the advantages of the pocket and the press behind him, he would never do it. The right honorable gentleman at the head of one of the sections of the Opposition says that, if he comes into the Bill, he will take up the Bill where it was dropped, and will go on with it. I think

we may well accept that statement without qualification. The right honorable gentleman would go on with anything. I want to put a question to the honorable member for Dalley, the only representative of New South Wales in the Opposition who had sufficient courage to emancipate himself even temporarily from the shackles of that caucus, of that party discipline, which is iron in its nature, rigid and unyielding, and which seems to deaden and paralyze even the brightest and most virile of the members of that party. The honorable member has told us that he intends to vote against the Government, because we are not prepared to restore the clause to its original form, but propose rather to insert an amendment, which we consider will have the effect that we desire. Although he candidly admits that the amendment carried on the motion of the honorable member for Corinella really destroys the Bill, he intends to vote against the motion for the recommitment of the clause. In these circumstances I wish to know whether, if the right honorable member for East Sydney comes into power, and, takes up this measure, and we move the recommitment of the clause, the honorable member will vote for us or against us? Will he vote to recommit the clause or not? That is a conundrum. I leave him to think over the question. The honorable member who believes in compulsory arbitration, who has given us a generous support, and has been the only member of the Opposition to give us that fair play which we were promised, is now pledged to support a party comprising fourteen persons, who are opposed to this principle, and would not have it at any price. Incidentally, I may add that that party is opposed to every plank in the platform on which he stood at the last election, and on which, indeed, he has stood during the whole of his parliamentary career. How is he to explain his inconsistency to his electors? I have nothing more to say to the honorable member. Up to the present he has given us good support; but now, at the eleventh hour, he finds himself, I suppose, like the one solitary animal upon whom the clanging doors of the ark were about to close, anxious to get inside with the indescribables. He proposes to go with them, and to abandon that line of consistent conduct which he has hitherto courageously pursued. I shall now deal with the other members of the Opposition, but shall except from my criticism the

honorable member for Moira, who is the only one in the party in favour of the principle of compulsory arbitration, whose attitude on this clause I can understand. He has explained it, and I am perfectly satisfied with his explanation.

Mr. MALONEY.—He was man enough to speak.

Mr. HUGHES.—He is, apparently, the only man who has the courage to say anything on the point. Others who are in favour of the principle, but are going to kill it, have not had the courage to utter one solitary word on this motion. The honorable member for Moira, however, has never professed to regard this measure from our stand-point. Compared with the tumultuous eloquence of the honorable member for South Sydney, the honorable member for Parramatta, and the honorable member for Robertson, his speeches have never suggested that he is so enthusiastic a supporter of the principle as we are; yet, he has mustered up enough courage to explain why he proposes to take a certain course. The explanation is this: that he is the only man who is not dragged at the chariot wheels of the party. He has taken up his present attitude because of principle, and of principle alone. I, of course, exclude from my criticism of the Opposition those who are opposed to the principle of the Bill. I can understand their attitude, and have no objection to the course which they propose to take. My objection is to those who are in favour of the principle, but yet propose to kill it, although they have not the courage to openly do so. Let us consider the Government proposition. We propose that before preference shall be granted to the members of an organization, it shall be shown that the organization substantially represents the industry affected. The honorable member for Dalley said that he could not regard such a provision as satisfactory, and that the introduction of the words "substantially represents," would have the effect of limiting, if not of destroying altogether the usefulness of the Bill. I wish to emphasize the point that the proviso which we seek to insert in place of that carried on the motion of the honorable and learned member for Corinella embodies the practice which has been adopted in the New South Wales Arbitration Court, and which has been found there to work admirably. Further, it has secured the indorsement of the late Attorney-General of New South Wales,

Mr. B. R. Wise, in whom the honorable and learned member for Ballarat professed a little while ago to fully believe. Mr. Wise, who framed the New South Wales Conciliation and Arbitration Bill, and whose judgment and knowledge of this matter the late Prime Minister professes to have the greatest confidence, is in favour of the proviso which we seek to insert. The honorable and learned member for Ballarat, in moving the second reading of the Bill, on 22nd March last, said—

I am perfectly certain that the quotation of the right honorable member for Adelaide for Acting Premier of New South Wales was a rate, and I venture to take the latter as the authority in New South Wales. . . .

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—We do not think it is the best authority in New South Wales.

Mr. DEAKIN.—If my honorable friends were more impartial they would. In New Zealand, New South Wales, where Arbitration Courts have been employed, we have not found any objection to capital or employment. On the contrary, we have found in both countries a gratifying advance.

Mr. WATSON.—With preference.

Mr. HUGHES.—Yes. The honorable and learned member continued—

The experience is short, I admit—it is final—but so far as it goes it is entirely in favour.

After eulogizing the principle of preference which Mr. B. R. Wise introduced in the New South Wales Conciliation and Arbitration Bill, and which he asked this House through the Government, to adopt, the honorable and learned member for Ballarat, advocate of fair play, the believer in the principle, the new Messiah who was going to lead us into the land of Canaan, is against it. He favours the honorable learned member for Corinella's amendment, which, in nine cases out of ten, would prevent a preference being granted, and at the same time, he would hopelessly shut any opportunity to discuss it. What is the meaning of the words "substantially represents," and in what respect do they differ from the words "a majority," which are embodied in the clause as amended? A majority is a definite fixed quantity, and in every many cases is practically incapable of proof. It leaves no discretion to the Court, whereas the words "substantially represents" would give a discretion to the honorable and learned member for Ballarat says that we are to trust the Court was he who originated that phrase, and now proposes to hedge about the action of the Court with this iron bond of restriction.

is is an evidence of his giv-
ment and the Bill fair play.
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om the point of view of the
right honorable member for
as said that we have sold
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of such a party, is at any
any significance which it
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Mr. Justice Cohen, who,
mplicitly, is an impartial
authority on whom we may
liance. In dealing with a
by the Hotel Club Cate-
aurant Employers' Union
J. Adams, he said—

ing one way or the other, but in
s it would be far better, if the
is being unduly used as a means
harassing employers, that the
assisted by evidence of that.
in this particular case, because
but from general statements I
that this preference clause is
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wn knowledge what I read, time
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jection could not be taken.

these: that in New South
ce to unionists, without qua-
than that which the Court
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cation which the Court has
which we seek to provide for
mely, that preference shall
a union substantially repre-
y. I come now to the ques-
ionists do substantially re-
ades in which unionism can
oppose to quote some figures,
ghlan's *Statistical Register*,
effectually dispose of the
in New South Wales the
minority. They show that the
workers in New South Wales
3,592, and that in callings

where no unions are to be found there are
301,660 persons engaged. That leaves a
balance of 121,932 persons who can come
within the operation of this clause. The
registered unions under the Conciliation and
Arbitration Act of New South Wales repre-
sent 62,384, leaving 59,548 persons outside
unions in callings where unions exist. These
figures conclusively show that the unionists
substantially represent those persons engaged
in callings in which unionism exists in New
South Wales.

Mr. KELLY.—If the unions have a
majority in New South Wales, there can be
no objection to the clause as it stands.

Mr. WATSON.—How could the possession
of a majority be proved?

Mr. KELLY.—The honorable and learned
member has just proved it.

Mr. WATSON.—But how could it be
proved to the satisfaction of the Court?

Mr. HUGHES.—Some unions may
contain not only a majority of the
employés who are engaged in a par-
ticular industry, but the whole of them,
whilst others may comprise only a minority.
By no twist of imagination can it be said
that a minority of employés "substantially
represents" any industry, except where it
operates within a district. For example, a
number of workmen in a particular industry
may constitute a majority of those so en-
gaged within a district, but they will
constitute a minority within a State.
That is what occurred in the case
of the Saddlers' Union, which was
cited by the honorable and learned member
for Wannon. He declared that the Union
in question represented only a minority of
those engaged in the industry. As a matter
of fact, the award of the Court was in
favour of the saddlers who represented a
majority of those engaged in the trade
within the district in which the award was
made operative. These constituted a minor-
ity of the employés engaged in that indus-
try within the State, but a majority within
that particular district. The use of the
words "substantially represents" would
vest the Court with some discretion, whereas
the employment of the words "a majority"
would confer upon it no discretion. Fur-
ther, it would be practically impossible to
demonstrate that even within a small area
an organization represented a majority of
the employés in any particular industry, but
within the extended area, which would be
covered by a Federal Arbitration Act, it
would be doubly so. I do not know that I

need say any more. I am satisfied to have placed before this House and the country the position taken up by a number of honorable members who support the amendment of the honorable and learned member for Corinella. Those who declare that they are in favour of this Bill, and who are yet committed to a course of action which is diametrically opposed to their professions—in many cases to their actions—will sooner or later have to answer to the electors, whom they have deceived. Those honorable members who are determined not to give this Government an opportunity to defend itself, and to justify its existence by permitting a discussion upon the merits of its policy or administration, will sooner or later reap the reward of their own narrow-minded and underhanded methods. I venture to think that before many weeks have passed those who adopt such a course of action will bitterly regret that they did not face this question fairly and as men. The blow which they strike to-day will—if it be effective—prove their undoing. They propose to strike with the stiletto of the bravo, instead of coming out and fighting with the broadsword of the soldier. They intend to do something which they are incapable and undesirous of justifying. I venture to assert that when they are sitting upon the Ministerial side of the House they will bitterly regret having introduced into this Parliament, where decent politics and decent behaviour have hitherto been the rule, methods which are unworthy of a parish vestry, unworthy of any body of public men in the Empire, and which have never been resorted to in the great mother of Parliaments. In spite of all the provocation, in spite of all the fury of animosity which has been lashed to the wildest heights in the House of Commons, that body has never descended to the contemptible depths to which honorable members opposite have resorted. They have inaugurated a new era. It is the singular fortune of the honorable and learned member for Ballarat that, after having covered himself with temporary glory by resigning his position as Prime Minister when defeated upon a detail of this Bill, he should have lent himself to a base, treacherous, and indefensible action.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS (Robertson).—I desire to make a personal explanation. The Minister of External Affairs stated that I have not respected the promises which I made to my constituents upon the Arbitration Bill. I wish to say that all through

my recent campaign I never once referred to the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill, nor was I asked a single question within my election in regard to it, so little was the issue evinced in that measure. I may mention, however, that I did receive a copy of the platform of the Railway League, which was asked to sign. I was informed that I did not sign it its members would conclude that I was not in favour of the inclusion of railway servants within the scope of the Bill. I did not sign the platform. Since the present Government assumed office, I received a further communication asking me if I would support their proposal. I acknowledged the letter, but made no promise. I should like to add that some time ago I wrote a letter to Mr. Hollis—

Mr. THOMAS.—Was that before the election or after it?

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—It was before the election took place. I informed him that I was in favour of making the Bill applicable to railway servants, and voted in that direction. When I was asked by the leader of the Opposition if I would support a coalition Government, I stated that I would vote in favour of bringing railway servants within the scope of this measure if such a measure were brought forward an Arbitration Bill. I think that my course of conduct has been very consistent, and I claim that I never once deceived my constituents.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK (Parramatta).—Honorable members opposite need have no apprehension whatever that they have drawn the badger. I am not to be frightened into making explanations regarding my position. I merely wish to refer to one or two personal matters which come within the purview of this debate. I crave the permission of the House to refer to the interjection by the honorable member for the Barrier, which has been repeated several times, and which has caused some honorable members to labour under an entire misconception as to my position. I contend that the honorable member who has repeated that interjection is familiar with the whole facts of the case, and is therefore aware that it should never have been made.

Mr. McDONALD.—Explain who made it. The honorable member has accused me of a badger.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Honorable members have accused me of something from the Labour Party to jump

Postmaster-General in the Reid Government more scandalous statement uttered, and I will show in six months I was the Labour Party in the New Parliament. I was not the party, as the Minister of External Affairs has told the House. I was the first leader. After we broke up, we formed another party, adopted a programme on two planks, both of which have been passed into law. I was for some time. Then certainly outside of Parliament with what is known as the Protectionist. The present Prime Minister, the Minister of External Affairs, repeatedly came to the party, and requested us to join the party. I declined to do so, chiefly on the ground that it would destroy my representation. Thereupon they formed another party outside of Parliament, and the Labour Party inside the House of Representatives of a bogus character. Its members at the ensuing election were months later. They endeavored to keep us out of public life by refusing to join the party with the Protectionist. Months after these things had after I had been elected, in the face of their opposition, I was in a position in the Reid Government. At that time I was unattached to any party, was entirely free to accept of any office. The honorable member for the Barrier is familiar with all this, and I complain that he has attempted to misguide the House as to the actual position of affairs. I was of External Affairs. I was also a member of the party with me. That is quite correct. He was never associated with the party. I never signed the party, and, therefore, had nothing to do with it.

—Will the honorable member show how he left the Protectionist

MR. JOSEPH COOK.—In reply to the honorable member, I say that I never belonged to the party. But in my young days, I knew anything about politics, I was foolish enough to

write a letter. At every election that letter is trotted out by a certain newspaper, and headed, "An eloquent tribute to protection," although, according to that same newspaper, everything that I have since written is "Tommy Rot." This afternoon the Minister of External Affairs made a characteristically bitter personal attack. With all kinds of contortions and circus tricks, of which he is such a complete master, he gasconaded round the table, as he has done many times of yore, hurling the most bitter accusations against honorable members upon this side of the House, including myself. All I have to say in reply to the honorable member's threats is that I do not value them at a snap of my fingers. He has made similar accusations before. Rather than resort to the tactics which he adopts for political purposes at election times, I should leave public life for ever. He talks about conscience and straightforward conduct. Why, he does not know the meaning of the terms. He does not keep anything of that kind on the premises. It is not part of his stock-in-trade.

MR. HUGHES.—The honorable member has never kept a solitary pledge made by him during his life.

MR. JOSEPH COOK.—The Minister might just as well say that as anything else. Those people who know him will expect him to make statements of that character without having any concern as to whether they are true. The honorable and learned member simply disports himself on the platform, mountebank that he is, and no one questions anything that he says.

MR. WATSON.—Is that remark not unparliamentary?

MR. SPEAKER.—I ask the honorable member for Parramatta to withdraw the remark.

MR. JOSEPH COOK.—I withdraw the remark, if it is considered unparliamentary.

MR. WATSON.—If it is considered unparliamentary! There is no doubt about that.

MR. JOSEPH COOK.—That interjection comes well from a colleague of a Minister who has been disporting himself as has the Minister of External Affairs.

MR. MAHON.—The honorable member for Parramatta ought to apologize for what he has said.

MR. JOSEPH COOK.—The Minister of External Affairs is, perhaps, a bit disappointed with my attitude in this debate. After his bitter personal attack, I consider

myself absolved from secrecy concerning anything that took place between us over this Bill. The Minister of External Affairs is disappointed because I did not vote with him, though he tried hard to get me to do so, and sent wires to me in New South Wales containing requests to that effect.

Mr. WATSON.—I suppose the Minister of External Affairs took it for granted that the honorable member for Parramatta would support unionists.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—All I have to say is that I know of nothing in the present situation contrary to the spirit and purpose of a genuine trade union. I am as much in sympathy with trade unionism to-day and, perhaps, more so than are a great many honorable members who are so bitterly railing at me from the other side of the House.

Mr. POYNTON.—Does the honorable member believe in the principle of gagging the House? Does he believe in preventing this Bill being recommitted?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I tell the honorable member for Grey that I am not to be baited into making a speech on the merits of the question.

Mr. WATSON.—Why should there not be a speech on the merits of the question?

Mr. POYNTON.—The "badger" has been "drawn."

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The "badger" has not been "drawn"; the honorable member has raised that shout of exultation too soon.

Mr. WATSON.—Has there been a caucus on the question of silence? It looks like it.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I know nothing of any caucus.

Mr. WATSON.—Perhaps it is an order, and not a caucus decision.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I hope honorable members will believe me when I say that the first I heard of the amendment moved by the honorable and learned member for Corinella, was when it was submitted on the floor of the House. I did not know that it was going to be proposed.

Mr. WATSON.—One honorable member has said that a fortnight ago he was asked to take a similar course, and he would not do it.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I hope honorable members will take my solemn assurance that the first I heard of the motion was when it was submitted on the floor of the House, though I will say that, perhaps, we ought to have known of the intention.

Mr. POYNTON.—I have "nothing" after all.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I do not wish to say anything more in reply to the Minister of External Affairs, but that whatever I have done I shall do to my constituents. I shall not have the slightest fear in facing the Minister, that will be necessary, when I come to them, will be to point to what amendment have done in connexion with the reference clause; and it will be up to the Government to justify that misstatement.

Mr. BROWN.—It was the clause that botched it.

Mr. THOMAS.—Did the honorable member for Parramatta endeavor to make the clause a better one?

Mr. WATSON.—That is no gain.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The honorable member for Barrier does not think the clause a better one. As the two proposals very closely approach capacity I can bring to bear on the clause that the amendment which the honorable member desires to move will make the clause better, but very much worse. I now to say that, I fear that the Minister of External Affairs as I have always feared the honorable gentleman has threats ever since he came in, but, if he will look after his constituents, he will have quite enough to do out giving his attention to the clause of other honorable members.

Mr. JOHNSON (Lang).—I wish to make a personal explanation of my speech. I had no desire to refer to the Minister of External Affairs in my speech, and that is the reason I present opportunity to refer to him which he then made. The Minister of having all along been opposed to this Bill, lock, stock, and barrel, I have frequently denied that, and explained very clearly. I am not opposed to the question of arbitration and conciliation, but I am opposed to this particular clause, and I consider it a denial of the right of all—a denial of the right of the people to live. I simply wish to make a motion, so that any misapprehension may be removed. My present time is perfectly good, and the position I have taken is

AS (Barrier).—I should also
ord or two, by way of per-
son. If I have done the hon-
for Parramatta an injustice,
of an opportunity to with-
ment I made. What I said
believed that if the honorable
Parramatta had not been ap-
ster-General by the right
ber for East Sydney, when
s Premier of New South
4, the honorable member
en with the Labour Party

COOK.—That is not what the
ber said.

AS.—What I said was that,
if the honorable member for
l not been offered the office
General in New South Wales,
been with the Labour Party

—Is such value placed on a
ition?

AS.—It seems there are some
anything to become Prime
Australia, at any rate. I may
reason I came to the conclu-

ER.—I really cannot see what
h happened in eighteen hun-
or other has to do with this
ad heard the interjection of
member for Barrier, which
ed to, I should certainly have
withdrawal, on an objection
y the honorable member for
Unfortunately, I did not hear
to the interjection, and the
withdrawn. In any case, the
h the honorable member for
rring is entirely irrelevant to
before us. The honorable
titled to make a personal ex-
ch he may complete, if he has
one so; but I ask him not to
ne of the House by retailing
old events beyond what is
essary to a personal explana-

AS.—I do not intend to oc-
an two minutes, and my re-
tically a personal explanation.
ry sorry, indeed, to make any
ences to the honorable mem-
matta that are uncalled for;
sh to place before honorable
asons why I interjected. In
rable member for Parramatta
or Lithgow in the New South

Wales Parliament, and was supposed to be
a member of the Labour Party. I did not
enter the New South Wales Parliament until
1894. A certain number of the members
of the Labour Party, including the member
for Parramatta, Mr. Alfred Edden, Mr.
Gardiner, Mr. J. B. Nicholson, and several
others, disagreed in reference to a pledge.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—All but two.

Mr. THOMAS.—Practically all of
those members are now back with the
Labour Party. The honorable member for
Parramatta, who was at that time offered
the office of Postmaster-General, is practi-
cally the only one who has remained away
from that party.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—That is not so.

Mr. LONSDALE.—What the honorable
member for Barrier says is not true.

Mr. SPEAKER.—The honorable mem-
ber for New England knows that the re-
mark he has made is unparliamentary, and I
ask him to withdraw it.

Mr. LONSDALE.—I withdraw the remark,
and will say that what the honorable mem-
ber for Barrier asserts is not correct.

Mr. THOMAS.—As I say, all those
members of the Labour Party have since
returned to their allegiance; and some of
us have thought, from that time to the pre-
sent, that there was a strong probability
that, if the honorable member for Parra-
matta had not been made Postmaster-
General, he would have been found with
the Labour Party to-day. However, if it
be true that that appointment made no dif-
ference to the honorable member, and that
there were other reasons for his withdrawal
from the Labour Party, I am prepared to
accept his denial; and I can only regret
that for a number of years I have misun-
derstood him to that extent. As regards
the matter under discussion at the present
moment, I am rather surprised at the action
of the honorable and learned member for
Ballarat.

Mr. SPEAKER.—I understood the hon-
orable member for Barrier to rise to make
a personal explanation. If that be so, he
cannot continue from that explanation into
a speech on the question before us. Had
I known the honorable member desired to
make a speech, I should have been obliged
to see the honorable and learned member
for Ballarat, who rose first. Do I under-
stand that the honorable member for Bar-
rier desires now to make a speech?

Mr. THOMAS.—If I sit down now, have
I lost my right to speak afterwards?

Mr. SPEAKER.—The honorable member has certainly not lost his right to speak later.

Mr. DEAKIN (Ballarat).—The speech last night of the Attorney-General, one of the members of the Government whom I respect, decided me to offer a few remarks in reply to the observations which he then addressed to this Chamber in a fashion worthy of its traditions. The Minister, who has just resumed his seat, told us truthfully at the close of his remarks that a new era is being introduced to which our past of decent behaviour and decent debate is to give place. And he has, himself, inaugurated the new era. I regret to find the Federal Parliament, its Ministry, and this debate lowered by a tissue of accusations, half of them malevolent and the other half false.

Mr. SPEAKER.—I am sure that the honorable and learned member for Ballarat recognises that he has said what is unparliamentary, and must be withdrawn.

Mr. DEAKIN.—I ask with all respect, sir, that you should further define to me in what I have erred. I said that half the charges made against honorable members were malevolent and the other half were false; some of those charges have already been rebutted by honorable members on this side.

Mr. SPEAKER.—I must ask the honorable and learned member for Ballarat to withdraw the statement. I am sure the parliamentary experience of the honorable and learned member teaches him that to say a speech is malevolent, and, more, to say that a speech, or part of it, is false, is a gross breach of the orders of Parliament; and I think he will see his way to withdraw.

Mr. DEAKIN.—Certainly, sir, if you so direct, though I thought that what I said was in order. To the speech of the Minister for External Affairs I do not propose to make any more than an indirect reply. It happens sometimes to all of us, that as we pass along the streets of the city, we meet men engaged filling dravs with dirt and garbage, and unless one is discreet some of that dust and refuse may drift upon him.

Mr. McDONALD.—They might ask the honorable and learned member to get in.

Mr. DEAKIN.—I have not yet taken my seat beside the honorable member.

Mr. POYNTON.—The honorable and learned member tried to do so.

Mr. DEAKIN.—When it does ha that the dust reaches us, we brush and pass on; that is the proper ment for a speech of the character to we have just listened. The statement made last night by the honorable the torney-General, that the question b us, relating to preferences, had not discussed. In that his memory erred. question of the granting of preferenc the members of organizations was cussed several times, and at great len

Mr. WATSON.—This aspect was no

Mr. DEAKIN.—Various aspects often discussed together, because there one body of members who maint that no preferences should be granted. there was another body of members maintained that they should be gra with conditions. Those aspects were cussed by a number of honorable men in connexion with certain clauses b clause 48 was reached.

Mr. WATSON.—There was not a said about a majority being insisted up

Mr. DEAKIN.—When the hono and learned member for Corinella n his amendment, he not only read it t Committee, but defended it. It was cussed, and was borne in the mind honorable members from that time ward to the close of that debate.

Mr. WATSON.—He spoke for about minutes only.

Mr. DEAKIN.—He spoke for n three-quarters of an hour when he mitted his amendment. He explained elaborately. I have looked it up d the last hour, and have read his sp When the honorable and learned me actually moved his amendment, he immediately after the division which took upon the question of prefere He then moved it in a speech cupying about fifteen lines of *Ham*. That is perfectly true. But, as he his amendment had not been altered, verbally. The absolute feature of the majority requirement—remained he had merely changed a few words al ing its application. In passing may say that I am not sure that by alteration he improved it. But there no real alteration in the proposal which made, which was that a majority guard should be required before preference granted. That question had been generally discussed. To make the course of et quite clear, I may point out again

o sections of opinion in the
ose opposed to all prefer-
se who favoured preference
n. We went to two divisions.
rangers in the gallery who
is debate to-night, and who
e speech of the Minister of
rs, there is not one of them
ose that when we went to a
question of granting prefer-
ers of organizations, I voted
ng of that preference. On
he House has been told, dis-
insinuation—I should say a
hat, in common with other
posed the principle of pre-
was necessary for the com-
scheme.

N.—The honorable and
er is certainly doing that

N.—That is another wriggle
justifiable one. We went
division. Those who be-
granting of preferences
side of the chamber,
th them. Those who were
granting of preferences sat
de, and I voted against them.
question of the granting of
with a condition. I voted
tion. I have never altered
that the imposition of that
wise. We are told that the
ndition proposed by the hon-
rned member for Corinella,
ith that proposed by the Go-
not been properly discussed.
been occupied three days in
true that the Minister who
umed his seat, and the
Home Affairs, have oc-
a portion of their time
ussion of the amendment

But that question we
d still have, ample time
all its phases. The Govern-
nched their own proposal, to
e committed themselves. We
proposal for which we pre-
upon which we are
se our votes. Nothing could
t and plain than the question
and nothing could be more
e opportunity that has been
onsider it.

s.—Nothing could be more

IN.—We have had debates
a Committee, on a series of

important questions, perhaps half a score
of times at least; and I fail to recall an
instance in which any honorable member
has chosen to speak twice, unless, per-
haps, to make a trifling correction. So that
the apparent limitation involved in debat-
ing the question in the House in-
stead of in Committee is a technical
and not a real limitation. It is not a limi-
tation at all according to the usual practice
of Parliament. The House has had an
opportunity to thresh out this question as
searchingly, as fully, as thoroughly, and as
satisfactorily, as it could be even if
we went into Committee. The Attorney-
General urged that the clause proposed by
the honorable and learned member for
Corinella was open to objection, because it
imposed difficulties upon the Court in the
way of interpretation. I admit that it
does. But I say deliberately, without any
hesitation, that it imposes on the Court a
smaller burden than would be imposed by
the clause which the Government have asked
to substitute for it. I see that the Hon-
orable the Minister of External Affairs
admits that.

Mr. WATSON.—The amendment of the
honorable and learned member for Cori-
nella imposes a burden on some one else,
though.

Mr. DEAKIN.—It imposes a less bur-
den on the Court, because it indicates the
line which, in the opinion of Parliament,
the Court should pursue in the granting of
preferences.

Mr. HUGHES.—It states it—not indicates
it.

Mr. DEAKIN.—It indicates it plainly.
It states it, if the honorable member pre-
fers that term.

Mr. WATSON.—It would take twelve
months for an organization to put itself in
line with the rest.

Mr. DEAKIN.—Even if that were true,
the fact that it would take twelve months
for a particular organization to put itself
in line with the rest is no effectual ob-
jection in a measure of this kind. We are
dealing with a scheme which, as I have
discovered in the course of these debates,
is not fairly to be judged—as at first I
thought it might be—from the experience
gained in individual States. As I have
said its drafting strained to the utmost our
constitutional powers, and there are now
continual efforts to overstrain them. The only
direction in which, so far as my conscious-
ness tells me, I have altered the attitude I
took up when first introducing this measure,

has been in consequence of the knowledge gained in listening to these debates and in considering the Bill in detail. It was then I came to perceive immense difficulties—and I indicated them to the Committee several times—in applying common rules and preferences to, it may be, the whole of Australia, or to two or three of its great States, as compared with the difficulties involved in applying those principles in a single State.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—It is a pity the honorable and learned member did not discover those difficulties before the elections.

Mr. DEAKIN.—I discovered everything that, with the knowledge available, it was possible for me to discover. But in connexion with a Bill of this kind, dealing with a subject having the immense complexity which I have often dwelt upon—and bearing in mind the circumstances, with which the House is perfectly familiar, under which I first took charge of it—I venture to say that it is little wonder that the full gravity and seriousness of all the difficulties of applying State experiences, were not appreciated by me in the beginning. Besides, this is the first, though not the last measure of the kind which the Federal Parliament will deal with. We must proceed circumspectly. The granting of preference to unionists is one of the main features of the Bill. The power to grant it remains. That power, according to the Attorney-General last night, was, under the Bill, unconditional. Since then he himself and a number of his colleagues have admitted that, even in the Bill as we proposed it, that grant would not be unconditional, since, as in New South Wales and New Zealand, conditions would be imposed by the Court itself. Consequently the choice is not, as the Attorney-General submitted last night, between an unconditional grant in the original Bill and a conditional grant now. It is simply the difference between conditions to be imposed by the Court, or similar conditions stated plainly on the face of the Bill. Consequently the difference has simply to be measured between the two conditions before us. My Government never asked for, and this Government never stated that they were asking for, the granting of an unconditional power of preference. This Government elsewhere in this Bill—as the honorable and learned member for Darling Downs last night claimed in connexion with this clause—made concessions. But the honorable and learned member for Darling Downs for

the moment overlooked the fact that Prime Minister had distinctly stated in regard to these that he had made no concessions, because he simply consented to the practice—the necessary practice—of Courts to be put in plain language upon the face of the clause, instead of it being to be added afterwards by the Courts. In connexion with the giving of sufficient power to allow those who wish to oppose a rule of preference, the Prime Minister defended himself against the charge that he was rendering anything to Opposition critics by pointing out that these requirements were already implicitly contained in the Bill, that he was merely making them explicit.

Mr. WATSON.—It was a mere understandable fear of the Court on the part of the honorable members opposite that led to the safeguards being asked for.

Mr. DEAKIN.—It was simply a desire that Parliament should distinctly and definitely indicate its view, so that it might be incorporated in the Bill. Consequently the question now before us is surrounded by no obscurity whatever, and by no difficulty. The condition which the honorable and learned member for Corinella advocates is that the principle of majority shall be applied to industrial affairs when preference is asked for. I do not say that the principle is to be applied by means of a referendum, but some honorable members have intimations that if it did I do not know that option to it should come from honorable members opposite.

Mr. WATSON.—Except for the delay the strike might be going on.

Mr. DEAKIN.—It could not go on.

Mr. WATSON.—It would go on. The honorable and learned member knows no trade unionists will submit to this if, under it, they cannot get justice at the hands of the Court.

Mr. DEAKIN.—The honorable gentleman's colleagues have already shown the greatest Federal industrial organization that we know of practically include a majority of the workers. Consequently those cases—which are the first and greatest cases—this question cannot arise. They have their majority.

Mr. SPENCE.—They could not prove it.

Mr. DEAKIN.—How is it going to be proved? Not by statistics from the Government Statist's office, but by the opinion of the Court. Whatever satisfies the judgment of the President of the Court in

accepted. Whatever evidence to be sufficient. There will be except such evidence as satis-

It might be satisfied with one person or two, or more. It will be required. "In the Court" is quite sufficient. Requirement that there shall be determined by calculation. The opinion of the Court.

—Those words were put in

—No doubt to kill the Bill.

N.—Nonsense. The Prime Minister, as many others have said, the proposal kills the Bill. We have the same statement made with regard to important measures by those who oppose amendments being made in the Bill. In the first, the most familiar, list of the objections which have been made to alterations in Bills. We all know as a rule, they are made by men who say what they say. But it has happened in the experience scores of times that the mists and the heat of the debate have cleared away, and we can look calmly and coolly, the amendments thus introduced to have few or none of the objections prophesied by those who opposed them.

LOR.—Take the first Conciliation Bill introduced in South Aus-

ON.—It has been inoperative since it was passed.

IN.—But does the honorable member forget that that was a measure of conciliation, whereas this is a purely compulsory measure?

E.—The same remark applies to the Bill in New South Wales.

KIN.—The issue, being per se, is, after all, a very narrow one. The Minister and his colleagues say that in a great number of instances that in a great number of instances, even if the proviso of the Bill were inserted in the Bill, would, in principle, be just the same. The question of giving a preference it would be decided that a majority asked for in these cases, the one provision is the other.

SON.—Except that under the present proposal the fact would not be mathematically demonstrated.

KIN.—Neither must it be mathematically demonstrated under the present proposal. The honorable and learned member

for Corinella. If we leave out of consideration the cases in which the Court itself would require the proof of numbers, and those in which there is already a clear majority in the unions concerned, we see that the greater number of the cases likely to come before the Court will not be affected by the proviso. There remain an uncertain number in which it is said that the applicants for preference may substantially represent the industry affected, and yet not be an absolute majority. So far as I can predict without much intimate knowledge of the subject, those cases are likely to be few.

Mr. WEBSTER.—They will be many.

Mr. DEAKIN.—Even if they are many, the honorable member must admit that it will require very little to be done to enable an union or organization, which already substantially represents an industry, to gain the extra support required to make it representative of the majority concerned.

Mr. WEBSTER.—What is that?

Mr. DEAKIN.—All that will be necessary will be to satisfy enough of those who are not members of the union or organization—they will not necessarily have to join an existing union—that it is to their common interest to obtain a preference, and to get them to join, in order to receive the desired benefit. That is all that will have to be done to create a majority sufficient to satisfy the Court, where no majority now exists.

Mr. HUGHES.—The employers of the non-unionists appealed to will hold over their heads the threat that if they join a union they will be dismissed.

Mr. DEAKIN.—As the honorable and learned member knows, the employers could only dismiss their men in that way before they joined an organization; and how would the employers know that they were going to join until they were enrolled? The Bill prohibits interference with them once they are members of an organization. On the other hand, under the proposed amendment of the Government, how would a union prove that it substantially represented an industry? The question would still be left to the determination of the Court, and if the Court were not satisfied, the same steps must be followed to secure proof of its majority as would be necessary under the proviso now in the clause. The two conditions are really the same.

Mr. WATSON.—In one case, absolute proof is not required, but in the other it is. That is the main point of our contention.

Mr. DEAKIN.—I disagree with the Prime Minister there. I say that our proviso does not require absolute proof. It passes the comprehension of the ordinary student of this question, why the Government, the proviso for majority representation having been inserted, have thought it worth while to take the serious step they have taken when the difference between substantial representation and the obtaining of an absolute majority is so slight. I noted their action with surprise, and, at first, almost with incredulity. Having listened to many speeches, I am still in doubt as to the reason why they took that step. Until Wednesday evening last, when the amendment now before the House was moved, I believed, and had been informed, that the Government had a majority for the reversal of the previous vote. The honorable and learned member for Corinella about a fortnight ago—

Mr. MCCAY.—No, early last week.

Mr. DEAKIN.—I am not sure of the date. The honorable and learned member told me that he thought of taking a vote on the question of going into Committee to reconsider the clause, instead of in Committee. I asked him why, and he said, "Because in the clause we have now all that we can get, expressed as we wish to express it." The vote will be the same in either case."

Mr. HUGHES.—He wanted to secure the vote of the Chairman of Committees.

Mr. DEAKIN.—He did not mention the Chairman of Committees, and I do not suppose he thought about him.

Mr. MAUGER.—If he did not think about him, others did.

Mr. DEAKIN.—He gave the sufficient reason that we had already got the principle of majority representation expressed, and he asked, "What more can we get? Why not take a vote on the question at the first opportunity?" Subsequently it occurred to me that in taking a vote in the House the honorable and learned member would place himself at some disadvantage, because he would virtually say to those who disagreed with him, but who may not have agreed with the Government proposal, "You must vote either for or against my amendment."

Mr. WATSON.—He was quite safe, having the solid support of those who are opposed to the Bill.

Mr. DEAKIN.—Two honorable members have intimated that had the matter discussed in Committee, they would have voted to retain the proviso as it stands.

Mr. WATSON.—Only one honorable member has stated that.

Mr. DEAKIN.—I heard one honorable member say it, and understood that another honorable member had also said so. The proposal of the honorable and learned member for Corinella, to which I agreed, did not appear to me in the least likely to become the turning point in the fate of the Government, especially after they were satisfied with an amendment of their own so closely resembling it.

Mr. HUGHES.—Had the honorable and learned member any hand in drafting the original proviso?

Mr. DEAKIN.—Yes, I was consulted by the House during the debate. It was altered two or three times.

Mr. HUGHES.—Did not the honorable and learned member say that the proviso was a matter of no moment?

Mr. DEAKIN.—No. Directly it was put forward I said that it solved the difficulty, and appeared to me infinitely preferable to any other suggestion which had been mentioned. It really crystallized the practice of the State Courts in a definite form. Who could object to that? It was a great deal in the proposal of the honorable member for North Sydney, but it would have required considerable time to elaborate it, and would have necessitated such an alteration of the machinery of the Bill that I thought it could not be adopted. Several alternatives were circulated, and that of the honorable and learned member for Corinella seemed to me the best. The Attorney-General might have quoted me as saying that I had voted for every line and letter of the Bill, but he pointed out that I had voted for two important additions. He forgot, however, that the statement which he quoted was made to contrast my position with that of the Government, who had circulated pages of printed amendments of the Bill, which they challenged me for not supporting.

Mr. WATSON.—The original Bill was not ours.

Mr. DEAKIN.—It was mine by agreement.

Mr. WATSON.—The honorable and learned member did adopt it?

—So did the present Govern-

N.—As contrasting my position of the Government, the Bill by the Attorney-General is misleading. Then I stated for two important additions

—Restrictions.

N.—The Minister can call it if he chooses. I have no term. One of the amendments the organizations to have a letter, and the other condoning of preferences.

—The honorable and learned member us whenever an amendment

N.—No, that is not correct. The question would have been Government, but for the votes of some of my friends who voted with them. In reply of External Affairs. I am out that, but for myself whom he taunts with having no fair play, the Ministry lived for one day after and for a week after their later times when crises oc-

N.—If the honorable member thought that the Ministry had turned out at that stage, he taken action accordingly.

N.—So I would have done.

—Then, there is no obliga-

N.—I am speaking on the fair play. Neither I nor the other of honorable members on do not know that any honorable member adopted the proposal of the learned member for Corin. The idea that it would be which the fate of the Government depend. When we voted on it, we did so because we proposed a wise and necessary amendment when we were asked to reverse the decision desired to be shown why that amendment was wise and necessary in our mind and not be retained. We are not for the fact that the Government chose to make the amendment. That choice rested with them, and having regard to the Government prepared to concede now, I am explicable to me why they

should have made so narrow a difference a vital question.

Mr. WATSON.—Is it inexplicable that we should support the Bill as introduced by the honorable and learned member?

Mr. DEAKIN.—The Prime Minister is a man with whom I should be unwilling to exchange any harsh words; but I believe that this debate, and especially the speech of his honorable colleague, the Minister of External Affairs, has done more to impair the reputation of the Government than anything which has hitherto occurred.

Mr. WATSON.—That is the view of an opponent.

Mr. DEAKIN.—I do not say that because we are opponents, but because there has been manifested once again that spirit which will be displayed to the desperate cost of my honorable friends in the two corners when they face the electors. Those most closely allied with the Labour Party, those who make the greatest sacrifices for them, who stand closest to them, and who most wish to help them, are always the first to be sacrificed by them. One may help the Labour Party for one month, two months, three months, or four months; but the moment that one stops or makes a single independent step he is treated as a bitter enemy. After having been apparently trusted, he will be treated as if suspected from the first moment; he will be condemned as if he had attacked them from the outset. That is the treatment which follows alliances with political machines. One can ally himself with men; one could ally oneself with honorable members like the Prime Minister.

Mr. WATSON.—With whom is the honorable and learned member now allying himself? He will yet be thrown aside like a sucked orange.

Mr. HUGHES. — The honorable and learned member sought an alliance with the Labour Party.

Mr. DEAKIN.—It is perfectly true that I was prepared to ally myself with the Labour Party, and it is also true that I often suggested an honorable alliance. At those times, however, I always said, "Make your machine such that all those men who stand by you shall be treated as equal in every respect to members who subscribe to the labour pledge; divide your programme, separate the prophetic and impossible from the practical and useful, and then we can enter into a useful alliance with you." One could make such an alliance with men like the Prime Minister. It is not his men

in the House I fear, but the machine. Most members are properly governed by a sense of loyalty, bred by alliance and action together—you can appeal to their conscience and judgment. But when you come to the machine, you are dealing with something which has no loyalty, no conscience, and no judgment.

Mr. WATSON.—What about the machine which the honorable and learned member recently inaugurated?

Mr. DEAKIN.—On the occasion of the inauguration to which the Prime Minister refers, I said from the platform that if the proposal of the organization was to create such a machine as I had been criticising I should be against it, as much as against that of the Labour Party. I do not wish to fight machine with machine, but to fight machine politics with the full freedom and independence of a representative of the people.

Mr. WATSON.—The silence of honorable members opposite is the result of the operation of a machine.

Mr. HUGHES.—Yes, they are all wound up and dare not go off.

Mr. DEAKIN.—I had no intention to detain the House at any greater length than might have been necessary to reply to the remarks of the Attorney-General last night. Having occupied some little time, and having allowed my blood to cool, I feel that I have replied perhaps too much in kind to the remarks of the Minister of External Affairs. If so, I have departed from my rule. The best way to meet angry attacks is to answer in another manner. If anything has been uttered below our high parliamentary level, I regret it. Up to now, we have, as a Parliament, established a standard of which we need not be ashamed, and I hope that we shall always be able to maintain it.

Mr. FISHER (Wide Bay—Minister of Trade and Customs).—It ought not to fall to me to reply to the speech which has just been delivered by the honorable and learned member for Ballarat. His statement should have been made much earlier in this debate. As the leader of the Opposition the honorable and learned member should before this have informed honorable members and the country of the reasons for the attitude which he has adopted on this question. I should like to direct attention to one remark of the honorable and learned member with regard to the sacrifices which the operation of machine politics entail on every person who submits himself to their

influence. He stated that every person who had allied himself with the Labour Party had been ultimately sacrificed. I would point out that he was speaking without a knowledge of his own country. In Queensland, every member who supported the Morgan Government and Labour Party was returned unopposed far as that party was concerned. The statement of the honorable and learned member therefore, conveyed quite a wrong impression.

Mr. DEAKIN.—I believe that, so far as Queensland is concerned, up to the present time, what the honorable member states is perfectly correct. Of course we have to see how matters will eventually work out there.

Mr. FISHER.—In the same way we have to see how the millenium will work out when it comes. No attempt was made to oppose the honorable member for Darling Downs, and rightly so, nor was any attempt made by the Labour Party to oppose the honorable member for Moreton. Why should an honorable member occupying such a position as that held by the honorable and learned member for Ballarat make such an accusation, even in the heat of debate.

Mr. DEAKIN.—All the seats which were at the last election were lost to members of the Labour Party.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—In South Australia did not oppose one Liberal.

Mr. LONSDALE.—In New South Wales the Labour Party put up candidates against members of our party who really were favorable to their principles.

Mr. FISHER.—If that be the charge made against our party, I accept it. The evidence before our own eyes justifies the action which we took. The Opposition comprises honorable members holding the most extreme views, and, as honest believers in certain principles, we were bound to tell the people of the country that we differed from these men. That being so, we should not have taken up an unworthy position had we sought to secure the return of others in the stead.

Mr. HUGHES.—A nominee of the right honorable member for East Sydney opposed me.

Mr. FISHER.—Why should so much unnecessary heat be displayed at the moment, when it is known that I am the only member of the Ministry who has spoken? Why this throwing down the gauntlet, when the Government has

further opportunity to reply?

—The Postmaster-General
taken.

R.—I had overlooked that
ent, why should the sugges-
made that the proceedings
have been degraded? If the
learned member feels that
been degraded by reason of
have recently been pursued,
with him. Until the Labour
session of the Treasury
it could be found with the
proceedings, but shortly after
there was a noticeable falling
the high level which had been
falling away, however, was
fault on the part of the
of their supporters. As
and learned member for Bal-
permitted to refer to one or
matters, I trust that I shall
the opportunity to reply to a
ding the office which I hold.
and learned member for
discussing the Ministerial state-
cks ago, made a most unworthy
ating in the broadest possible
is not wise, in the public in-
trust a Department, like that
Customs, to a member of the

s.—The right honorable mem-
ydney said that it was a mat-
penny, but of many pennies,

ER.—He also remarked that
ous to remain another day in

y.—He withdrew that remark.

ER.—Certainly he did, and
o not propose to refer to it.
ever had an opportunity to
contemptible insinuation made
able and learned member for
h has been recorded on the
nsard, and I therefore trust
be permitted to briefly refer

KER.—I would point out to
e gentleman that, when the
d learned member for Bal-
ned a certain question a
ago, I prevented him from
o discuss it, because I con-
be beyond the scope of the
unless the honorable the Min-
nect the matter to which he

refers, with clause 48, I am afraid that I
cannot hear him.

Mr. FISHER.—The statement made by
the honorable and learned member for
Parkes certainly touches the question of
preference, because it clearly shows that
he has no preference for members of the
Labour Party. He asserted that, as we
represented a class, it was unsafe to allow
any member of the party to give deci-
sions in matters relating to the Cus-
toms Department, inasmuch as he would
favour a certain side. Could a more con-
temptible statement be made? It is to
charges such as this that we are to submit
without reply.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—Did not the hon-
orable and learned member for Parkes say
that he wished to see the Labour Party
come into power?

Mr. FISHER.—I do not think he did.
He told the House that it was the duty of
his leader to call upon honorable members
to remove the present Administration from
power at the earliest possible moment, and
that direct action must shortly be taken,
with that object in view. Where are those
honorable members who advocated the tak-
ing of direct action against the Govern-
ment? Their attitude shows that they are
wanting in that statesmanlike conduct
which might reasonably be expected from
those occupying high positions. It has been
hinted by the honorable and learned mem-
ber for Ballarat that the Government are
endeavouring to obtain for unions more
than they are entitled to, and that we are
not taking care to safeguard the interests
of non-unionists and the public generally.
That statement has been suggested by con-
servative minds in every age, since the
struggles and trials of unionists began. It
was said, at one time, that the leaders of
unionists were blackguards, who were inter-
fering with law and order, and endeavouring
to prevent masters from carrying on their
industries in the way they ought to do.
Trade unionists were reviled, and even suf-
fered imprisonment; but ultimately they
were recognised by law, and succeeded in
accomplishing a great work. Mr. Herbert
Paul, in *A History of Modern England*,
states that trade unionists did more to up-
lift the masses of Great Britain during the
last century than all that had ever been
done at Westminster; that all the laws
passed by the British Parliament, with
a view to this end, sink into signifi-
cance as compared with the good achieved

by trade unions. That is the statement, not of a partisan, but of an historian, who has taken some interest in the question, and he is able to verify it by statistics and historical records. Is it not strange that there should be a fear that the leaders in these movements for reform will get too much? Is it not singular that nearly every one is to be left to lag behind, and more particularly those who have suffered in their efforts to improve the lot of their fellows? When I was but a lad, in my teens, I had to take part in a strike in which the workers were worsted, with the result that I was not allowed to return to my former place of employment. My tools were removed—

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—It was the tide which led to fortune.

Mr. FISHER.—I was first led to think of coming to Australia by the feeling that as a youth I had been treated unfairly in my native country. Is there anything wrong in that. My experience is that no man who is not competent can occupy a leading position in a trade union. The leading officers of those organizations are called upon to submit to a great deal of abuse, and unless we can offer them something in return for their self-sacrifice, where is the virtue in passing a Bill of this description? We are not asked to enact legislation which will confer no benefit upon unionists. Seeing that these men undertake to protect the rights of all engaged in their own particular calling, it is only fair that a preference should be extended to them, in order to prevent them being made the victims of injustice. At this stage I have no desire to make a lengthy speech, because I am aware that honorable members wish to take a vote upon this question. I should like to say, however, that I should have been very much better pleased if the right honorable member for East Sydney had more carefully chosen his language last evening, and if he had been more considerate of the feelings of others. The one taunt levelled against the Government in this House has been that we were clinging to this Bill, not that we might secure a workable measure of arbitration, but that we might remain in office for a few days longer. I say that there is not an honest man in the country who believes that charge. The desire to oust the Ministry does not arise from an honest difference of opinion as to whether a preference should be extended to unionists, but springs rather from the fact that

we were allowed to accept office as a mark of grace, that we have done a great deal better than our opponents anticipated, and the country is beginning to realize that others are capable of carrying out the Government of the Commonwealth and that those who have been accustomed to regard themselves as the only persons able to administer its affairs are in a state of and trembling as to the result.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS (South Sydney).—The honorable gentleman, who has resumed his seat, has referred to the charge which has been levelled against the Opposition that its members have been "gagged" because they do not choose to enter into more or less useless discussion upon a much debated question. So far as there having been a caucus meeting in order to bring about any such result, no caucus has been held during the past two months. Moreover, no opinion has been expressed by the leader of the Opposition to the effect that honorable members upon this side of the House should abstain from addressing themselves to this question.

Mr. HUTCHISON.—I saw four honorable members opposite holding another honorable member down.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—Our side has been prompted simply by a desire to return to our homes at the end of the week, instead of being engaged in discussing a motion, the result of which is a foregone conclusion. Personally, I should have preferred that the Government had been subjected to a direct challenge or that this issue had been fought out in Committee. In any case, the result would have been the same. It is well known that the Ministry have no majority in this House. I say, further, that many honorable members upon this side of the chamber are twice as anxious as are half the members upon the opposite side to secure a workable measure of arbitration. They wish to see some of the provisions of this Bill amended in such a way that it may be made operative. They do not desire it to break down by reason of its own rigidity. The Ministry have chosen to make this question vital to their existence. I claim that the amendment to clause 48, which they have circulated, has been framed with a desire to escape from an awkward position. Their object was to make use of Pontifex Maximus; his deputy to amend the amendment of the honorable and learned member for Corio.

which would enable them down, and thus secure the office. Such tactics show no more desire on the part of the members opposite to obnoxious Conciliation and Arbitration than there is on the part of the members upon this side of the Bill. It is perfectly true that the members of the Opposition are opposed to this class of Bill; it is equally true that seven-eighths of the members of the Opposition would prefer to see the Bill pass. It is idle for them to say that they are insincere. We have reason to believe that we are honestly determined to obtain a measure of conciliation irrespective of what may be in office. We shall support such legislation as is enacted. The Minister of External Affairs has said that the honorable members of the Opposition are just as sincere in their advocacy of a Bill of this character as he is. The learned member chose to utter an utter abnegation of principle for the motion now before the House. He accuses me of breaking my promise to the electors, and of so far discrediting himself politically that it will be impossible for me to be again re-elected. I have here the first of the electors of South Sydney. He may be excused to the extent of a rat caught in a trap, but he could do was to squeak, and I am sure for mercy. But nothing in his position justifies him in turning on the members who, on this side of the House, have worked most in accord with him. There is nothing to justify his turning on the honorable members as objects of his attack. I have here the first of the members when the second reading of the Bill was proposed. Though I do not occupy the time of the House by making lengthy extracts, I may be allowed to say that, on the 25th August, I committed myself very strongly in favour of compulsory conciliation and arbitration.

—Men cannot be judged by their votes as well as by their votes.

EDWARDS.—I shall also support the Bill which I gave. On that point I am sure.

of determining industrial war by arbitration is one to which I have committed myself. I have fur-

ther committed myself to vote for the adoption of some such principle in relation to Federal legislation, and I find that I am compelled to vote for the second reading of this Bill. After a careful perusal of its provisions, however, I am forced to the conclusion that there is a great deal in it, which, when we go into Committee, I shall have to oppose very strongly in order that this measure may be brought within what, I think, are the only justifiable limits for us to adopt under the Constitution.

Mr. HUTCHISON.—The honorable member desired to make the Bill unworkable.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—I shall show by my votes that the honorable member is quite wrong in his assumption. What I desired was a workable Federal measure, and to that end I voted for the inclusion of the railway operatives. I expressed myself strongly in favour of that course; but I told the House plainly that there were many proposals which, in Committee, I should have to oppose. That was before the last election, during which I dealt with this question more fully in detail. While I agreed to support the measure, I did not agree in any way to give preference to unionists. Where is the abnegation of principle? The Minister of External Affairs, flourishing a paper as though it contained my signature, exclaimed, "The honorable member has broken his pledges in supporting this amendment." That paper did not bear my signature; and such is the contemptible political trickery adopted by the Minister of External Affairs! These are the facts; and I never wish to hide any of my political promises or actions: Mr. Robert Hollis, who is the organizing secretary of the Railway Servants' Association in Sydney, sent to me a circular during the election, with a request that I would say whether I would support the Bill or not. By some accident, however, that circular went to the wrong address, and did not reach me until after the election. Another gentleman, who, I think, is the organizing secretary of the Railway Servants' Association in Victoria, wrote to me after the election, asking whether I would be in my place in the House to support the inclusion of railway servants within the operation of this Bill; and the reply I sent was that I had supported that policy before, and would continue to support it. I never gave a pledge to any individual, or any body or organization, that I would support preference to unionists; because I believe that by adopting that preference to its fullest extent, we would make this measure anything but a boon to the whole working-class population of

the Commonwealth. This is a measure for settling disputes between workmen and their employers, but there has been a systematic attempt all through to make it a measure in the interests of unionism; and that is what I object to. We ought to adopt any principle we can to get all disputes between the great body of the working classes, and the powerful body of employers, settled by peaceable means; and I have gone as far as any honorable member, and a good deal further than some, in endeavouring to make this Bill more operative on its conciliation side. Yet, because I choose to think that the Bill can be made all the more operative by limiting the preference given to unionists, I am subjected to those charges of breaking my political promises and pledges—charges made by a man whose political ideal has more in common with my own than it has, perhaps, with the ideal of any other honorable member. What the honorable and learned member for Ballarat said this afternoon—and it has been said before—is very true, namely, that these caucus-bound, league-tied bodies, are more bitterly opposed to any one who is somewhat in sympathy with them, and yet remains outside their iron ring, than they are to the most bigoted conservative in the country. I have the greatest respect for most of the members of the Labour Party. I do not know that there is any man in the public life of the Commonwealth for whom I have greater respect than I have for the Prime Minister; and I did hope that when he took office, he would break down this caucus rule, and open the doors of the Labour Party more widely and freely for the admission of other democrats, so as to make a workable party, which might survive and govern. But the party takes up a clause like this, without reference to their own individual opinions; simply because the strings are pulled in the leagues and unions. They say, "We must have this clause, or otherwise we cannot control the political machinery and organizations behind us, and must be bound to lose." The members on this side of the House, who are supporting this measure from a clear conviction of its usefulness, have nothing to gain. What does it matter to most of us whether we sit on the green seats on the Ministerial side, or the green seats on the Opposition side? We are doing what we think is best in the interests, not of unionism, but of labour and industrial peace. Legislation of this kind ought

Mr. G. B. Edwards.

to have been the death-knell of unionism. We hear talk about having given up the power to strike; employers are giving up freedom of contract, so that there are concessions on both sides. But if it is sought to put unions, with all their political complications and ramifications, and give them preference, then the measure, being one to assist the working classes, prove the most powerful engine of oppression and tyranny that could be devised. It is in the interests of the great body of the working classes that I am casting my vote to-night, to retain the clause inserted in the Bill.

Mr. WEBSTER.—So as to kill

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—No

Mr. WEBSTER.—Undoubtedly

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—The honorable member has been hurled back that those who are at the extremes are the very men who will prevent the attainment of industrial peace which is the aim of the Bill and prevent its being passed.

Mr. WEBSTER.—Can the honorable member get what he desires from the enemies of the Bill on the Opposition side?

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—I cannot answer the honorable member; his questions are too much for me, and, generally, have nothing in them to answer. I believe in my heart that some concession as this is necessary. I am personally interested in it. I have been a member of an employers' association. But I am an employer myself. I desire to see that commercial and industrial peace which I believe springs from the action of unions. I maintain that we cannot have industrial peace so long as the action of unions have a preference to other classes of men not entitled by any principle or by any honest action of the Government of this country. My belief is that legislation is passed by unions of the working classes which can pass away, and the new legislation which this Bill contemplates—substitution of those employed in the place of the employer—take their place. Why should the employer at the present time be in a position to employ unionists? Because in some instances employers find it more profitable to employ union workmen. In this Bill an employer must pay wages to one class of men in the place of another and for the same services as to a

the desire to employ non-unionists, and the distinction between unionists and non-unionists will

I am pleading for free-trade workers of this country, prepared to fight this battle in any way if need be. I have no doubt they will come back victorious.

MR. BASS.—Considering the debate which has taken place, it is interesting to know what it is all about. We are here not to represent any party, but to represent Australia at the present time I am attached to the Government.

Therefore, I can speak freely upon this question. I think that a new departure has been made and that a new method has been adopted in dealing with the legislative Council of the Commonwealth, I am driven to the conclusion that there must be some change.

It has been stated to-day that what has taken place has been to catch the vote of the Chairmen. I do not think it reasonable that an honorable member should be so important and honorable.

A Chairman of Committees would not stifle discussion. Because of the amendment which is now before the House, it solves the stifling of discussion.

It is understood that the aim of the Chairman of Committees when he is asked to give it in such a way as to afford an opportunity for the consideration of the question.

I do not think it probable that the Chairman of Committees will be found to be of vast importance to the members of the House, and to others who are interested in the industrial questions affecting the Bill. We are asked to decide by a majority shall rule. The learned member for Corinella has no difficulty in proving this.

I should like to know whether he proposes to ascertain the number of those engaged in the boot trade? I venture to say it is impossible to ascertain the number of those employed in any industry in the country.

We have had a little experience of the difficulty of ascertaining the number of electors there are in the various States of Australia. It seems impossible to find out the number of men in a particular district.

It is difficult to find out how

many persons are affected by a particular trade dispute. I am not at all afraid of the threat which has been thrown out by the honorable and learned member for Ballarat, that those honorable members who sit in the corner where I occupy a seat will find it a disadvantage when they go before the electors if they vote against the amendment.

I am one of those who intend to vote for what he considers to be right, irrespective of whether that vote commends itself to the electors of any particular district or not. I am here to do my duty, and intend to do it. If the electors do not like it they can place me at the bottom of the poll. But I should not like to go back to them and have to admit that, having been elected as a democrat and protectionist, I had joined the Free-trade Party.

I am aware that that point is outside the limits of the present discussion, and as I wish to confine my remarks within proper lines I will proceed no further with it. I repeat that I believe that it is impossible to find out the number of persons engaged in the industries of this country. Take, for instance, the boot trade. How would honorable members opposite propose to find out how many persons in Victoria alone are interested in the boot trade? How would they propose to ascertain how many shearers or wharf labourers there are, or how many workmen are interested in other occupations? People in this country vary their occupations frequently. Sometimes they are doing one thing, sometimes another. Statistics are unreliable, because the occupations of the people change so much. A man may be engaged in mining this week; in a few weeks' time he may be engaged in quite another occupation. It is only fair and reasonable, seeing that the Bill has been under discussion for a considerable time, that amendments have been made in it, and that the Prime Minister intimated that he intended to ask the House to recommit the measure, that the majority of honorable members should allow that reconsideration to take place. I cannot understand why the closure should be exercised. Some question has been raised with regard to the circumstances under which the vote upon the question under discussion was formerly taken. It was a hurried vote. Many honorable members had left the chamber in order to get ready to go to other States. After the division bell had been ringing for some time an honorable member came to me and asked me to request Mr. Speaker to repeat the

question, because he feared that I was making a mistake. I was in the chamber during the whole of the discussion, because I had no train to catch. But many honorable members came in at the last moment. One honorable member told me on the following day that he knew that he had made a mistake. He had intended to vote the other way. But because some honorable members have a desire to find seats on the Ministerial side of the chamber they are prepared to throw in their weight against the Government, with the hope of taking their places. It matters not to me which side of the House I sit upon, so long as I can secure the legislation which I think is in the interests of the Commonwealth. But I do like every one to be straightforward and honorable in his methods, and I do not consider that it is straightforward and honorable to prevent the House from going into Committee in order to reconsider a question of this kind. Therefore I intend to vote with the Government. I shall do so, not because they are a Labour Ministry, nor because certain gentlemen at present occupy the Opposition benches; but because I believe in fair play, and in being straightforward and above board.

Mr. BAMFORD (Herbert).—I shall not detain the House very long; but I wish to say a few words before the division is taken. I desire, in the first place, to ask the honorable and learned member for Corinella, who is responsible for the proviso in regard to which there has been so much debate, what he really means by it? The honorable and learned member for Indi pointed out last night how little effect it would have if carried in its present form, and no attempt has been made to answer his arguments. There are one or two members of the legal fraternity at present on the Opposition benches, and I ask them to say what the position really means? What is meant by the words "a majority of those affected by the award who have interests in common with the applicants"? In some districts would not almost every person residing there be so affected? Take the coal-mining district of Korumburra, in Gippsland, for example. Would not almost every person residing in that district be affected, either directly or indirectly, by an award? I would also ask, how is the opinion of the majority affected to be obtained, when a question concerning the seamen, the wharf labourers, the coal

miners, and other large bodies of employes arises? Every member of the industry would have to be individually consulted in order to obtain the opinion of the majority, and it would be utterly impossible to follow such a course as that.

Mr. McCAY.—I think that the honorable member misapprehends the meaning of the words which he has quoted.

Mr. BAMFORD.—Possibly I do; members of the legal fraternity so twist and alter every phrase that they set themselves to explain, that finally not even they themselves know what it means. What would the honorable and learned member do if he were engaged to oppose an application for preference made by an industrial union? Would he not ask who were the people affected, and whether the union represented a majority of them? Would he not make an attempt to remove most of the difficulties I have suggested? To my mind, the phraseology of the proviso is very loose indeed, and if we had an opportunity for the reconsideration of it, it is so unhappily being refused us, I would move to amend the proviso, so as to make it read—

A majority of those affected by the award have industrial interests in common with the applicants.

That would considerably limit its application, and make it easier to obtain an award than it would be under the proviso as it stands.

Mr. TUDOR.—Honorable members of the Opposition would not agree to that.

Mr. BAMFORD.—Honorable members do not wish to give an opportunity for reconsideration of the clause. All they desire is to cross over to these benches, and we have graced for such a brief period. The honorable member for South Sydney gave the whole case away when he said that by the operation of a common rule, the wages would be paid to unionists and non-unionists alike. As has been pointed out on many occasions, that is what we desire to avoid. We wish to give preference to unionists. If a non-unionist can compel an employer to pay the same wages as are paid to a unionist, how can men be induced to join the unions? If, under those circumstances, a man was asked to become a member of an industrial organization, he would say, "What benefit will it do me to join a union? What benefit is it to be a member of a union unless one can thereby get a preference?" Referring to the attitude of

erally in this matter, I can-
ering that they have stooped
have done. The standard
morality raised by the La-
is so high that a man
upright beneath it; but
of political morality of
members opposite has been
to get underneath it one must
One of the first speeches
Chamber after the meeting
al Parliament here must
every man who listened to
I refer to the speech of
and learned member for
ooke about the rarer atmos-
ral politics, and, in castigat-
ember, said that he was sorry
stooped so low. But
he mighty fallen! The
d learned member who
rarer atmosphere in Federal
w sitting with those who
move in an impure and much
eric stratum. The honorable
ember for Ballarat has agreed
right honorable member for
o lead the attack on the Go-
es; but has the right honor-
the confidence of the people
nwealth? I say that he has

—He has certainly not the
ne people of Victoria.

ORD.—The right honorable
have the confidence of the
st Sydney, but he has not
of the people of New South
right honorable gentleman
mand the confidence of the
state in which he was Premier
s, and he was afraid to stake
at the last election, notwith-
that had been said in this
s popularity. He challenged
member for Hume on the
House, and threatened him
d penalties at election time;
time came to put his threats
he had not the courage of
ut allowed one of his lieuten-
sacrificed on the altar of free-
say that honorable members
come to a division, I have
at we should settle the ques-
or the other for some time
ults of the approaching vote
well forecasted, and I regret
at those honorable members

who seem to have the numbers on their side
should have declined to allow the Bill to
be recommitted. The proviso adopted at
the instance of the honorable and learned
member for Corinella was carried by a
snatch vote, and if the honorable and
learned member had been possessed of those
gentlemanly instincts to which he has laid
claim, he would never have sprung a sur-
prise of this nature upon the House.

Mr. CROUCH (Corio).—I deprecate ex-
ceedingly the very personal tone adopted
by the Minister of External Affairs. His
attack upon the honorable and learned
member for Ballarat was absolutely un-
deserved. If honorable members were asked
by their vote to show the respect and honour
in which they hold the honorable and learned
member for his sincerity and con-
sistency in this matter, I am sure they
would heartily respond, and that the Min-
ister of External Affairs would stand alone.
We should do everything we can to pre-
serve the dignity and honour of Parlia-
ment, and all personal bitterness should be
avoided in discussions of this kind. After
careful consideration, I have decided to
maintain the attitude which I assumed on
a previous occasion. In the first instance,
I voted against preference to unionists al-
together. I then said that I would support
preference to unionists, only so long as the
organizations had no political objects, and
refrained from devoting their funds to poli-
tical purposes. I consequently voted against
the original clause, and I supported the
amendment of the honorable and learned
member for Corinella, because I was only
too glad, at that time, to defeat the object
of the clause. I thoroughly agree with the
attitude taken up by the Government in
assuming that the clause, in its present
shape, would entirely fail to achieve its
original object, and that the provision as
to the granting of preference would become
a mere farce. According to *Hansard*, I
spoke on 29th June as follows:—

I am in favour of the principle of the amend-
ment, however, because, while I do not think it
necessary that the organizations registered under
the Bill should have been formed solely to carry
out its purposes, I think that they should exist
solely for that object. If existing organizations
purge themselves of their political and philan-
thropic characteristics, and become organizations
existing solely to carry out the purposes of the
Bill, I would have no objection to men being
compelled to join them, and my objection to the
principle of preference to unionists would at once
be removed. . . . If the unions turn their atten-
tion to industrial matters, apart from any political
objects, there will be no desire to prevent union-
ists from securing preferential treatment.

My statement was cheered by a number of honorable members, and I remember distinctly that the honorable member for New England stated that he perfectly agreed with me, and that he was prepared to accept the principle of preference to unionists if the unions were purged of their political features. Since then the conditions have been entirely changed, because the Government have accepted amendments which will prevent a preference being given to the members of an organization with political objects, or whose funds are devoted to political purposes. Therefore, my objection to the granting of preference has been removed. I should prefer to see the present Government carry the Bill through, because I believe that they honestly intend to give effect to it. I could have no sympathy with a Government whose supporters embraced from eleven to thirteen honorable members who desired to destroy the Bill. Such honorable members would wield an influence which would be sufficiently strong to paralyze the arm of the leader of any new Government, and I think that all those honorable members who advocate conciliation and arbitration should support the motion for the recommittal of the Bill. We should remember what was done at the caucus meeting of the party to which I belong. The following resolution was adopted:—

That this party is not prepared to consider proposals for a coalition, except on condition that the Prime Ministership of any coalition be accorded to the present leader of this party.

That decision was arrived at at a meeting of the Liberal Party, and yet we find the honorable and learned member for Ballarat no longer occupying the position of Leader of the Opposition, and refusing to take office. The right honorable member for East Sydney would probably be at the head of the new Government.

Mr. SPEAKER.—The honorable member is not in order in discussing that question.

Mr. CROUCH.—It is just as well that this matter should be settled. If I am not to be permitted to discuss it, it will be useless for me to proceed any further. The amendment proposed by the honorable and learned member for Corinella is not an attack upon clause 48, but an attempt to take the business of the House out of the hands of the Government. It is equivalent to a vote of want of confidence, and I contend that I should be permitted to discuss the whole of the policy

of the present Ministry, and also to refer to the probable consequences of the Bill about to be given.

Mr. SPEAKER.—I have already said more than once that the question before the Chair is, so far as I know, not one of confidence, or want of confidence, in Government, but whether certain words shall or shall not be omitted from the motion which has been moved by the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister moved the recommittal of certain clauses and the honorable and learned member Corinella has moved that the figures "48" should be struck out of the motion. The effect of adopting his amendment would be to prevent the recommittal of clause 48. I know nothing more than that, and must, as far as practicable, confine the debate to the question which I have stated.

Mr. CROUCH.—You say, sir, that you know nothing more than that which you have stated, and I therefore propose to place some further information before you. It would be most unfortunate if we were to remain in ignorance of the statement made by the Prime Minister in the House, and in your presence, that if his amendment were carried the Government would resign.

Mr. SPEAKER.—The honorable and learned member will recognise that no statement of information as that can alter the facts before me. The facts set out in the newspaper, and which have just been read to me, are the only ones on which I may proceed. Throughout the debate I have heard frequent complaints as to the discussion being confined within narrow limits, but that would not be the case if the honorable and learned member's contentions were correct. The fact that the fate of the Government depends on this issue is not one which can be debated, except incidentally. That it can be incidentally referred to is evident, because the honorable and learned member has dealt with it that way, and while he so treated it, I cannot stop him. When, however, he proceeded to debate the general question, to discuss the relative merits of the present Government and its possible successors, he was bound to prevent him from proceeding further in that direction, because that would take the debate entirely beyond the question before the Chair.

Mr. CROUCH.—Let me put before you, sir, some of the facts which have been mentioned during the debate. The Prime

stated that if the amendment will resign, and the honorable member for Corral also informed the House aware from certain state- outside by the honorable he will take the course indi- ve likewise heard the matter the honorable and learned Ballarat, but, unfortunately, rable member for East Syd- leader of the Opposition, re to take part in the de- norable and learned member id that he knew he was dis- on on which the fate of the epended, and every member ury, save the Postmaster- aid that that is so. I propose those statements, deliberately correct. I think that the ave too much good sense to be fulfilled.

KER.—I am sure that the learned member desires to the limits of debate, and hav- se facts, I ask him now to cuss clause 48.

CH.—If the closure be once s way it will give rise to a s similar to that following the the closure in the House of ere it afterwards applied most rds those who caused its f the leader of the Oppo- honorable and learned mem- arat allow your ruling, Mr. ss without criticism, a danger- will be created. I appeal e of parties to see that the rable members are not unduly ut if I do not receive the n I expect from them, I must he consideration of the clause. discuss the fiscal side of this ave to recognise in the first e amendment is being sup- majority of the members of e party, and that it is also silent support of a large ectionists, who are apparently w themselves to be absorbed rade Opposition. I desire will happen to the industries f we permit the leader of the position to take possession of benches. I fail to see why ists who are fighting with the

Mr. SPEAKER.—During the debate I have repeatedly prevented honorable members from discussing the fiscal issue, and if I were now to permit the honorable and learned member to deal with it I should be guilty of a distinct injustice to those honorable members. I must therefore apply to the honorable and learned member the same rule that I have done to others.

Mr. CROUCH.—That would be the position, sir, unless a new view were presented to your mind. Unlike the right honorable member for East Sydney, I shall not deal with the general question, and then find in the end that I am unable to connect it with the matter immediately before the Chair. It is admitted that we cannot have protection for the manufacturer without protection for the worker, and that we cannot have preference for unionists unless we have preference for manufacturers. I have already pointed out, Mr. Speaker, that you allowed the Minister of External Affairs to diverge from the ordinary channel of debate, and I desire to present a new view of the position to you. I wish to show that the fiscal issue and the question of preference are cognate subjects. I find it absolutely impossible to deal with unionism and preference without showing that the manufacturer and the capitalist are entitled to a similar preference when opposed to outside competitors.

Mr. SPEAKER.—I cannot adopt the honorable and learned member's view of the position. It seems to me that, while casual reference to these matters has undoubtedly been permitted, I cannot, in pursuance of my duties, allow the honorable and learned member to discuss the fiscal issue in any form whatever. There is a certain course open to the honorable and learned member, and I must ask him to observe the rule I have already laid down, or move that the House disagree with my ruling; in which case he will be able to take the sense of honorable members on the point.

Mr. CROUCH.—As a junior member of the House, Mr. Speaker, I am too indebted to you for your courtesy and guidance to attempt to contest your ruling; but I desire to say, with all respect, that I think my contention is correct. I shall not, however, take any such step as I think I might justifiably take, but shall accept your ruling. I wish to refer to the position of the present Treasurer leaving office and being succeeded by an extravagant Treasurer, in the person of the right honorable member for East Sydney.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—He has the most economical record of any Treasurer of New South Wales.

Mr. CROUCH.—I desire to show that if the leader of the Opposition becomes Prime Minister a large amount of loan money will almost certainly be expended. When he was Treasurer of New South Wales he spent very considerable sums of Savings Bank money.

Mr. SPEAKER.—I have already asked the honorable and learned member to do one of two things—either to take the proper course of moving dissent from my ruling, or to discuss clause 48. I must ask him not to continue in his endeavour to introduce distinctly irrelevant matter.

Mr. CROUCH.—I should like to be permitted to show that unionists deposit their money chiefly with the Savings Banks, and that consequently the honorable and learned member for East Sydney showed preference for unionists' money.

Mr. SPEAKER.—If the honorable and learned member will not take one of the two courses I have indicated, I shall have to ask him to conclude his speech, and to call upon some other honorable member.

Mr. CROUCH.—I am exceedingly sorry that the area covered by this debate is of such a limited character. If I am able to show that the proposal of the honorable and learned member for Corinella has had the effect of absolutely "gagging" this House, the Ministry, and its supporters—

Mr. KENNEDY.—I rise to a point of order. I desire to know whether the honorable and learned member is in order in attributing to another honorable member the "gagging" of the House, seeing that the procedure which has been adopted is in accordance with the Standing Orders?

Mr. SPEAKER.—I would ask the honorable and learned member to withdraw the statement to which objection has been taken.

Mr. CROUCH.—I withdraw it. I repeat that the House is prevented from clearly expressing its opinion upon this question. I am satisfied with being stopped from speaking, as it will show that owing to the unprecedented procedure which has been adopted, the Ministry and their supporters are denied an opportunity of justifying themselves before the country. I am not a member of the Labour Party, but I am strongly opposed to the Free-trade Party in every direction, and I therefore intend to vote with the Government.

Mr. BROWN (Canobolas). — I do propose to discuss this question exhaustively as I should have done had the forms the House permitted me. One of the points says, "Things are not what they seem." The truth underlying that statement is abundantly exemplified upon the present occasion. Honorable members are invited to debate the question of whether the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill shall be committed with a view to reconsider clause 48. That is the seeming purpose of the amendment which has engaged the attention of this House for the past thirty days. Although you, sir, have no official knowledge of the fact, we are all aware that that is not the real question which is exercising the minds of honorable members. The real issue is, "Shall the present Government continue to occupy the Treasury benches, or shall they give place to certain honorable members who now sit upon the Opposition side of the House?" When the present Ministry assumed office, there was raised that if they were given a three weeks' trial—in other words, if they were allowed rope enough, they would hang themselves. Evidently that prediction has been falsified, otherwise the Opposition would scarcely adopt the roundabout method of bludgeoning Ministers upon their proposal to recommit clause 48 instead of engaging them in a straight-out fight. A similar attempt to bludgeon the Government was made in Committee, but honorable members opposite were defeated by a majority of one. Now they hope to accomplish in the House what they failed to achieve in Committee. It has been urged that the Government ought to have made this question a vital one. What is the meaning of the amendment proposed by the honorable and learned member for Corinella? It means taking the business of the House out of the hands of the Government. I trust that those members of the Opposition who may soon occupy the Treasury benches, will not be so completely lost to sight as to retain Ministerial office if they are defeated under similar circumstances. It is not creditable to those who are responsible for the present position that they refused to submit a motion of no-confidence, under cover of which the merits or demerits of the present Administration could have been discussed. The real question involved in this debate is not one of granting a preference to unionists but of extending a preference to honorable

on the Opposition side of the have grown tired of sitting on that clause 48, in the form of Government proposed to amend it, with my approval. I regret very much their desire to meet the views of honorable members, whom they create sincere desire to secure a measure of compulsory arbitration, they have conceded more than they should have now awakened to the real issue before the House is reference to unionists, but of certain honorable members.

MR.—We went to the last extreme of the Bill.

MR. N.—Under the circumstances my vote on this issue with the Government although I do not know that as submitted is one I should have before my constituents.

MR. CARPENTER (Fremantle).—I am much that the action of the honorable member for Corinella prevents honorable members to consider in this matter which is altogether new, in my opinion, is of the very importance. If we could have got the Bill, and I could have had an opportunity to ask honorable members to question to which I refer, I am sure they would sympathize with the Government. The position arises from the Bill substituted by the honorable member for Corinella, either at the suggestion of other honorable members or own initiative. I feel sure of the result which I propose to discuss even those on the other side, who are opposed to compulsory arbitration as, at least, of some importance in the first place, however, I will say a few words in regard to the Bill by the honorable member for Ballarat. I must express my surprise at the unwonted heat of the honorable and learned member in the debate. Such warmth I have with him. So far as I am not aware that the honorable member has ever gone so far in his feelings, and in bringing himself into conflict with the forms of the Bill as this afternoon.

MR. CARPENTER.—The honorable member was "hard hit."

MR. CARPENTER.—If to be told the "hard hit," I can understand

the remarks of the Minister of External Affairs having such an effect on the honorable and learned member for Ballarat. I wish to discuss the matter before us with as little heat as possible, but at the same time to express my opinion in a very straightforward way, without mincing my words in the least degree. The honorable and learned member for Ballarat, pointing his finger somewhat dramatically at honorable members who sit on the Government cross benches, affected to warn them of something that would happen as a consequence of their support being given to Ministers on this question. The reason given by the honorable and learned member for the warning was that the Labour Party are always most bitterly opposed to those who are most closely allied to them, and who desire to help that party to carry out their measures.

MR. KENNEDY.—The honorable and learned member could speak with some experience in that respect.

MR. CARPENTER.—I do not know what the honorable and learned member's experience has been. I am only concerned in expressing my own views. Whether it be a question of preference to unionists, the qualifications necessary to obtain preference, or any other matter affecting the interests of workers, the latter take a keen interest to-day—an interest keener, perhaps, than in days gone by—in what goes on in this and other Parliaments. They take note of members who, on the platform, express on broad general principles all sorts of sympathy with the labour movement, but who, when they are elected, at once begin to water down their principles, with the result, again and again, of emasculating measures to such an extent as to render them of no benefit to those who hoped so much.

MR. WILKS.—The Government accepted a clause which struck politics out of the Bill.

MR. FISHER.—The Government went to the last extremity to save the Bill; and the honorable member for Dalley knows it.

MR. CARPENTER.—Why is it that the Labour Party have to oppose men who work and fight with us in nine battles out of ten? The fact is, that there always comes a time when we have to deal with a crucial question. When we come to the last ditch our false friends desert us; and it is of those false friends of whom the outside electors take note, and whom we

shall have to fight when the elections come round. We do not fight such men because they are our friends, but because they profess to be our friends, and, when the test is applied, desert us, and fight against us with our bitter opponents. I am glad to be able to say that, so far as I know, the personal relations of members on either side of the House are as good as they could be, and I hope that will always be so, in spite of our great political differences. But outside the House we have to deal with those who have been referred to as "our masters." Those are the people who make our politics for us, and who say who shall be opposed and who supported; and the choice then rests not on personal like or dislike, but simply on the distinction inevitably made between friends and foes. When the honorable and learned member for Ballarat warns honorable members, I reply that so long as he has been true to the people, who sent him to this or any other Parliament, they have been true to him. If, in the case of that honorable and learned member, and of any other honorable members, there is now a breaking away, it is not because the people are less true to them, but simply because the people suspect them of falling away from political grace. I hope that before we have to go to the electors on this or any other question, those honorable members to whom I refer will give some signs of repentance, and that there will be no necessity whatever to oppose candidates whom we should like to have with us fighting in the interests of the people. The honorable and learned member for Ballarat sought to show that there was really no difference between the amendment which was carried on a snatch vote in Committee and the amendment which the Government desire to propose. I am aware that legal gentlemen have a great deal of subtlety, and can associate different ideas with the same words; but when the honorable and learned member seeks to tell us that it is only necessary to satisfy the Court that a majority connected with the trade are represented in order to have preference granted, I say he is not correctly interpreting the proviso inserted at the instance of the honorable and learned member for Corinella. If it were simply a question of satisfying the Court that there was a majority connected with that industry, I could understand the objection to making any alteration. But I would point out that the amendment goes very much further than

Mr. Carpenter.

that. The proposal of the honorable and learned member for Corinella reads—

And provided further that no such preference shall be directed to be given unless the application for such preference is in the opinion of the Court approved by a majority of those affected by the award, who have interests in common with the applicants.

Who is going to determine how many people have interests in common with the applicants, and who those people are?

Mr. CONROY.—The Court will decide that.

Mr. CARPENTER.—Who is going to decide whether the majority is in favour of the application for preference? If the legal members opposite are so willing to leave it to the Court, why do they not accept the proposal of the Government, who simply says to the Court, "If you are satisfied that the applicants substantially represent the industry, you can give preference."

Mr. LONSDALE.—What is the difference?

Mr. CARPENTER.—If the honorable member cannot see the difference he cannot see much. Here is a direct statement that there has to be proof that a majority have approved of the application being made. Not only that, but a majority of those affected by the award, a majority of those who have interests in common with the applicants must also approve of the application. The objection seems to me to be so plain that I wonder how any honorable member opposite can give his adherence to the proposal, and expect that anything workable will come out of it. Take my own trade. We have in Western Australia a Boilermakers' Association, in which I make it to say all the competent men in the trade are enrolled. Outside that association there is a floating number of men who have a smattering of knowledge of the trade, and who go away to the north and north-west portions of the country engaging themselves casually in certain of the simpler branches of the trade. Those men cannot belong to the union, because they are not tradesmen. Probably they would not join it if they were, because the work in the part of the country where they live is so intermittent that they have to get a day's work here and there, and then turn their hands to other occupations.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—What is the qualification for membership of the union?

Mr. CARPENTER.—The usual qualification is having served an apprenticeship to the trade.

ORREST.—Cannot a man be a wise?

CARPENTER.—No; having served to the trade is a very necessity. These men who are not all, and who merely do a day's trade now and then, would, in division, claim to be connected with the trade, and to be affected by the trade. Would it be possible for the Government to give the Court any evidence that these men approved or did not approve of the application? They could not do it.

ORREST.—The amendment of the Bill requires that the members shall be substantially represented.

CARPENTER.—No one would disapprove of an Association, covering the chief of the State, substantially representing the State. In a case of this kind, the Government should be paid to those who have practical experience of what they are doing. If the question under consideration is an agricultural one, I should like all times to listen to the agriculturists, and to take advice from them. I should like to know that they knew more about the matter. It would be folly for me, as a Minister, to rely on a theoretical knowledge of the matter, to go to pit that knowledge against practical experience. In this case, I should like to hear the honorable members on this side of the House who have some practical knowledge of the matter dealing with. Nevertheless, the honorable members opposite refuse to pay attention to what we say. There is evidence that the question is decided on its merits. There is a combination of parties, who take pleasure in refusing to allow any fresh light to be forced upon their minds. I should like the Ministry upon having decided what they have done, and re-elected to office if the vote is cast against them.

We have been taunted again because the Government have accepted amendments, and have been defeated by the Opposition half way. We have been taunted with backing down, and sacrificing everything for the purporting office. The answer is that the Government stand upon which there is going to be no backing down. Wherever there has been a prospect of improving the law, the Government have been prepared to meet the Opposition half way. But honorable members are now insisting upon an

amendment which would take all the vitality out of the Bill, and make it unworkable. I am proud to sit behind a Government which says that rather than put through a make-belief Bill they will resign office, and allow others to take their places. I am sure that the great public of Australia will approve of their action.

Mr. FISHER.—If we agreed to this amendment honorable members opposite would immediately propose something else.

Mr. CARPENTER.—There is no satisfying those who oppose, simply because they sit in Opposition, and who have no desire to pass legislation unless they have the sole direction of it. It has been claimed that, in the present instance, honorable members opposite are simply doing what was done in connexion with another part of the Bill some three months ago, when the previous occupants of the Treasury benches took a similar stand. There is no parallel whatever. I think I can speak for every honorable member in the party behind the Government, when I say that it was with very much regret that we heard that the ex-Prime Minister intended to take the stand that he did in connexion with the amendment relating to the railway servants. I should have preferred him to remain in office, and would have given him a loyal assistance in perfecting the measure.

Mr. KING O'MALLEY.—He made a mistake.

Mr. CARPENTER.—I am inclined to think that the honorable and learned gentleman has now come to that conclusion himself.

Mr. KENNEDY.—He is more convinced than ever that he was right.

Mr. CARPENTER.—If the ex-Prime Minister thinks that he was right, I am very sorry indeed for the position in which he finds himself to-day. I believe that the honorable and learned member, who has moved this amendment, is acting on his own initiative. But his conduct resembles that of the cat in the fable. Honorable members will remember that the monkey made use of the cat's paw to pull the chestnut out of the fire. It has been said by some honorable members that that is not so, and I accept the disclaimer. But I should like the leader of the Opposition to attend in the chamber, and give us some reason for what is being done. The people of Australia have a right to be suspicious of a leader who, at a time like this, is conspicuous by his absence. If those who

are following him have confidence in him, they are very easily pleased. The people outside are watching what is being done here. They are following the actions of honorable members who have pledged themselves to pass a workable Conciliation and Arbitration Bill. In the report of the general secretary to the Victorian Amalgamated Miners' Association, just published, I find these words—

Almost every one admits the necessity of unions, and that all workers should be members of same, yet Mr. McCay is endeavouring to put a sprag in the wheel of the unionistic coach, and prevent its progress. The opponents of the measure will again support him, but I trust those members who pose as workers' friends will now see their way clear to vote in favour of the excision of Mr. McCay's amendment, and then there is no doubt that the Bill will speedily become law.

The miners of Maldon, Talbot, Maryborough, and other Victorian mining centres, are looking for the passing of this measure, and are hoping that their representatives will stand by it. They are watching very keenly the action of honorable members who are supporting those who are referred to as the opponents of industrial arbitration.

Mr. SALMON.—The Government did not expect me to support them. Over three weeks ago a member of the Government asked the miners in my district to put a labour man in my place.

Mr. FISHER.—Is that why the honorable member is now opposed to arbitration?

Mr. SALMON.—I mention the matter merely to show that the Government did not expect to get my vote.

Mr. CARPENTER.—I did not wish to refer to the honorable member personally; he has projected himself into the debate; but the remarks which I have read deal with those who have been with us hitherto, and are now turning their backs on the measure. I will not discuss what may take place between the honorable member and his constituents.

Mr. SALMON.—The honorable member was discussing my position. The places he mentioned are in my electorate.

Mr. CARPENTER.—In discussing questions affecting the workers, we have heard those who attack the Labour Party say that they are as good as labour men.

Mr. CROUCH.—Who has said that?

Mr. CARPENTER.—If the honorable and learned member has not said it, I am sure that he thinks it. But while I have heard both Conservatives and Liberals claim

to be as good as labour men, I have never heard any one claim to be as good as a Conservative or as good as a Liberal.

Mr. SPEAKER.—Is the honorable member now discussing clause 48?

Mr. CARPENTER.—I am replying to the honorable member for Laanecoorie. I do not, however, wish to refer to anything which is not strictly relevant. At the commencement of my remarks, I spoke of a matter which I do not think had been mentioned before, though I have discussed it with one or two honorable members, and hope to bring it forward in Committee. It is of the utmost importance, and may have considerable effect on the future of the Bill. Western Australia has been particularly referred to while the measure has been under discussion. We have been told that, in that State, the Act, which does not give preference to unionists, has worked well. But there has been continuous agitation for such an amendment of the Act as will give preference to unionists, and that agitation will stop until the desired end is achieved. There are always a few amongst the work classes, as amongst other classes, who are not prepared to take all the benefits they can get from the exertions of others, but will do nothing to help themselves. The men who speak of are willing to join unions to obtain awards from the Court, but an award having been obtained, they say, "Why should we continue to subscribe to the union?" The Arbitration Court will keep up our wages. That is a short-sighted view to take. In any case if it had not been for the creation of the union, they could not have applied to the Arbitration Court in the first instance. It is necessary to give preference to unionists to meet the objections of men of this stamp. If there were many such men, of course, there would be no such thing as industrial arbitration. But the more important matter to which I wish to refer is this: We have in the Western Australian Act a provision similar to that in the clause which has been so much discussed, and which, I believe, purports to be a copy of it—I refer to the sub-clause which allows the Court to fix the minimum wage in an industry. I suppose that most honorable members understand the meaning of those words. We are accustomed to the term on account of the minimum wage which is fixed generally by our trades unions. When we fix a minimum wage we intend that no man taking men on the average—shall work for less than that wage; but the employer can

more. It was on the basis that the words were inserted in the Australian Act; but, when some time after the Act was passed, an interpretation that was unexpected was placed upon it, to believe that even the right member for Swan, who had a good knowledge of the passing of the measure, had not seen that such an interpretation was possible. This is what the Judge

said. The wages which have been fixed by the Act, I desire to point out that they are not only the rate only. The Act under which the Court is to fix these rates by section 48, in its award, may prescribe a rate of wage, or other remuneration, or special provisions for a lower rate.

For those who, through incapacity, are not capable of doing their own work.

It is what we are authorized to do. It will be observed that the Legislature does not authorize the Court to fix wages, but "to prescribe a minimum wage or other remuneration" (section 48). I take it that the meaning of that is that the Court is to fix what is a fair wage that shall be paid to the particular trade possessing the experience.

Honorable member expect such action to be placed upon the Bill? The words there are intended to convey what is understood by the members, namely, that an average wage, and that every man who is worthy to be employed shall receive more than the rate fixed. The Bill is placed upon the term "minimum wage" in Western Australia was such a measure fixed the minimum wage for a competent worker in an industry, and it is left to the employer to grade his men from that. The Judge expects that the employers, whilst paying the lowest wage to the least competent of their workmen, would grade them in such a way that they would be more to average men than the minimum rate. In almost every case, in which the minimum wage has been fixed, the least competent employer brought down the minimum rate. As a consequence, there has been continual friction, and last week a deputation waited on the Premier of Western Australia, to have the Act might be amended to correct the effects of the inter-

pretation now placed upon the term "minimum wage." I had intended to ask honorable members to insert in clause 48 some words which would make it plain that the term was to be interpreted in the way in which it was understood by trades unionists. Unless that is done, we shall probably have the same experience in connexion with this Bill that has been passed through in Western Australia. The action of the honorable and learned member for Corinella, and those who are associated with him, will prevent me from adopting this course, and I fear that, even if the Bill is passed eventually, it will fall very much short of what we desire. Honorable members know how precedents are followed in the law courts, and that on occasions they have been almost the sole basis of very extraordinary decisions. Only recently a lady applied for admission to the Bar in Western Australia, and the only reason given for refusing to accede to her request was that there was no precedent to justify it. Although the attitude assumed by the members of the Opposition may lead to the resignation of the Government, and delay the passage of this measure, it will not prevent the workers of Australia from eventually securing a satisfactory Conciliation and Arbitration Bill. I have never known of any case in which the action of a minority, or of a combination of minorities, has prevented the people from working their will. The very fact that nearly every honorable member in this House was pledged, to a greater or less extent, to support this Bill, affords proof that the people of Australia are determined to have such a measure, and, although the struggle may be long and bitter, and may cause Governments other than the present one to lose their seats, I believe we shall win eventually. It will not be long before we have such a combination of forces in this House as will relegate to the background the Tory minority which has allied itself temporarily with other honorable members holding more liberal views, and which, by an unhappy combination of circumstances, has been enabled to disappoint one of the fondest hopes of the people of Australia.

Mr. TUDOR (Yarra).—I do not intend at this late hour to delay the House at any great length. I do not think that I should have risen had it not been that the honorable and learned member for Ballarat went out of his way to cast a slur on the

Government by suggesting that the Attorney-General was the only member of the Ministry for whom he had respect.

Sir PHILIP FYSH.—No.

Mr. TUDOR.—I admit that he subsequently endeavoured to tone down his statement, just as he has sought to whittle down other statements that he has made. He tried to wriggle out of the position in which he found himself involved.

Sir PHILIP FYSH.—The words used by him were: "The Attorney-General, for whom I have respect."

Mr. TUDOR.—The honorable and learned member said that the Attorney-General was a member of the Ministry for whom he had respect, thereby suggesting to the mind of any reasonable man the inference that other Ministers, because they happened to be members of the Labour Party, were not worthy of the respect of the House.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—The honorable and learned member did not say that the Attorney-General was the only member of the Ministry for whom he had respect.

Mr. TUDOR.—Later on the honorable and learned member pointed to the Opposition corner, in a melodramatic style, and suggested that the association of certain honorable members with the Labour Party would mean that the latter would either destroy or swallow them. Perhaps he was thinking at the time of the way in which he had been swallowed, metaphorically speaking, by the Free-trade Party. The right honorable member for East Sydney recently made some reference to an "untamed tiger," seeking whom it might devour, but it seems to me that he has practically swallowed nearly the whole of the party with which the honorable and learned member for Ballarat has hitherto been associated. With one exception those honorable members have not had the courage to discuss the motion now before the Chair, the exception being the honorable member for Moira. It is, to say the least, somewhat singular that the honorable and learned member for Corinella should have moved an amendment to prevent the recommittal of clause 48, in order that honorable members on this side of the House might be gagged, and prevented from dealing with the situation as fully as they would have been able had a direct motion of want of confidence been submitted. Many of the amendments proposed by the honorable and learned member while the Bill was in Committee were of such a character

that they reminded me of the story when the Commandments were brought down from the Mount they were submitted to Satan, who, when asked to express an opinion upon them, said, "I desire to make a slight alteration in each; let me take the 'nots'". It seems to me that the honorable and learned member for Corinella acting in a somewhat similar way, would like to deal with various clauses of his Satanic majesty would have done with the Commandments. I shall apologise to him with the honorable and learned member for Corinella; but at all events I apologise to the House if my illustration be unparliamentary. The honorable and learned member for Ballarat asserted that the seats were lost by the late Government at the last general election were lost through the action of the Labour Party, that it was owing to the action of that party that they suffered defeat in certain constituencies. I would remind him, however, that the only seat which the Deakin party lost in this State was that of Corinella, and that it was not contested by a Labour candidate. Not one of the seats previously filled by supporters of the late Government was lost to the Labour Party at the last general election. I might go further, and say that the Ministry of which the honorable and learned member for Ballarat was the leader, did me the honour to bring out a candidate to oppose me, while the Melbourne daily newspaper which supported them did its utmost for my opponent, and gave me only one very short report. Notwithstanding this opposition, well as the opposition of the other party, which, of course, I expected, I succeeded in securing a victory by a small majority.

Mr. WATSON.—A majority of something like 10,000.

Mr. TUDOR.—I polled a larger vote than did any other honorable member presenting a constituency in this State, and also obtained the largest majority. The honorable and learned member said that the Labour Party opposed every Liberal. I would remind him, however, that we had him a walk-over at the last election, though we might have made a good fight against him.

Mr. DEAKIN.—No.

Mr. TUDOR.—At the next election we will probably find that we shall be able to make a very fair fight against him. As so with the honorable and learned member for Corinella, who was not opposed by

at the last election. I think known—

—Clause 48.

R.—If the honorable and desires to discuss clause so. When he dared to rise in a view, apparently, to cause the arms of one of thrown about him, and he resume his seat.

ER.—The honorable member in discussing that mat-

—I am simply waiting for answer.

ON.—The honorable and er is held down by the

R.—I do not wish to detain I am anxious that a vote without further delay. I owever, that the honorable member for Corinella has t to render the Bill ineffec- g various amendments. By ssertion of various provisos, hich he succeeded in adding he has sought to make the useless. He knows very er—

ON.—What about the—

R.—If the honorable mem- speak, why does he not do that he, too, has submitted will of the caucus. There conspiracy of silence on the able members opposite, and sible that when we take pos- Opposition benches we shall ay the game as well as they

ON.—The Labour Party will numbers.

R.—The incoming Govern- that we are not so unscrupu- of their number have shown be. Surprise has been ex- the Opposition should have s method to secure the defeat ment. I, for one, am not ed. Over a fortnight ago I Prime Minister that it was at the Opposition would en- prevent the recommittal of t my honorable leader replied not think they would lower y resorting to such tactics der to prevent legitimate dis- were told this morning by the

honorable member for Barker that more than a week ago—

Mr. WATSON.—A fortnight ago.

Mr. TUDOR.—The honorable member said that more than a week ago he was questioned as to whether he would vote for or against the recommittal of the clause, so that this plot, including the determination to gag the Opposition, was hatched some time since. We had an example of this conspiracy of silence last night, when the honorable and learned member for Werriwa, after rising to speak, was prevented from doing so. Such an incident has never been witnessed, so far as I know, in any other Parliament.

Mr. CONROY.—The statement is not true.

Mr. SPEAKER.—I call upon the honorable member to withdraw that remark.

Mr. CONROY.—I withdraw it, sir, and will say that the statement is incorrect. I explained last night to the honorable member what really took place.

Mr. WATSON.—The honorable and learned member will admit that he was muzzled.

Mr. TUDOR.—I know that the honorable and learned member rose to speak, but that as the honorable member for Moira desired to make a personal explanation, he was given precedence. At the close of that explanation, you, Mr. Speaker, called on the honorable and learned member for Werriwa, but when he rose various honorable members of his party displayed a desire to prevent him from speaking. The right honorable member for Swan shook a bundle of notes at him. I do not know whether it was a bundle of notes of a speech which he was going to deliver, or a bundle of bank notes to be used for some other purpose.

Mr. SPEAKER.—I think the honorable member will see that he certainly owes it to the House to withdraw that remark, and to apologize to the right honorable member.

Mr. TUDOR.—I certainly withdraw it. I only made it by way of a joke. The right honorable member probably produced the notes to satisfy the honorable and learned member for Werriwa that he had intended to speak upon this particular question. I trust that I shall always play the game of politics with more fairness than has been exhibited by the Opposition on this occasion.

Mr. CHANTER (Riverina).—I desire to make a few remarks upon this question,

which I regard as one of very great importance. This event will be recorded in history. As far as I can ascertain, it has no parallel in the history of British Parliaments. We are about to establish a precedent for which, from my stand-point, there is no justification. At this stage, I may be permitted to remark that the honorable member for Yarra misunderstood the observations of the honorable and learned member for Ballarat, otherwise he would scarcely have credited him with an intention to cast any reflection upon the Ministry as a whole. I followed the remarks of the honorable and learned member very closely, and I understood him to say that he had been very much influenced by the statements of the Attorney-General, for whom he entertained the very highest respect. I am thoroughly satisfied that the honorable and learned member had no intention whatever of casting a slur upon the Attorney-General's Ministerial colleagues. Concerning the Bill under discussion, I regret that we are not permitted to debate it in detail. As one who was recently before the electors, I desire to say that I fully explained to them the objects of the Arbitration Bill introduced by the Deakin Government, and to which the present Ministry have sought to give effect. That Bill had my approval. I was prepared to support it when it was submitted by the Deakin Administration, and I am equally prepared to support it now. Upon the hustings, I pledged myself to the principle of compulsory conciliation and arbitration. I regard it as a cure for a very grave evil. Various matters connected with this Bill have been dealt with in Committee and otherwise, but the particular question now engaging our attention has never received consideration, either in Committee or in the House. I have a very distinct recollection of the circumstances under which the amendment of the honorable and learned member for Corinella was agreed to. A number of honorable members were anxiously watching the clock as the time approached for the departure of their trains to the capitals of New South Wales and South Australia. The amendment referred to was read from the Chair, so that honorable members did not have an opportunity of carefully considering it. I voted for that proposal, because I thought that it aimed at making a majority of the employes engaged in any industry privy to an application to the Court for the grant-

Mr. Chanter.

ing of a preference to unionists. When I came to analyze it subsequently I realized that it was absolutely practicable, because it applied not to those directly interested in an industrial dispute, but to all having interests in common, and to all affected by it. In other words, it applied to the whole community. I claim that it would be absolutely impossible to satisfy any Court that a majority of those employed in a particular industry desired that a preference should be granted to unionists.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Does the honorable member mean to suggest that the Committee did not understand what it was doing?

Mr. CHANTER.—I know that frequently words are inserted in Acts of Parliament with a deliberate intention, but when those words are interpreted by the Court a very different construction is placed upon them. That fact has taught me that, as lawmakers, we should be extremely careful to employ in the Statutes of the country language which is so clear that its real meaning cannot be questioned. We have been assured by honorable members upon the Opposition side of the House that there is practically no difference whatever between an amendment of the honorable and learned member for Corinella and the proposal of the Government.

Mr. WILKS.—The Prime Minister has admitted that.

Mr. CHANTER.—Then, I ask, "What justification have honorable members on site for refusing to extend to the Government an opportunity to remedy a defect which has made itself manifest"? This clause can be amended only in Committee. Every honorable member who has had any political experience is aware of that. In this debate we are bound by the Standing Orders to confine our remarks to the question that is immediately before the Chair, though I am aware, sir, that, in discussing it, you have very generously permitted honorable members unusual latitude, because of peculiar circumstances in which they are placed. I desire to know whether it is the intention of those who are pressing this amendment to division to defeat any Arbitration Act, whether, by adopting a procedure which is absolutely without precedent, they wish to prevent honorable members who vote upon this matter rather hurriedly on

n, from reconsidering their
ght of the further evidence
duced?

—They have had six weeks
e matter.

ER.—The honorable mem-
imilar remark previously.
e have not had six moments
onsider it. Clause 48 can-
ered in the House. It is
tee that honorable members
unity of remodelling it.
ng whatever in this matter.
onorable and learned member
o carry his amendment; but
ime I desire to maintain
ls which have been set
on with this Parliament.
wer to those who sent me
ledged myself to do all I
the passing of a Concilia-
ration Bill, in order to pre-
strikes, with all their dis-
sometimes involving dire
ven ruin, to so many in-
. It is my desire to see
the kind placed on the
e early as possible. I have
ok at the mere amendment,
ow far it involves the existence
ment; I have to look at the
e passing of such an amend-
e on the prospects of a Con-
Arbitration Bill. I have
with honorable members who
pledged to do their utmost to
ation of the kind, and I hope
that alliance. Certain hon-
ers, whom I need not indi-
o are going to support the
have declared themselves in
opposed to compulsory con-
rbitation, and I cannot there-
hem to assist in promoting such
On this occasion I regret
elf severed from friends
have been associated for
but it appears to me that the
of the vote to-night are likely
more disastrous to the great
h of Australia than is at
ed. We have an object les-
United States, where, in the
medial legislation of the kind,
ers have been locked out by
s. It is an old saying that
ts itself; and in view of these
cannot be too careful what
ke. It is only in some of the

States of the Commonwealth that Concilia-
tion and Arbitration Acts are in operation,
and unless the Commonwealth Parliament
steps in and fills the gap, there is nothing
to prevent strikes of the most ruinous char-
acter. The absence of legislation of the kind
may be a great temptation to both employ-
ers and employed to resort to the barbarous
system of strikes or locks-out.

Mr. CAMERON.—Can the States Parlia-
ments not pass Conciliation and Arbitra-
tion Acts if they think fit?

Mr. CHANTER.—We have no power to
compel the States Parliaments to pass laws
of the kind. We are here as members of
the Commonwealth Parliament, to promote
the common weal of Australia; and it
is our duty, where necessary, to fill
up gaps in necessary legislation. Can
we hope that a Parliament, whether
it be long-lived or short-lived, com-
posed of and supported by those who
are to-night opposing the present Govern-
ment, will succeed in passing a Concilia-
tion and Arbitration Bill? I am one
who had the honour, pride, and privilege
to follow the late Prime Minister, the hon-
orable and learned member for Ballarat.
Although there was a time when circum-
stances prevented my taking my seat in
this House, I kept myself well acquainted
with what was taking place; and when I
read what the late Prime Minister and his
party had done, I felt that we were about
to realize a higher ideal in our Federal
parliamentary life. With others of
the party who followed the late Prime
Minister, I pledged myself to give the pre-
sent Government fair play, and, notwith-
standing that I voted for the amendment
of the honorable and learned member for
Corinella to include the present clause 48
in the Bill, I cannot in conscience now give
what appears to me to be one of the foulest
blows which one party in Parliament could
give to another. To deny the right of
the humblest member of the Chamber to re-
commit a clause of a Bill would in itself
to a straining of parliamentary practice;
but to deny that right to a Government, who
are in charge not of their own Bill, but
of the Bill of another Government—a right
which it is sought to exercise to meet the
wishes, not only of Government sup-
porters, but of members on this side of the
House—appears to me to be straining the
rules to breaking point, and establishing
a precedent which may in the future render
legislative progress almost impracticable.
When we meet in this House each day our

opening prayer asks that we may not resort to petty and tricky political warfare, but may legislate for the benefit of the whole community. It is not for me to consider what the effect of the division may be; on that point I know nothing, except from general rumour. My duty is only to remember that the result may cause a stoppage of parliamentary work for a time; and, in my opinion, we ought to take a more honorable and dignified position, and assist the Government in transacting the business of the country. The moment we feel that the Government does not retain the confidence of the House, or of the country, let us challenge them in a straightforward, open way. This is a motion of want of confidence, without the privileges which honorable members ought to enjoy in connexion with such a proposal. After a political experience of twenty years, I can say that I never before saw an attempt of this kind; and I have been used to the political life of a State where a great many political tricks were indulged in. I never knew an occasion in that State where this method was resorted to in order to defeat a Government.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Methods twenty thousand times worse were resorted to.

Mr. CHANTER.—The honorable member's Ministerial experience was greater than mine. My Ministerial life was short. But I was allied in New South Wales with a very honorable gentleman, recently deceased, Sir George Dibbs, who would never resort to tricks in order to obtain his political ends. He was always open and straightforward in whatever he did. Whenever he had to attack a Government he always did it in a straightforward and honorable manner. Why should I be denied the privilege which could be exercised only in Committee of explaining the reason why, on a former occasion, voting in haste, I supported the amendment of the honorable and learned member for Corinella?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The honorable member can do that now.

Mr. CHANTER.—I cannot do it now without trespassing upon the generosity of Mr. Speaker, who, I may remark, has been exceedingly generous throughout this debate in allowing honorable members to enter into what were really second reading speeches, and to deal with all the ramifications of the question of preference. But the matter before us now is not that of preference. That has already been decided. This proposal is a direction

to the Court. It is an attempt to tie the hands of the Court as to when it shall shall not grant preference to members organizations. I was perfectly prepared to leave that to the discretion of the Court. But we have got beyond that stage. I now proposed to shackle the members of the Court. Who could be in a better position to deal with the granting of preference than members of the tribunal to whom disputes are referred? I can see serious danger from the amendment if carried in its present form. While I do not side with employers on the one side or employes on the other, still I must say that I have known cases where employers have deliberately gaged non-union men in order to create dispute. That may happen again. If it should happen, is it not equitable and that the Court, which is seized of all the circumstances of the case, should have power to say to the employer—"You have done wrong, and have improperly discharged those men, and we will give them preference as against others"? The matter is surrounded with so many difficulties that behoves every honorable member to put aside one side party feelings and to recognise, before it is too late to rectify it, that a mistake is being made. If we allow the Government to take the Bill into Committee, and afterwards we find that they are conducting the proceedings improperly, it will be perfectly competent for the House to remove them from the Treasury benches. But that is not the proper method to adopt. It is for the Prime Minister to consider certain amendments which have been made very widely in the press. We are asked whether it is the time we retired from the present position in which the majority of the members of this House are dominated by one or seven members who happen to be Ministers of the day, with respect to amendments in legislation? Has not the House the right to say to Ministers—"You do not represent the Commonwealth of Australia and whatever your views upon this matter may happen to be, we ask you to go away from the Bill, and to accept the wishes of the House in regard to amendments"? That position is upheld by some of the greatest jurists of the day. I urge the Government to consider this point, because at present we are absolutely shackled by the position in which we place ourselves.

Mr. WATSON.—Surely the honorable member would not wish the Government

satisfaction upon honor-
opposite.

FER.—I am afraid that the
misapprehends what I have

N.—The Prime Minister is

FER.—No, he is not sarcas-
had the privilege of know-
Minister for many years,
Minister, but in other capaci-
always looked upon him as
t earnest and sincere of our
This House is not the place
display of sarcasm and

ow that some honorable
ge themselves in that re-
ally, but I am per-
that any honorable mem-
on the platform, and told
that he wished to get into
alth Parliament for the pur-
sarcastic, would be told by
wished to send to Parlia-
en, who would attend to the
e country. It is in that

ave always regarded legisla-
not impute improper motives
are supporting the amend-
eve that the honorable and
r for Corinella, having car-
dment which has been made
naturally anxious to see it

I do not think that he is
unworthy motives. But I
t to him that the precedent
set on this occasion will be
very great danger to Parlia-
ture. It will be used against
ents. It may be used to de-
ent after Government. Surely
of the honorable and learned
e politics of this country is
for him to allow himself to
ther honorable members for
s. I believe that he hon-
nscientiously desires to see
w a proper Conciliation and
Bill. But he ought to
present associates. Per-
e no like or dislikes in poli-
I am satisfied that the politi-
s of my associates are in ac-
mine. I urge the honorable
member to consider whether
supporting him are doing so
e ends which he has in view.
s amendment when he origin-
On this occasion I intend

contrary direction, in the in-

terests of justice, and in the interests of fair
play to a Government who ought not to be
condemned in this manner. I trust that
honorable members will give them that fair-
play to which they are entitled.

Mr. DAVID THOMSON (Capricornia).

—I am not going to say that I am surprised
at the attitude taken up by the Opposition
with regard to this question. Having for
some years studied the political conduct of
the right honorable member for East Syd-
ney, I am not at all surprised at his atti-
tude, nor at that of those honorable members
who sit behind him. But I am surprised
that the honorable and learned member for
Corinella should allow himself to be used
as a tool in a matter of this kind.
The attempt that is now being made
to dislodge the Government is not one
that has been sprung upon the House.
It is a well thought-out scheme
to "down" the Government on the first op-
portunity. For a considerable time past
the New South Wales newspapers have been
urging the right honorable member to chal-
lenge the Labour administration; but he
has not been game to move a straight-o-
motion of want of confidence, because he
knew that he had no chance of carrying it.
The Government have conducted the business
of this House too well for that. Now,
however, he finds them in a tight place. He
knows that the Prime Minister is a man of
his word, and that when he said that he
would recommit clause 48 he would stick
to his statement. There is no "yes-no"
attitude for him. The sweets of office are
as nothing in comparison with the passing
of a good Arbitration measure. He knew
that the Bill as amended would be of no
use to the unionists of Australia, and that
they would refuse to register under it. No
union would register unless its members
could obtain a preference.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The unions register
under other Acts which do not allow them
to obtain preferences.

Mr. DAVID THOMSON.—They would
not register under this measure, because
they know that it would take probably six
months before they could prove to the Court,
when applying for a preference, that they
represented a majority of those employed in
an industry. Fancy trying to obtain the
opinions of a majority of the Australian
Workers' Union!

Mr. HUTCHISON.—It could not be done
in six years.

Mr. DAVID THOMSON.—The right
honorable member for East Sydney himself

has recognised that it would take a considerable time to find out what were the opinions of a majority of those connected with a large industry like the shearing industry. I hold that it is enough to require that the applicants shall represent a substantial majority of those employed in any industry. If there were 100 men on the books of a union, it would not follow that that number of men was at any given time engaged in the industry to which they properly belonged. Seventy-five of them might be working at their proper trades, but the other twenty-five might be engaged in other occupations. Therefore, forty would represent a substantial majority of those connected with the industry. It would probably be impossible to obtain an actual majority. In 1890 I had something to do with a strike in a coal-mining district, and I remember how, after the funds of the unions were exhausted, the wives and families of the bread-winners who were out of employment were practically starving, although the blacklegs were getting from 12s. to 15s. per day. I do not wish to see a repetition of that kind of thing. The honorable and learned member for Werriwa has repeated time after time that six out of every seven workers are not unionists. I dare say that not twenty people in every 100 attend the churches of the land; but it could not be contended that all who do not go to church are not Christians. In the same way, it cannot be said that all who do not belong to unions are non-unionists. In my district 2,000 or 3,000 men are working in the Mount Morgan mine who are not members of a union, because they are not organized; but they, like almost every working man in Central Queensland, sympathize with the unionists of Australia. In the early seventies I was connected with a strike, but those engaged in it were not unionists, although we were battling for ourselves and for our fellow workers. There are men at work all over the country who, although for some reason or other they are not members of unions, are, nevertheless, in sympathy with unionism. Although six out of seven may not be unionists, every working man is in sympathy with unionism. The only exceptions are those who hang around street corners, and will never accept a job unless they can get a high wage for doing practically nothing. The honorable member for Moira is probably the only man on the Opposition side of the Chamber who knows anything about

Mr. David Thomson.

bush work. I am surprised that one has had experience of such work, and is aware of the privations and hardships which those who undertake it have to suffer, should vote against preference unionists, and should talk as he against unionists.

Mr. KENNEDY.—I have not spoken against unionists, though I spoke against the coercion of majorities by minorities.

Mr. DAVID THOMSON.—How can those who have to hump their swag in place looking for work coerce anyone?

Mr. KENNEDY.—I have done as much for the workers as the honorable member has done for them.

Mr. DAVID THOMSON.—No doubt the honorable member has. I have done much manual work myself for a number of years past; but my sympathies are with the workers. I have kept in touch with them. Perhaps the honorable member has managed to keep a few shillings and is now independent. The honorable and learned member for Corinella aims at emasculating the Bill, which is intended to benefit the workers, who are trying to get a living for themselves and their families. What does the honorable member care about how they fare? Through his profession he can live upon the life blood of the workers. The members of his union want a preference, but he is not prepared to tend the same privilege to manual workers. No wonder we have to direct our attention to the declining birth rate. The honorable members display so much difference with regard to matters affecting the interests of the working classes. The right honorable member for East Sydney says that he intends to go on with the Bill, but how does he expect to succeed in getting a workable measure when sixteen of the strongest supporters are absolutely opposed to its principles? Are those honorable gentlemen going to stifle their consciences?

An HONORABLE MEMBER.—They have no consciences.

Mr. DAVID THOMSON.—Probably their consciences are so seared that they are of no further use. I have been working with my hands since I was fourteen years of age, and I cannot help expressing indignation when I see a lot of the bludgers trying to kill this Bill. They have been gagged. Our caucus is nothing to them. We could not silence the members of the party by means of the caucus. I do not think it possible for any one to gag

d learned member for Wer-
 apparently he has been hypno-
 members of the Opposition
 y have the numbers, and that
 nt will resign. They are per-
 are that the Prime Minister is
 o" man, but that he means

I can assure honorable mem-
 that when we cross to the op-
 es we shall give them the live-
 y ever had. Some years ago
 member for Parramatta was
 ne Labour Party in the New
 Parliament, and I assisted to
 at position. Now we find him
 the preference clause. He
 man who is endeavouring to
 e workers and to rob them of
 and to destroy their privileges.
 amendment of the honorable
 member for Corinella was pro-
 d smiles which illumed the
 ble members made them look
 bring morning. I could see that
 ething behind the amendment.
 got well under way, the two

Opposition, or whatever they
 nspicuous by their absence.
 tent that the ends which they
 in should be achieved through
 ality of others, and they have
 whilst unfair methods have
 ous the Government from
 pty that honorable members
 he Bill to be recommitted and
 on its merits. Like brigands,
 ing the Government and hold-
 som; but the case is hopeless,
 f the Government are forfeit.
 (Maranoa).—After the breezy
 ed by the honorable member
 a, I hope that honorable mem-
 will extend some little con-
 e. In the first place I should
 why there should be a con-
 nce among members of the
 very one of them is eager to
 re not say anything. The
 mber for Werriwa was pulled
 nt.

KER.—I do not think that
 to the honorable and learned
 erriwa is in order.

—I was endeavouring to con-
 ble and learned member with
 want to give him that
 hich he is refusing to
 e says that he is not in
 s in any shape or form, al-
 atter of fact, he belongs to

one of the most exclusive unions, the mem-
 bers of which enjoy distinct preference. To-
 day's *Age* contains a report of certain re-
 marks made by the Honorable B. R. Wise,
 who introduced the New South Wales Con-
 ciliation and Arbitration Bill. Last night
 he said—

"It was pretty certain that there would be a dis-
 solution of the Federal Parliament—"

I hope that his prognostication is correct.
 If so, some honorable members will soon
 get their walking tickets. He went on to
 say—

if not immediately, at least before very long.
 It was equally certain that the issue of the elec-
 tions would be whether there was or was not to
 be a Federal Arbitration Act. If they did not
 want a Federal Arbitration Act, then clearly it
 was their duty to vote against it; but if they did
 want it, then let them see that they voted for
 it, and were not misled into voting for a Bill,
 including the amendment proposed by Mr. McCay,
 which, he said deliberately, would make arbitra-
 tion a dead letter. If they wanted the Bill they
 should not support candidates who posed as
 friends of arbitration, and yet supported the
 clause which would make it inoperative. Any
 Arbitration Act which deprived the Court of power
 giving preference to unionists would be a dead
 letter.

Mr. JOHNSON.—The honorable gentle-
 man was not game to go to the poll.

Mr. PAGE.—I do not know whether he
 was game or not. If he had a safe seat in
 the Legislative Council of New South
 Wales, he would be a fool to go to the poll.
 I do not think that the honorable member
 would leave his seat in this Chamber to
 contest a seat in another House.

Mr. WATSON.—The opponents of the
 Honorable B. R. Wise were not game to in-
 terfere with the Act which he was largely
 instrumental in placing upon the statute-
 book.

Mr. PAGE.—So far as preference to
 unionists is concerned, I am rather pleased
 that the present situation has been brought
 about, because the Bill, in its present form,
 would have been of very little use to the
 Australian Workers' Union, the body to
 which I belong, and which has put such a
 big bee into the bonnet of the honorable
 and learned member for Macquarie, Mr.
 Kelly.

An HONORABLE MEMBER.—The honor-
 able member for Wentworth.

Mr. PAGE.—I beg the honorable mem-
 ber for Macquarie's pardon. Whatever
 may be his view in regard to this Bill, I
 know that he has nothing to say against the
 Australian Workers' Union. It is useless
 to beat about the bush; and, therefore, I
 think it well to say that, had it not been for

the Australian Workers' Union, in Queensland, six of the nine honorable members who now represent that State, would not be here. Yet, the Opposition are asking us to give up our unions; they are literally asking us to give up our seats to them. We took the advice which had been gratuitously tendered to us times out of number. It was said to the workers again and again, "Do not strike, but seek redress at the ballot-box. Send men into the Parliaments of the States, who will represent your grievances, and in that way alone will you secure the means of redress." We have adopted that course, and now many honorable members opposite have the assurance to tell us that we have no business here.

HONORABLE MEMBERS.—No.

Mr. PAGE.—That cry has repeatedly been raised by them, and they complain because we were returned on the labour ticket. Machine politics were invented by honorable members opposite, in order to secure our defeat, and now that we resort to the same weapon, but use it much more effectively than they have been able to do, they decry us, and seek to render it impossible for our organizations to be continued.

Mr. WEBSTER.—We are here.

Mr. PAGE.—And we are going to remain here. We are like a porous plaster, which takes a lot of pulling off. It is said that unionists exact a pledge from every labour candidate, and that statement is correct. They exacted one from me, and I was delighted and proud to give it. As a matter of fact, I would give them twenty pledges if they asked for them. Honorable members may wish to know the reason. In the olden days the workers of Queensland voted again and again for men who promised us everything, the Kingdom of Heaven included, provided that they were returned. The consequence was that we secured their election; but as soon as they reached Brisbane they forgot all about the poor back-blockers, and we never heard of or saw them again until the next election came round. Then they served up the same old dish, dressed up with a little green-stuff.

Mr. SPEAKER.—Is the honorable member discussing the clause?

Mr. PAGE.—I am referring to that which led up to the demand that preference should be granted to unionists. I signed the pledge required by the unionists. We had been tricked so often that we thought it well to endeavour to secure the return of

men from our own ranks. We feel that no one could better voice our grievances in Parliament than me who had been through the mill—unionists who had suffered for the cause. That is why we are here to-day. And yet honorable members opposite blame us for advocating the claims of those who send us here. Unionists are not the only supporters of the Labour Party. As a matter of fact I receive support from all classes, squatters included. The latter know very well that they will get a "square go" all the time, and I expect a "square go" from other representatives. I am pleased to say that our expectations are usually realized. On the occasion, however, such is not the case. Members of the Opposition are a lot of sand-baggers and political highwaymen.

Mr. SPEAKER.—The honorable member is distinctly out of order. He is not discussing the clause under consideration, and it is not in order to speak of honorable members generally, or in particular, as sand-baggers.

Mr. PAGE.—I applied that term in a political sense. I do not mean to say that the Opposition are sand-baggers, but that their tactics are worthy of such men. If honorable members opposite object to me so designated, I shall apologize for calling them such a bad name, but I do not know a worse one to apply to them. Those who have had experience in other Parliaments assert that the course of action adopted by the Opposition on this occasion is unprecedented, and that being so, there must be "something rotten in the State of Denmark." The Opposition did not relish the statement made to-day that they had applied the gag. When the opportunity offered we may give them a dose of their own physic.

Mr. LONSDALE.—Do not follow a bad example.

Mr. PAGE.—When the Opposition teach us such tricks they cannot blame us if we resort to them. They have been pleading the cause of the non-unionists, and the honorable member for New England appears to be very much afraid that such men would not be fairly treated if the clause were amended as the Government propose. I wish to show him that he is raising a mere bogey. He need have no fear as to the position of non-unionists in Queensland, at all events; for there, under freedom of contract, they fare far better than do the unionists. It is the unionists who suffer in that State. I wish to re-

which appeared in the *Argus* under the heading, "Gippsland Free Labourers and how nicely the *Argus* puts it. In question were unionists. For what they conceived to be and they starved rather than injustice. They were not suffering, for their wives were pinched for food, and old weather which we have living, have even lacked sufficient. Times out of number these to the mine-owners for a conciliatory request was refused. Had as we desire been in force, state of affairs would have been, and I contend that the refusing to accept a clause which the Government practically acquiescing in the action of the Outtrim mine.

Mr. LONSDALE.—No.
—I repeat that they are seeking to take away the only the workers have hitherto employ in their defence, and them nothing in return. So concerned, I prefer the good of striking. I do not desire conciliation and Arbitration Bill is prepared to give us. I the workers, "Let us resort old-fashioned strikes, and let win." If that course were should know where we were. The control of the public affairs of the Commonwealth, the Military Forces are ours, and we shall see strike are justly treated. The which I have referred is as

RA, Friday.—Notwithstanding Miners' Union has been dissolved, connexion with the mines is not manager of the Coal Creek mine concerned in the recent strike these men were selected because, they were well conducted through- in this respect differing greatly their fellow unionists, who took part in the strike. It appears that employes—free labourers—on dis- go strikers were going down the shift, held a meeting, and decided at they would not work with the manager, Mr. P. McDonald, the mine—he is just recovering from a severe attack of influenza— decided to work the shift, and afterwards, and the two strikers arrangements had been made for to go on the afternoon shift,

and at the change of shifts the free labourers held a mass meeting, and resolved, without a dissentient, that if the strikers were kept on they would cease work in a body. They interviewed the manager *en masse*, and put their demands before him in writing. They said that for over twelve months their lives had been made miserable by the insults and gibes of the strikers, and that opprobrious epithets had been applied to them whenever the opportunity offered. They stated that their decision was unalterable, and asked for an immediate answer, as if the strikers were not put off they would not go down to work that shift. The strikers had refused to work with them, and the positions were now reversed. The manager, in the circumstances, did not care to have the mine idle, and decided, pending full consideration, to put off the four strikers at once.

What has the honorable member for New England to say to that state of things? He would not give the wives and children of these men who had stood by their union an opportunity to live.

Mr. LONSDALE.—Yes, I would.

Mr. PAGE.—The report goes on to say—

Two other unionists are employed at the new shaft, but as they are entirely separated from the other miners no objection has been made to them.

Are these men lepers that they should be ostracized in this manner? Are they to be so treated merely because they are unionists and men of principle? It makes my blood boil to think that they should be subjected to such treatment.

It is stated that several unionists formerly employed at Coal Creek have obtained work at the Jumbunna mine under assumed names, they being unknown to the free labourers there. No further steps will be taken in connexion with the Coal Creek trouble for a day or two. About sixty men are employed at the mine now.

I would ask honorable members opposite whether they favour the state of things described in that report.

Mr. LONSDALE.—No.

Mr. PAGE.—It is useless for honorable members opposite to say that they do not mean this, that, or the other. Does not the amendment of the honorable and learned member for Corinella practically deny a preference to unionists? The honorable and learned member for Bendigo represents one of the great labouring constituencies in Victoria, and I cannot understand his action upon the present occasion. I cannot understand the action of a man who represents a mining constituency in opposing the extension of a preference to unionists. Every honorable member must admit that unionism is good for everybody. Why were trades unions established? For

the benefit of the workers. Employés have organized for the purposes of mutual benefit. The moral of their action is appropriately represented upon many of our industrial banners by a bundle of sticks, with the inscription beneath, "United we stand, divided we fall." I believe in unionism in every shape and form. If a man is not a member of a union he ought to be. No man has a right to live upon the earnings of another. If there are a hundred men employed in the carpentering and brick-laying trades, and if ninety of them are members of a trades union, I claim that the remainder are parasites, because the ninety are responsible for the maintenance of fair conditions, in the benefits of which the others participate. What happens to a body of men who have no union? They cut into one another's wages every week. If a rush takes place for the work, even if the men have wives and families to maintain, those who can do the job cheapest always secure it. That is the cursed feature of the contract system, which the pastoralists are now attempting to introduce into the shearing industry. If the Shearers', the Seamen's, and the Waterside Workers' Unions registered under this Act, there would be no more strikes. Those honorable members who have had experience of these disastrous industrial upheavals know perfectly well that it is not the men who chiefly suffer by them, but the women and the children. They suffer from lack of food and clothing. During the shearers' strike of 1891 there were women in Queensland who actually sent their wedding rings to the nearest town to be pawned, rather than allow their husbands to "scab" upon their mates. Those are the true unionists, and those are the men to whom I want to give preference in this Bill. I feel that while I am fighting their battle, I am fighting one of the noblest battles on this earth. The manhood and womanhood in the back-blocks of Queensland, New South Wales, Victoria, and the other States, are the bone and sinew of the Commonwealth, and it is their battle we are fighting. We are fighting not only for the workers in the different metropolitan cities, but for the workers throughout the length and breadth of the land; and how honorable members opposite, who have been through the mill, and know what I am talking about, can give a vote which will "down" those men, is beyond my comprehension.

Mr. Page.

Question—That the figures proposed be left out stand part of the motion—

The House divided.

Ayes	34
Noes	36

Majority	2
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AYES.

Bamford, F. W.	Malcney, W. R. N.
Batchelor, E. L.	Mauger, S.
Bonython, Sir J. L.	O'Malley, K.
Brown, T.	Page, J.
Carpenter, W. H.	Poynton, A.
Chanter, J. M.	Ronald, J. B.
Cook, J. N. H. H.	Spence, W. G.
Crouch, R. A.	Storrer, D.
Culpin, M.	Thomas, J.
Fisher, A.	Thomson, David
Frazer, C. E.	Watkins, D.
Groom, L. E.	Watson, J. C.
Higgins, H. B.	Webster, W.
Hughes, W. M.	Wilkinson, J.
Hutchison, J.	
Isaacs, I. A.	
Lyne, Sir W. J.	
Mahon, H.	

Tellers:

McDonald, C.
Tudor, F. G.

NOES.

Cameron, D. N.	Lonsdale, E.
Chapman, A.	McCay, J. W.
Conroy, A. H. B.	McColl, J. H.
Cook, J.	McLean, A.
Deakin, A.	McWilliams, W. J.
Edwards, G. B.	Phillips, P.
Edwards, R.	Quick, Sir J.
Ewing, T. T.	Reid, G. H.
Forrest, Sir J.	Salmon, C. C.
Fuller, G. W.	Skene, T.
Fysh, Sir P. O.	Smith, B.
Gibb, J.	Thomson, Dugald
Glynn, P. McM.	Wilks, W. H.
Harper, R.	Willis, H.
Johnson, W. E.	Wilson, J. G.
Kelly, W. H.	
Kennedy, T.	
Knox, W.	
Lee, H. W.	

Tellers:

Robinson, A.
Smith, S.

PAIRS.

Kingston, C. C.	Turner, Sir G.
Fowler, J. M.	Liddell, F.

Question so resolved in the negative.

Amendment agreed to.

Debate (on motion by Mr. WATSON) journed.

SPECIAL ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. WATSON (Bland—Treasurer)

In view of the importance of the vote which has just been given, it is necessary that the Government should have an opportunity to consider its position. I therefore move—

That the House, at its rising, adjourn on Wednesday next.

Question resolved in the affirmative.

PAPER.

N laid upon the table the
:—

claim of Mr. E. Palmer against
ers, telephone inspector, Bris-

JOURNMENT.

ON (Bland—Treasurer).—

do now adjourn,

take the opportunity to con-
table members upon the
at has been displayed dur-
which has just closed. The
ere not able to elicit any
m honorable members op-
r intentions, in view of cer-
ies, is perhaps, from our
rather a pity. But, never-
are that all honorable mem-
fested an anxiety to have
ght to a conclusion with the
degree of friction, and I
n behalf of the Government
g that fact.

lved in the affirmative.

adjourned at 8.51 p.m.

Representatives.

ay, 17 August, 1904.

took the chair at 2.30 p.m.,
rs.

GOVERNMENT BILL.
ed.

ON OF MINISTERS.

ON (Bland—Treasurer).—I
te to the House that, fol-
te which was given on Fri-
ited upon His Excellency
eneral, and offered certain
ich His Excellency did not
then tendered the resigna-
and colleagues, which His
pleased to accept, contin-
aining office until the ap-
r successors. As I under-
v Administration is in pro-
on, I now move—
do now adjourn.

lved in the affirmative.

adjourned at 2.33 p.m.

House of Representatives.

Thursday, 18 August, 1904.

Mr. SPEAKER took the chair at 2.30 p.m.,
and read prayers.

NEW ADMINISTRATION.

Mr. REID (East Sydney).—It will
be remembered that the late Prime
Minister made a statement at the
last sitting of the House with re-
ference to events which had occurred since
the meeting of the House on Friday, and I
now wish to state that, in view of the resig-
nation tendered by the late Prime Minister
of himself and his colleagues, I was com-
missioned by His Excellency the Governor-
General to undertake the formation of a new
Administration, and that I have performed
that task. Before naming the Ministers, and
the offices which they will hold, I wish to
make an explanation. It will be remembered
that I invited the right honorable member for
Balaclava to join with me, upon terms of
perfect equality, in the construction of this
new Government, and he has acted on that
footing, and in that capacity with me, in the
formation of the Government whose names
I shall presently announce. My right hon-
orable colleague, in view of the state of his
health, still suffering as he is from the effects
of a prolonged illness of a serious character,
and in consideration of the duty which he
owes to himself, has asked me to relieve him
from any extra political work beyond that
attaching to the Department with which he
will be intrusted. As honorable members
know, the position which he occupied under
the arrangement made would entail a con-
siderable amount of political work outside
the particular duties of a Department, and
in the present state of my right honorable
colleague's health he would be absolutely
unequal to any such task. Under these
circumstances, he has asked my honorable
friend, Mr. Allan McLean, to take the posi-
tion to which I have referred in the Cabinet.
I shall myself fill the office of Minister
of State for External Affairs, and the list
of my colleagues in the new Administration,
with their respective offices, is as follows:—

The Hon. Allan McLean—Minister
of State for Trade and Customs;
Senator Sir Josiah Henry Symon,
K.C.M.G., K.C. — Attorney-
General;

The Right Hon. Sir George Turner,
P.C., K.C.M.G.—Treasurer;

The Hon. Dugald Thomson—Minister of State for Home Affairs;

The Hon. James Whiteside McCay—Minister of State for Defence;

The Hon. Sydney Smith—Postmaster-General.

These gentlemen will occupy the whole of the Departments allotted by the Constitution. I may add that the position of Vice-President of the Executive Council will be filled by Senator Drake.

Mr. WATSON (Bland).—Before the business of the House is proceeded with, I may perhaps be permitted, on behalf of the direct Opposition, to offer my congratulations to the new Prime Minister upon the names which he has submitted to the House as those of his colleagues. I am sure that, although we may differ from the new Administration in matters of policy, so far as personal considerations are affected we can extend to them the heartiest welcome as Ministers in the new Government. I suppose that all of us must acknowledge that, in regard to the probable administration of the Departments, there is not the slightest fault to be found; but that, on the contrary, the best anticipations may be indulged in as to the working of the Departments under the gentlemen whose names have been announced. On general matters of policy, I am afraid that we shall not be able to be quite so cordial.

Mr. THOMAS.—Give them fair play.

Mr. WATSON.—Such expressions are capable of such differing interpretations that I do not intend to indulge in them. I can only promise that the Government shall receive at our hands such treatment as they merit in our view of the best interests of the country. I congratulate Ministers, and cordially welcome them upon their accession to office.

ELECTORAL ACT COMMITTEE.

Motion (by Mr. GROOM) agreed to—

That the time for bringing up the report of the Select Committee on Electoral Act Administration be further extended to Friday, 30th September next.

ADDITIONS TO ELECTORAL ROLLS.

Mr. MALONEY.—I desire to ask the Minister of Home Affairs whether he will continue the work which is now being carried out in connexion with the addition to the electoral rolls of the names of persons who are entitled to be registered,

but whose names have been omitted to the hurried inquiries which were when the rolls were first compiled.

Mr. REID.—Perhaps the hon. member will allow me to answer that question in this way. I should rather, if any questions are answered, that Mr. should have some time allowed to consider the state of public business.

Mr. MALONEY.—My reason for putting the question at this stage is that if necessary instructions are not issued to the police at once, hundreds of persons whose names have been left off the rolls, but are justly entitled to be placed upon them, will lose their chance of voting.

Mr. REID.—I can promise the hon. member that the urgency of that matter will not be overlooked.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

Motion (by Mr. REID) agreed to—

That the consideration of all other business be postponed until after the consideration of Government business.

SUPPLY BILL (No. 3).

Mr. SPEAKER reported the receipt of a message from His Excellency the Governor-General, recommending that an appropriation be made from the Consolidated Revenue for the purposes of this Bill.

In Committee of Supply:

Sir GEORGE TURNER (Balaklava Treasurer).—I move—

That a sum not exceeding £326,422 be granted to His Majesty for or towards defraying the services of the year ending the 30th June,

The passing of this Bill is necessary to enable the Treasurer to provide the means required to make certain payments which will fall due towards the end of the month. The measure was prepared under the supervision of the ex-Treasurer, and I understand that copies of it have been circulated amongst honorable members who have had an opportunity to go through it with the responsible officers of the Treasury, and I find that it makes provision for ordinary expenditure upon the part of the last financial year. In the Department one or two large sums were proposed which I have ascertained for the purpose of defraying the cost of certain ammunition—some of which has been delivered—and for a portion of the expenditure we must pay when ordering. A large expenditure is required to provide

at some of the Rifle As-
s, which will take place
he other items are not of
character. Under these cir-
umstances that honorable members
Bill to pass as quickly as

N (Bland).—I raise no
passing of this Bill. As
by the Treasurer, the
pared at my instance, be-
ve of a new Govern-
to office, it would have
to obtain Supply. Yes-
ly scrutinized its details,
it is essential that the items
ordinary salary votes for
e passed at the earliest op-
a view to maintaining the
Departments.

(Corio).—When the Trea-
filled his present office, a
le that a refund should be
in money which was paid
upon trophies. I believe
surer also assented to that
urgent necessity exists for
ants in connexion with the
de demonstration, I wish
surer whether he will make
next Supply Bill for the
on?

URNER.—The amounts must
Estimates, and be voted in
. They do not constitute
iture.

I.—Some special items are
Bill.

—No; except so far as the
munition is concerned.

ORREST (Swan).—I wish
tion of the Treasurer to a
very urgent character, for
liament provided £12,000
y, £7,000 for construction
armament, although nothing
up to the present time. I
nce works at Fremantle.

ER.—What became of the
as voted?

ORREST.—I shall deal
presently. Some time ago
was made with the Go-
stern Australia under which
d to provide the necessary
purpose of the fort at
and to regard it as
erty. The public buildings
he land were demolished,
was in readiness to give

effect to the wishes of Parliament by pro-
ceeding with the erection of the fort.
Difficulties, however, arose. The present
Treasurer was of the opinion that the work,
when finally completed, would involve an
expenditure considerably in excess of that
which was understood by Parliament when
the £12,000 was voted, and therefore he
urged me to refrain from expending £7,000
of the amount. He thought that we had
not taken Parliament sufficiently into our
confidence, and eventually the course which
he suggested was adopted by the Govern-
ment. He, however, undertook to lay
the whole matter before Parliament, and
to provide a sufficient sum for the current
year's expenditure. He also promised to
recommend that the necessary financial pro-
vision should be made for carrying out to
completion the work in its entirety. Last
year Parliament voted £5,000 to provide
one gun for that fort. I regret to say that
this amount was practically used by my
honorable friend the then Minister for De-
fence, without my knowledge, but that fact
will in no way militate against the progress
and completion of the work. I rise chiefly to
remind the Treasurer of the understanding
which was arrived at by the Government of
which we were both members, and to ex-
press the hope that on the Estimates-in-
Chief he will give effect to that under-
standing, which I at the time communicated
to the people of Western Australia.

Mr. CARPENTER (Fremantle).—I
should like to emphasize the remarks made
by the right honorable member for Swan,
and to remind him that this is not the
first occasion on which this matter has
been mentioned in the House. It is only
due to the late Government that I should
mention that, on my representation, they
agreed to provide on the Estimates for
1904-5 a sufficient sum to carry out these
defence works, and that I informed the
people of Fremantle that this course was
to be pursued. I am glad that the right
honorable member has confessed that it was
with his consent that the money voted by
the House for the carrying out of these
works was not spent as proposed.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I did not say that.
It went very much against my grain to see
the money devoted to another purpose.

Mr. CARPENTER.—The right honor-
able member said that he was approached
by the Treasurer of the Government of
which he was a member, and that he agreed
to the £12,000 voted for certain defence
works being devoted to another purpose.

while the sum of £5,000, voted for a gun, was commandeered without his knowledge by the honorable member for Eden-Monaro when holding office as Minister of Defence. I did not have the honour of being a member of the last Parliament, so that I am not familiar with the course of action which it adopted; but I was somewhat astonished to find that the House had permitted a vote passed for a specific purpose to be devoted to another object. The disappointment felt by the people of Fremantle because of the failure to carry out these defence works was very keen. This is, I take it, a reasonable opportunity for me to express my disappointment that in the newly-formed Administration, Western Australia has not a direct representative. I do not intend to refer at any great length to the *personnel* of the Government which meets the House for the first time to-day, or to any act that they may or may not have committed; but it is only fair to point out that the reason given by the Prime Minister for the non-inclusion of a representative of Western Australia in his Cabinet is that honorable members from that State are not to his political liking.

Mr. REID.—If the honorable member will allow me to say—

The CHAIRMAN.—Does the right honorable gentleman rise to a point of order?

Mr. REID.—I wish to say, if my honorable friend will allow me, that it is not a fact that I gave the reason mentioned by him. That is all. I suppose any one has a right—

The CHAIRMAN.—Order. The honorable member for Fremantle will proceed.

Mr. CARPENTER.—I am quite sure that the Prime Minister does not wish to keep this side of the House as silent this week as it was last week. If he has any such desire there is no hope of its realization. I do not wish to criticise the present Administration, but I take this, the first opportunity, to express my deep regret that it does not comprise a representative of Western Australia, and to say that the reason which has been given in the press for the non-representation of that State in the Cabinet is one which ought not to be advanced by a statesman.

Mr. REID.—Hear, hear.

Mr. CARPENTER.—I shall reserve what I have to say on this subject for some future occasion. I hope that the matter brought forward by the right honorable member for Swan will receive the earnest attention of the Government, and that a suf-

ficient sum will be provided on the Est to enable the work to be completed.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—I may say that I have some recollection of the matter mentioned by the honorable and learned member for Corio; but that the item relates to a refund of duty on trophies for which provision could not be made in a Supply Bill. Such a Bill is passed by the House on the assurance of the Treasurer that it provides for ordinary expenses and a refund of Customs duties would come within that definition. I understand, however, that the Estimates will provide for a refund of the duty in question. Coming to the matter mentioned by the honorable member for Swan, I think it will be admitted by all who have the question any consideration that it is absolutely necessary that a certain sum shall be spent on works necessary for the proper defence of Fremantle and Fremantle. At my request last session honorable members passed a certain resolution relating to these works, which appears in the Estimates, together with a footnote that a further sum would be required in order to permit of their completion. A footnote was inserted as the result of information afforded me by the Defence Department, in response to my inquiries when I subsequently discussed the matter with the Minister of Defence and Mr. General Hutton I found that a further sum—a sum of from £60,000 or £80,000—would be necessary to enable the work to be effectively carried out. Honorable members know that it is useless to only partially carry out an undertaking of this kind and that we must be prepared to vote a sum as will permit of the construction of the complete work, so that it will be, not a sham, but a sure thing. In these circumstances I felt that it was not justified in committing Parliament to the larger expenditure, and would not proceed with the work until I had had the opportunity to put the full facts before the honorable members, leaving them to decide whether an expenditure larger than that in the first instance anticipated should be incurred.

Mr. CARPENTER.—The larger sum required in connexion with the works at North Fremantle.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—The work will be made, not on the ordinary, but on the Special Works Estimates, for a considerable sum in relation to this particular work. Certain negotiations which

between the Commonwealth and Australian Governments have led to a considerable extent. Government have agreed to treat in respect of which they forgo a large sum, as being part of the money transferred Department, and the actual cash outlay would have been incurred in these defence works, has been reduced. I can assure members that the right honorable member was in no way to be blamed. He desired that the Government proceed, but I have always maintained that the Government has no right to sanction anything which will involve a larger expenditure than was anticipated until he has seen the facts before Parliament. He desired it to say whether the expenditure should be incurred. I said, that a considerable sum had been provided for in the next Special Estimate. When those Estimates are laid before the whole of the facts will be known to the honorable members, and the Committee of Supply will be able to make a larger expenditure provided. After investigating the matter as I was able to do, with the sanction of the responsible officer, I concluded that it was one which should be incurred.

It was moved in the affirmative. The motion was supported and adopted.

Mr. REID) proposed—
That Orders be suspended in order that the Government may be taken to obtain supply, and the Supply Bill through all its stages.

Mr. McDONALD (Kennedy).—I, like the Opposition, must congratulate the Minister on the manner in which he has obtained office.

Mr. REID.—I would remind the member that the question before the House is whether or not the Standing Orders should be suspended, and that it is for him, on this motion, to decide whether or not the Honorable Member of the Ministry or

Mr. McDONALD.—If necessary, Mr. REID will conclude my remarks by pointing out the scope of debate, and I will discuss such matters. I shall be within my legitimate rights in advancing reasons in support of the motion that the Standing

Orders should not be suspended on the ground that the Government have not the confidence of the House.

Mr. SPEAKER.—To such a line of argument as that, I could not object; but I did not understand that the honorable member desired to take that course. On the question whether or not the Standing Orders should be suspended, any arguments which may be advanced in support of the honorable member's contention that the Government have not the confidence of the House might be in order.

Mr. BAMFORD.—Clause 48.

Mr. McDONALD.—I do not propose to deal with clause 48; it has nothing to do with this question. I am prepared to take the course I propose to take at the present stage, or to wait until a later stage when the Supply Bill is before honorable members, as on that Bill we can discuss anything we please. If you, sir, think that that would be a more opportune time, I have no desire to place you in an unenviable position, and I shall be prepared to take that course.

Mr. SPEAKER.—As I said just now, the honorable member would be in order in arguing the question whether the Standing Orders should be suspended or not, to incidentally refer to such reasons as he mentioned, but I think it would be more convenient if the honorable member dealt with this matter on the Bill, when putting forward arguments why Supply should not be granted.

Mr. THOMAS.—We can give the Government a fair show.

Mr. McDONALD.—We intend to give the Government every reasonable consideration. I am prepared to treat them just as they have treated us. They can ask for no more than that. I will defer the remarks I proposed to make until the Bill is introduced, in order that I may not in any way hamper the procedure in connexion with this particular motion.

Mr. BAMFORD.—Give them time to ring up their supporters.

Question resolved in the affirmative.

Resolution of Ways and Means, covering resolution of Supply, adopted.

Ordered—

That Sir George Turner do prepare and bring in a Bill to carry out the foregoing resolution.

Bill presented by Sir GEORGE TURNER, and read a first time.

Motion (by Sir GEORGE TURNER) proposed—

That the Bill be now read a second time.

Mr. McDONALD (Kennedy).—Probably this is a more convenient time to offer the few general remarks I propose to make.

Mr. REID.—I think the best time would be on the message to send the Bill to the Senate.

Mr. McDONALD.—I have no doubt that the right honorable gentleman would prefer that nothing should be said on the matter at all.

Mr. REID.—I wish to have the first word—that is all.

Mr. McDONALD.—Very likely; and no doubt the right honorable gentleman would like to have a good many last words also. When the Labour Party took office under the honorable member for Bland, the Prime Minister rose in this chamber and told us that that honorable member had no right whatever to accept the responsibility of office, because he had not a majority behind him.

Mr. THOMAS.—Who said that?

Mr. McDONALD.—The right honorable gentleman who now sits at the head of the present Government.

Mr. THOMAS.—I thought it was the right honorable member for Swan.

Mr. McDONALD.—The right honorable gentleman was not content with saying that in this Chamber, but he went whining about the country, telling people that inasmuch as he did not send for himself, instead of the leader of the Labour Party, when the Government, led by the honorable and learned member for Ballarat resigned, the action of the Governor-General had been unconstitutional.

Mr. REID.—It has all come right in the end.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—The end is not yet.

Mr. McDONALD.—Now, what has been the action of the right honorable gentleman? Despite his continual whine about his not having been sent for on that occasion, we find that he has accepted a similar commission from the Governor-General, knowing full well at the time that he had not a majority behind him, and knowing also that he could not secure a majority except by humiliating himself and those honorable members whom he had to recommend to His Excellency as responsible Ministers. The right honorable gentleman, when he came back from his interview with the Governor-General, was like a man who had secured a mining concession. He started to hawk it around where he could make most of it. He went first to the honorable and learned member for Ballarat, and that honorable and learned gentleman sent him on

to the right honorable member for Bclava, by whom he was passed on to honorable member for Gippsland.

Mr. CROUCH.—The honorable learned member for Ballarat would have nothing to do with the right honorable gentleman.

Mr. KING O'MALLEY.—The honorable and learned member would not take stock in the syndicate.

Mr. McDONALD.—That was the action; the honorable and learned member for Ballarat refused to have anything at all to do with the right honorable gentleman. He said, "No; I have only one political mistake in my life, and that was in joining a Coalition Government. The honorable and learned gentleman refused to have anything to do with the Prime Minister, but he passed him on to the right honorable member for Ballarat. We have then this humiliating spectacle of the present leader of the Government, the right honorable gentleman went, on the other hand, to the present Treasurer, and said to him, "Although I am Prime Minister of this Commonwealth, I am only in that position nominally; I am not really Prime Minister, because you will have co-ordinating powers with myself."

AN HONORABLE MEMBER. — The honorable gentleman sublet half of his tract.

Mr. McDONALD. — As the honorable member says, the right honorable gentleman sublet the formation of half of the Government.

Mr. MAUGER.—Subletting is illegal.

Mr. WEBSTER.—The Government pretends to work on the butt-gang system.

Mr. McDONALD.—I hope that we will not find, in this instance, the amount of sweating which usually takes place in connexion with a contract which has been secured. After finding fault with the ex-Prime Minister, because he did not inform the Governor-General that he could not command a majority, surely it was the absolute duty of the right honorable member for Sydney to give that assurance? But the right honorable gentleman had a party of only four. His whole party, all he could rake together, numbered no more than four. Not only was that so; but when he came to deal with the members of the other party, they said, "We will join you, but you must swallow the whole of your life-long principles." The right honorable gentleman had to swallow his life-long principles, and had to im-

men for whom he has the

ALLEY.—Not contempt.

ALD.—The honorable
ow that I am not speaking
but in a purely political,
ber that some time ago the
member for East Sydney
y great oration, as we all
e, in the Melbourne Town
at occasion he referred to
arty as the "Steerage

that is where the true gentle-
ue democrats.

ALD.—I was present in the
the right honorable gentle-
remarks, and I know that
d them as a compliment to
ty.

—The right honorable
that every protectionist

ALD.—There was another
particular meeting of which
vivid recollection. I re-
the right honorable gentle-
the present leader of the
ail in another place, Senator
right honorable gentleman,
ort of way, said, "Now,
eat and glorious statesman
that remark brought rounds
But now we find that this
een also swallowed by the
member.

There is lots of room!

ALD.—The right honorable
down to the House and,
en or seventeen occasions—
the exact number—told us
d to move a no-confidence
y day the unfortunate re-
ewspapers were waiting out-
ascertain just when he in-
this motion.

ON.—The honorable mem-
eve it, did he?

ALD.—We were all de-
right honorable gentleman
ns for getting upon the
First of all, he came
nt that he must kill the
ment. The method he adop-
number of his supporters
a certain direction upon a
being distinctly stated that
posal were carried it would

Mr. HUME COOK.—They were wreckers.

Mr. McDONALD.—They were wreckers
of the Bill, and at the same time desired to
defeat the Deakin Government. That Go-
vernment was defeated. The right honorable
gentleman pursued exactly the same course
in connexion with the late Government. He
was not prepared to move a no-confidence
motion. He was aware that if he sub-
mitted a straightforward honest proposal of
that nature he would be defeated. He
could not possibly have carried such a mo-
tion. Therefore, he endeavoured to at-
tain his purpose by carrying an adverse vote
upon a clause which was vital to the Con-
ciliation and Arbitration Bill. I should not
have spoken at this length, except that we
know the right honorable gentleman and
his methods, and we are aware that during
the next three weeks he will be granting
interviews and delivering addresses in dif-
ferent parts of the country. It is therefore
necessary that we should as far as possible
put our case before the public. The late
Prime Minister is too modest on an occasion
like this. There is such courtesy in his dis-
position, that he wishes to grant to the
present Government a concession similar to
that which he thinks was granted to him
on a recent occasion.

Mr. THOMAS.—We will give the Govern-
ment courtesy as soon as we have the
numbers!

Mr. BATCHELOR.—We have the numbers
to-day.

Mr. McDONALD.—We have the num-
bers now, and the Prime Minister will
either have to "stone-wall" this Bill, or he
goes out.

Mr. REID.—I would not even encourage
a debate upon a question of urgency.

Mr. McDONALD.—The right honor-
able member cannot complain. I did not
complain when he did not submit a straight-
out vote of no confidence in the late Go-
vernment. Honorable members opposite
were quite within their rights. They had
a perfect right to adopt the method which
they did adopt, if they thought fit. Per-
sonally, I should not have taken the
course which they adopted, because I
thought it was a very questionable one;
but technically speaking they were within
their constitutional rights. But they must
not blame us for taking a similar
course when we think it expedient.
It is just as well that we should
face the situation. I am giving a start to
a discussion which I trust will afterwards

be carried on with more vigour and ability than I can command. When the Prime Minister had defeated the Deakin Government, he endeavoured to bring about a combination. Just here I feel that something ought to be said concerning the action of the honorable and learned member for Ballarat. The Prime Minister and the honorable and learned member to whom I have referred, came to a certain agreement. Of course, we have no right to object to their coming to an agreement, but what I did object to was that while the honorable and learned member for Ballarat had signed an agreement with the head of the present Government to form a coalition, he was at the same time negotiating with our party.

Mr. KENNEDY.—The honorable and learned member for Ballarat never signed an agreement for a coalition.

Mr. McDONALD.—He signed an agreement to this effect—that the terms were to be submitted to his party. But while he signed that, and was negotiating with the Free-trade Party, he was also negotiating with the Labour Party. That, to my mind, was a base act of treachery. Suppose, for a moment, that the Labour Party had agreed to the terms desired by the honorable and learned member for Ballarat. What would have been the result? Probably he would have gone to his party and recommended it to sell itself to the highest bidder.

Mr. KENNEDY.—Has not the honorable member heard of a party in this Parliament which made such a proposal?

Mr. McDONALD.—No; I have never heard of a party that did so. Anything that the Labour Party has ever done, we are prepared to bring to the light of day. I am blaming the leader of the Deakin Government for the action which he took on that occasion. I maintain that to negotiate terms of agreement with the Labour Party, and also with the right honorable member at the head of the Government, was not a fair deal. What came of it? When we hear from time to time statements made about the members of the Labour Party signing away their liberty because they have signed a pledge, I ask in what position are other honorable members? What was the position of the head of the Government, and the honorable and learned member for Ballarat when they entered into an agreement? They signed an agreement. Now we have a pledged party on the other side. Honorable members of that party, who, we were told, could always

take each other's word, decided, on particular occasion, that they would an agreement drawn up in black white, so that none might back down. I hope that for the future we shall not hear any more about the Labour Party being compelled to sign a pledge, seeing that the leaders of the party opposite cannot do one another without a similar precaution. There is another little matter which I ought to be mentioned, though casually, because there will be ample opportunity later on to enlarge on these topics. I can remember when a Tariff was passed by this House. The present Prime Minister then, in his place in Opposition, made such a pathetic appeal on behalf of poor little children, whose boots were subject to a duty of 30 per cent., that the ladies in the gallery were obliged to use their handkerchiefs; indeed, the honorable gentleman's own tears dropped on his face as he spoke. At one moment he fairly wept, and the next he yelled at the top of his voice, denunciations of what he termed the outrageous duties of 30 per cent. on hats and boots. But what did he find now? The honorable gentleman swallowed the 30 per cent. on boots, and 30 per cent. on hats, and what has become of the little children of whom he spoke? It does not matter, because he has now attained the ambition of his life—he has become Prime Minister of Australia. However I say, there will be ample time later to deal with these matters; but before I do so, I should like to ask the honorable member for Gippsland whether he feels at ease and comfortable in his present position. That honorable member advocated the 30 per cent. tax to its fullest extent, while the Prime Minister vigorously denounced that impost; but now we find those gentlemen in the same arm.

Mr. RONALD.—“Adversity makes us acquainted with strange bed-fellows.”

Mr. McDONALD.—That is quite true. What does this Government, with its various elements, propose to do? The Prime Minister, and those who support him, have talked about the rule of the caucus; but what is their own position now? They are so bound hand and foot that not one of them can move. Even the Prime Minister cannot take independent action, as a Prime Minister should, because he has to consult his co-equal in the Cabinet.

Mr. MAUGER.—His equal in all things.

Mr. McDONALD.—That is so. About shackles! Why, the Prime Minister

more than any man of whom
of in political life. In what
I have had of politics I
of a gentleman accepting
Prime Minister who allowed
backed as the leader of the
ment has on this occasion.
Commonwealth will never
spectacle—that the Common-
ever see another gentleman
position as to be only
Minister. I shall not, how-
that line of comment ;
treading on dangerous
have had my little in-
noon, and others may fol-
to desire. In any case, there
test doubt that at the end
just before this Govern-
out, we shall have ample
let them know what we
ne Minister cannot take ex-
course which I am following ;
has been set by him-
the amendment was sub-
resulted in the defeat
ernment, the Prime Minis-
at the tactics to which he
ing might be used against
I promise the honorable
so long as I sit in the
fully avail myself of such
within my knowledge.
Government and their sup-
doubt, a perfect right to dis-
Government, even by the
methods then adopted ; and
erty have no cause to feel
We are a growing party ;
the most powerful political
lia. There never has been
in this country ; and our
shown in the fact that the
eaders of Australia have had
their life-long principles in
a momentary victory. The
ould not have been beaten
ay than that which the late
owed. The power of our
g from day to day ; and hon-
opposite, who see that it
going to rule the Common-
t a straw in the hope of ar-
gress. I congratulate the
r on selecting, as his co-
norable member for Gipps-
man whose fine democratic
ideas are well known all over
ough it is a fact that he
a Conservative vote. We

now have the extreme protectionist in the
person of the honorable member for Gipps-
land, and the extreme free-trader in the
person of the Prime Minister, in the same
Government. Those gentlemen might
rightly be termed the "heavenly twine,"
though whether they will ever wear the
heavenly wreaths is quite another matter.
I regret that the Prime Minister has already
had to announce a slight split in the
Cabinet, he having had to accept another
co-equal in place of the gentleman he
desired to have. In any case, I can
assure him that he has my hearty
congratulations on his attainment of the
position he now occupies ; and I also can
assure him that there are a large number
of honorable members on this side who will
give him encouragement and ample oppor-
tunity to deal with the business of the
House.

Mr. WEBSTER (Gwydir). — I rise to
congratulate the Prime Minister and his
colleagues on the feat they have accom-
plished during the last few days. I am
not going to complain—I have no right to
complain—of the turn events have taken
in regard to the Ministry of the Common-
wealth. As a labourite, who belongs
to the advancing army of democracy,
I am delighted to find that at last, after
only a few years of organizing and of politi-
cal work, we have, by the aid of the arch
Conservative of the Commonwealth, sepa-
rated those who are with us from those
who are against us. That fact is now indi-
cated by the seats honorable members oc-
cupy in this House. The position of parties
to-day, in this Parliament, is to me
a pleasing feature in the political
history of the Commonwealth. No one
in the ranks of the Labour Party
ever expected that the time would come so
quickly when we should be able, with-
out any doubt, to single out our oppo-
nents and mark them off for what they
are. What is the object of this strange com-
bination that we see? The honorable mem-
ber for Kennedy has hinted at the object as
though it was something which was unwe-
lcome to the people of Australia. In the
Cabinet I see elements which, before the
Labour Party became the factor that it is,
fought bitterly one against the other, on
the alleged sacred principles of protection
or free-trade. But when they find, as they
do to-day, that the Labour Party has been
growing apace like the bay tree, and is
spreading its branches over the democracy of
Australia, and welcoming converts from

every side, what do they do in order to "down" that party? They do what has never been witnessed in the history of any Legislature within the Empire. What will those persons who for years have admired the standard-bearer of the glorious doctrines of free-trade and liberty say when he returns to Sydney, and they recognise that the banner under which they have worshipped and fought has been changed, and that it is not merely a question of "yes" to-day and "no" to-morrow, but is a question of "Yes—no" perpetually? "Yes—no" is a fitting conjunction of words to describe this Cabinet. It is no longer a question of altering opinions. We have before us a combination which is unprecedented in the political history of this country. Of course the Labour Party are highly delighted, because, whilst our right honorable friend on the opposite side imagines that he is going, as it were, to steal a march on the army of democracy by singling out those respected protectionists who have long commanded the respect of their party, and believes that he will thereby bring behind the Cabinet the large mass of the protectionist support, is it likely that that will happen? When he appeals to the country he will get the support of only the Conservative section of the protectionists. The democratic section of the party will never stand behind a Conservative Cabinet such as they see in this Chamber to-day. What is the position? A new line of demarcation has to-day been laid down in the political history of the country. Hitherto the protectionists have been combined, and have worked in unison, believing that the doctrine they preached was for the benefit of all. But to-day we find that the people, by reason of education on the fiscal question, are beginning to realize that there are two sections in the Protectionist Party, just as there are two sections in the Free-trade Party. The people are beginning to realize that the Conservative protectionist is the man who wants protection so that he can favour the manufacturer all the time, so that monopolies may grow and overshadow the rights, the liberties, and the very living of the people. The people are beginning to realize that there are Conservative protectionists who are prepared to work for monopolies every day they sit on the benches here, every day they speak in support of their principles. The Democratic protectionists comprise the men who have sympathy with the toiling men and women in our factories,

Mr. Webster.

who wish to make the lives of these people brighter than they have been. This section of the protectionists are going to tear themselves asunder from the old monistic protectionists, and stand by the people for whom they are fighting. Liberal protectionist who to-day stands for the people in the interests of that faith, as it might be called, says, "I want to make work in this country: I want protection, not merely for article after article of manufacture, but also for the lives and freedom of the workers in those industries. We desire that the conditions under which the people work in protected industries shall be such as to tend to their advancement. We desire that these people shall be allowed to work under conditions which will improve their constitutions, make them better members of society. We desire that they shall work for only a few hours a day, so that they may have some time for recreation and education. We desire also that the people who work in protected industries shall be preserved to them the right to obtain a living wage for their labour." That is the position of the Liberal protectionist to-day. The right honorable member for East Sydney is welcome to his allies. He has selected the most Conservative Cabinet which has been created in Australia. If he had questioned every man in the Chamber, he could not have succeeded in constructing a more Conservative Cabinet than he leads today, and I congratulate him on his wisdom. It is a distinct step in advance for the labour movement. We know exactly who are our foes, and what we have to do. Hitherto we have been deceived, to some extent, by men who have professed to be friends of the people, whether as protectionists or free-traders. We have been deceived by the platform utterances of these men, when they have been appealing to the proletariat to give them place and power. They will no longer be able to throw in the eyes of the toilers, because the people who are fighting for the toilers have seen through themselves—for ever, I hope—from gentlemen who are prepared to support a protectionist policy only so long as it gives a moral victory to the capitalist and a greater pull out of the Customs duties which the Parliament has imposed. I do not intend to deal fairly with the Government, although I have not shown to me or to the party I long to that fairness which we might have expected to receive. I recognise that wrongs do not make a right. I do not intend

the same treatment to those
ers who would not allow
other day, who kept me
corners of the strictest
who were always raising
and making interjections
herwise. As I said dur-
I would not support any
a mean advantage of any
t whenever war is pro-
field is cleared for action,
ont ranks, or, if necessary,
wder monkey, to assist to
to an honorable conclusion,
the best side may win. We
those honorable gentlemen—
s, those protectionists, those
and "freetectionists"—
w define, so far as Social-
d, who have sunk their
ombed for the sole pur-
g place and power. I
honorable member for
without fear or hesi-
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hen he thought that it was
or so abuse the ordinary
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used, but how can any one
who has sacrificed those
ples which have kept
s for so many years?
right honorable gentleman
wn Hall at Sydney, and in
the Commonwealth, that
doctrine for which he has
iration. We all know his
e. If he cannot influence
his logic or his rhetoric,
ir support by his humour,
ding his versatility, I am
South Wales free-traders
rotectionists alike must feel
been deceived. He has
the mercy of the protec-
being supported to-day by
enemy he was a year or
enly sympathize with the
-traders who stand be-
servative combination. I
are hobbled and haltered.
ster complimented them in
er morning for their loyalty
"They never questioned me
ne whether I did right or
hen I took an unmanly

attitude in regard to the Labour Govern-
ment I was able to tell them to sit down,
and they sat down." Even the most robust
member of the right honorable gentleman's
party, the honorable and learned mem-
ber for Werriwa, a hitherto untamable
character, whom the Prime Minister
was never before able to bring under
his hypnotic eye, was compelled to
be silent on that occasion. When that
debate was in progress, I said that it
was unfair to tie the hands of the Labour
Party, and that it was also unfair to tie
the hands of the democratic section of the
free-trade party. But what does unfair-
ness matter to a man who is eager for
office. There are democrats behind the
right honorable gentleman, who for years
have fought for democracy; but they have
succumbed to his hypnotic influence in a
manner which I did not think possible. We
look to them to help us to carry out the great
work of liberal reform; but to-day they are
bound and helpless, and unable to say a
word in defence of their position. We know
how uncomfortable they must feel, because
they are Radicals at heart, and represent
constituencies of working men, who know
what they want. Yet these unfortunate
members have to support the most conser-
vative Ministry that has yet been hatched
in Australian politics. Why did not the
Prime Minister exercise some charity to-
wards them? Why did he not allow them
to say a word in defence of their position?
Why did he not allow them to act as free
men, instead of gagging them, and bind-
ing them hand and feet? The Labour Gov-
ernment were put out on a technicality, and
by methods repugnant to British instincts
of fair play. The followers of the present
Prime Minister were not allowed to exercise
the right of free speech, and to criticise the
policy or administration of the late Govern-
ment. All that we heard on this side of
the Chamber, hour after hour, was "Clause
48." If the present Government receive
similar treatment, they will have no ground
for complaint. My political existence has
been threatened by those who have humili-
ated so many of my old colleagues; but I
am ready to go down fighting for the cause
which I have supported so long. I would
rather die than haul down my flag, as some
men have done. It is a degrading thing
that a man who has received the Cobden
Medal, and who has spoken for years on
the advantages of free-trade, should now
combine with men who have supported a
policy which he has referred to as industrial

strangulation. What a blot upon Australian history it is that there should be such a combination brought about, not to secure the administration of the affairs of the Commonwealth on constitutional lines—because there is nothing but praise to be given to the late Government for the manner in which they administered the affairs of State—and not because the legislation put forward by the late Government was antagonistic to the views of a majority; but to secure merely personal ends. The members of the Labour Party were forced out of their position on the cross benches to take control of the Departments of the Commonwealth, but the nine or ten free-traders who helped to put them in that position have since gone back on their principles, in order to give office to the right honorable member for East Sydney, who has desired it so eagerly and so long. These honorable members, although they condemned the Bill *in toto*, acting under the hypnotic influence of the Prime Minister, walked over to the other side of the House, in order to give him the opportunity for which he was longing. The Deakin Government went out ostensibly on a matter of principle, and the Labour Party came into power, not at their own desire, but simply because the trap set by the Prime Minister did not serve his purpose. Now, the very men whose votes contributed to place the Labour Government in office have assisted to confer power upon the deadly enemies of democratic legislation. The Prime Minister says that he will take up the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill. He will embrace that measure in the same way that he has embraced the honorable and learned member for Ballarat. The right honorable gentleman is capable of embracing anything. He is such a generous political godfather that he is prepared to adopt anything that comes his way, provided that he can retain power. This has been characteristic of the right honorable gentleman throughout his political career. Many of us are well aware of this, but other honorable members, who have not taken the trouble to inquire closely into his political history, will have cause for regret before very long. Does the right honorable gentleman suppose that when we reach clause 48 of the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill we shall be content to allow it to retain its present form?

Mr. SPEAKER.—The honorable member must not anticipate the debate on the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill.

Mr. WEBSTER.—I thought that motion was broad enough to cover the subject under the sun. If it is not, we shall deal with the Arbitration Bill at another time. No one desires more than I do to serve the rules of the House, and if I transgress it will be because we are human, and liable to err.

Mr. SPENCE.—What does the honorable member propose to call the present Government? Is it a Socialistic Ministry or what?

Mr. WEBSTER.—I should call it an arch-conservative combination of the British Empire.

Mr. REID.—Every combination ought to be conservative.

Mr. WEBSTER.—That is, no doubt, a sound proposition. The right honorable gentleman can prepare the way for himself better than any man I know. The matter on which side of the fence he stands for himself, he can always give reasons for. He should not be on the other side. The honorable members on the Government benches are very uncomfortable because they are not in their proper positions. I sympathize with them in the same way. I should sympathize with the bird caught in the snare of the fowler. I believe the time is not far distant when they will realize exactly where they stand. We are not troubled about being relegated to the other side of the House. This is the first change that we have had, as a party, to fight as members of a direct Opposition. The Prime Minister has never before had the Labour Party in direct opposition to him. He should be glad of the opportunity which is now presented to put them to the test in that capacity. Whether his tenure of office will be lasting is quite another matter. From to-day it should go forth to the public that the fiscal question has no longer any political existence within the Commonwealth.

Mr. REID.—I thought that the Labour Party was a free-trade-protectionist combination.

Mr. WEBSTER.—I have nothing to do with that. The right honorable member thinks, but I am dealing with the question presented to us. I sympathize deeply with the deluded free-traders of New South Wales—with those men who have been misled by the free-trade flag, and have honestly and sincerely battled for the policy which, in their opinion, would give freedom to the people, and enable them to over-

of life with greater success possible under other conditions. Men have travelled miles near the Prime Minister, and their boots out in working for his supporters. What are they doing? I have been in New Zealand for only 48 hours since Friday last, and the impression from the demeanour of the people here was that a double funeral place in that State. In the course of my travels I met some of the supporters of the Free-trade party. One man said, "What do you think you would have believed that the Liberal Party would be sold as they are now? We worked for years to supplant the protectionist doctrine, and longed for the day to subject it to a practical test. Alas! the man in whom we trusted, the idol whom we have worshipped so long, has broken asunder, and is practically absorbed by the man whom he was the avowed enemy of." "Did they say that I was?"

—Did they say that I was?

MR. KENNEDY.—No; they said that a gentleman was burst upon the scene. Ambition bursts many men. The consequence has been visited upon the greatest men who ever lived. Politically speaking, ambition is the ruin of a right honorable gentleman. Also, with the people of Victoria in the past pinned their faith upon the champions of Protection. The learned member for Ballarat played such a prominent part in the coalition, occupies a position so far as the fiscal question is concerned inexplicable to me. When I came into this House, I listened with attention to the eloquence of the learned member, and I felt there was a sincere man here. Now, however, that I have seen the contrast of the actions of the learned member with his magical flights, and his assurance with the Conciliation Bill, that he did not wish to be a member, except so far as might be made it read correctly, I am sure a few months after I was so addressed by the honorable and learned member I see him sitting side by side with the enemies of democracy,

acting as a buffer between the free-trade and protectionist parties, and endeavouring to soften the effects of the collision which must sooner or later come. Why? Because he hopes that his opportunity will come some other day. Does he stand aloof from the present Ministry because he anticipates that within a comparatively brief period a little inspired message will come from the British Isles, urging the leader of the Government to adopt a policy of preferential trade? Is it not possible that the Prime Minister, who has gone back upon his free-trade principles, will be found advocating such a policy? I venture to say that he will prove quite equal to the occasion should it arise. He will declare that his duty to the Empire upon which the sun never sets impels him to adopt a policy which will insure to the mother country a certain amount of freedom from the competition of those nations which are fast wresting her commercial supremacy from her hands. If that be the secret of the split which has taken place between the Conservative protectionists and the Liberal protectionists, we shall know it very shortly. At any rate, I cannot congratulate the honorable and learned member for Ballarat upon his action in practically strangling the Arbitration Bill. I appeal to the democracy of Australia, irrespective of whether they be free-traders or protectionists, to be "up and doing," because our day is coming. The sun is up; it has not yet set. I urge the democracy of the Commonwealth to prepare for the political battle which is inevitable. The Liberal Party will be no longer sundered by rival fiscal creeds. Its members will meet their opponents in a fair hand-to-hand fight. I welcome that fight, and I rejoice at the prospect of affording the people of Australia an opportunity to combat their arch enemy. In my opinion, the life of this Government will be a brief one. Our turn must come, and it will last so long as we serve a majority of the electors, so long as we make Australia a better country than it is, and so long as we continue to remove the shackles of those who are oppressed. When our party resumes responsibility it will continue to hold office, whilst that which is led by the Prime Minister will rapidly sink into decay.

MR. KENNEDY (Moir).—In view of the charges which were recently made by honorable members opposite to the effect that they were "gagged"—

Mr. WATSON.—The gag is now removed.

Mr. KENNEDY.—Since the supporters of the late Government crossed to the Opposition side of the chamber they have ungagged themselves. When they sat behind the Watson Administration we heard no fiery invective from the honorable member for Gwydir.

Mr. WEBSTER.—I was "gagged" last week, otherwise the honorable member would have heard me to some purpose.

Mr. KENNEDY.—The honorable member was not "gagged" by the Opposition.

Mr. WATSON.—Did we not hear the honorable member for Gwydir upon this day week?

Mr. KENNEDY.—We did, and as far as I am aware, he could have continued to address the House until the present time.

Mr. TUDOR.—No; the debate upon the motion which he submitted was interrupted at half-past 4 o'clock.

Mr. KENNEDY.—That marked only one stage of the proceedings. It seems strange that this little rift in the lute is now being held up to scare the protectionists of Australia. An effort is being made to show that, as the result of the action of some honorable members in recording an important vote last week, the protective policy of the Commonwealth is in jeopardy. That is the whole burden of the song of the honorable member for Gwydir. He accuses those protectionists whom the Prime Minister has taken into his Cabinet, of being Conservative protectionists.

HONORABLE MEMBERS.—Hear, hear.

Mr. KENNEDY.—Those who are acquainted with the political history of the gentlemen who now form part and parcel of the Reid-McLean Administration, know that they were the standard bearers of liberalism, progress, and protection throughout Victoria before the honorable member for Gwydir entered public life. The workers of this State—not the monopolistic manufacturers—have to thank the present Treasurer, and the Minister of Trade and Customs, for whatever industrial advantages they enjoy to-day.

Mr. McDONALD.—The honorable member should read the State *Hansard* reports of McLean on Turner and Turner on McLean.

Mr. KENNEDY.—It is true that they had their political differences in the State Parliament; but it is well that the people of Australia should be reminded that the only vital point of difference between them was in respect of the method to be adopted

to reform the Victorian Constitution.

As far as I am aware, it was only in regard to that matter that any difference ever occurred between them as leaders of their respective parties. One believed that the proper method to adopt was to give Parliament opportunity first of all to make an effort to bring the Constitution up to date; while the honorable member for Gippsland, who was then Premier of Victoria, held that the matter should be dealt with by a Convention somewhat similar to that which framed the Federal Constitution. I think I am justified in putting these facts before the House in view of the suggestion on the part of the Opposition that at one time there was considerable rivalry and jealousy between these honorable gentlemen. Both have fought for liberalism and progress, and for the industrial welfare of Victoria, yet the Opposition to-day hold them up to ridicule as representing the Conservative section of the political life of Victoria.

Mr. TUDOR.—The Conservative section are supporting the Government to-day.

Mr. KENNEDY.—Honorable members of the Opposition would have us believe that that is so.

Mr. TUDOR.—The *Argus* is supporting them.

Mr. WATSON.—All the Conservative forces are with them.

Mr. KENNEDY.—Be that as it may, I propose to place a few hard facts before this House.

Mr. FISHER.—The honorable member protesting too much.

Mr. KENNEDY.—I am not protesting but I wish to place a few facts before the people, who are the jury that will decide this question. Some reference has been made to the position of the Protectionist Party, and the side on which it ought to sit. But what had the Protectionist Party to expect from the late Government? What assistance did they receive from honorable members of the Labour Party when the Tariff Bill was before the House? Was there a more bitter opponent of the Protectionist Tariff as introduced, than was the ex-Minister of External Affairs? He was, if anything, a stronger opponent of the Tariff than was even the present Prime Minister. What attitude did the late Government take when they were questioned on notice as to their intention with regard to the Manufactures Encouragement Bill? Did I say that they would deal with it as a matter of Government policy? No; that

that after consideration they do not allow a private member to introduce the Bill, and to afford him the opportunity to submit it to the consideration of the House.

MR. WATSON.—Will the present Government support that Bill?

MR. KENNEDY.—They have not been asked.

MR. WATSON.—The honorable member asks them on the subject.

MR. KENNEDY.—I shall make it my duty to do so; because it relates to a matter in which I am pledged. Not only members of the House, but the Government as a party helped to kill the Bill introduced by the Barton Government.

MR. WATSON.—It was not made a condition.

MR. KENNEDY.—It is absolutely true that the Government, with the late Prime Minister at their head, and with the assistance of the free-trade section of the House, introduced the Bill.

What had protectionists, who were given secure bonuses for agricultural purposes, to expect from the Government?

—The honorable member asks something with regard to the bonus.

MR. KENNEDY.—Let that matter be decided by the House.

—It is quite strong enough to support the Bill.

MR. KENNEDY.—That is so. I have no doubt in support of the degree of morality.

MR. WATSON.—Immorality.

MR. KENNEDY.—I have nothing to say of the standard of morality. I am going to the evidence given before the Commission, obtains in our community. But what has that to do with the present political situation?

—Those who are being examined by the Commission are not members of the Government Party.

MR. KENNEDY.—Labour members are not angels of sweetness and light; they are men of the average.

—It is a "Kyabramite" who is being exposed.

MR. KENNEDY.—That may, or may not, be the case. Honorable members opposite do not charge me with "Kyabramism." They seem to forget that at the time I had the pleasure of fighting for the Reform League.

MR. WATSON.—We merely say that the honorable member is in bad company.

MR. KENNEDY.—With such an opponent I may have been in bad company, but circumstances have forced me into the company in which I now find myself. Much stress has been laid on the allegation that the protectionists are to-day in bad company, but what had we to hope from the late Government?

MR. FRAZER.—The honorable member admits that there are more protectionists on this side than on the Government side of the House.

MR. KENNEDY.—That merely goes to show that there are more protectionists gone wrong. What has the industrial life of Victoria ever been able to obtain from the Labour Party, so far as the protectionist policy is concerned? The party prides itself on being a body of fiscal athletes.

AN HONORABLE MEMBER.—Not the majority of them.

MR. KENNEDY.—Why is it that they gave no adhesion to fiscal principles when the Tariff Bill was before Parliament?

MR. HUME COOK.—What did the free-trade party do for the industrial life of Australia?

MR. KENNEDY.—What is the honorable member for Bourke squealing about? He has probably been forced into his proper position—a position which he should have occupied before. I wish him luck.

SIR WILLIAM LYNE.—He is sitting where the honorable member should be.

MR. KENNEDY.—That is a matter for the people of Moira to determine. The honorable member is not the guardian of my conscience or of my political principles. What hope had he of passing the Manufactures Encouragement Bill while the late Government was in office?

SIR WILLIAM LYNE.—Every hope.

MR. KENNEDY.—What was the reply which the honorable member received when he inquired what course the Government intended to take in regard to that Bill? He was simply informed that the Government would afford him an opportunity to bring in the Bill before the House. Will he ask the present Government to accord him the same privilege?

SIR WILLIAM LYNE.—I would not ask for any privilege from them. So far as I am concerned, it will be a stand-up fight against them.

Mr. KENNEDY.—It is immaterial to me on which side of the House I sit; I am not stripped of my political principles from my support of any party.

Mr. FRAZER.—That reduces the Government majority to one.

Mr. KENNEDY.—It does not so far as the Government programme is concerned.

Mr. FRAZER.—The programme of the Reid-McLean Administration has not yet been published.

Mr. WATSON.—It is bound to be a "crawling one."

Mr. KENNEDY.—A programme was formulated by the party now in office, and we were told by the late Government that it in no way differed from their own.

Mr. TUDOR.—That being so, why were the late Government displaced?

Mr. KENNEDY.—That is a question which the honorable member will have to decide for himself. The late Government selected their own battle-ground, and said that if a certain vote were given they would have to leave the Treasury benches. That vote was given, and their lamentations are now being poured forth.

Mr. WATSON.—Where? All we say is that we had no chance to fairly deal with the position.

Mr. KENNEDY. — I venture to say that the Opposition will have ample opportunity to reflect.

Mr. WATSON.—I am afraid it will not be very long before we shall have to get to work again.

Mr. KENNEDY. — Honorable members may yet see the error of their ways. I am really delighted that the enthusiastic supporters of the Government recently dispossessed have found their voices so readily. For the last three months I have been in some doubt whether they had not pledged themselves to complete silence. Now that they have found their voices again, it is pleasing to reflect that whenever any question comes before us, we shall have their opinions freely expressed. I think that will be found best for all parties. I desire to emphasize the point that these honorable gentlemen, and more particularly the members of the new organization which has been brought into existence by the circumstances by which we have been confronted during the last few days—the members of the Liberal Protectionist Association, which is going to be the be-all and end-all of industrial life in Australia—those honorable members appear to forget that so far as protection, as represented on the statute-book, is

concerned, the electors of Australia, at a last general election, decided what the policy of this Parliament should be. They decided that the Tariff should not be interfered with, except in connexion with questions incidental to preferential duties. Now what are honorable members saying about? They are claiming that the re-opening of the Tariff is the practical business for which protectionists were sent into this Parliament. How utterly absurd that is, and especially coming from such honorable members as a honorable member for Bourke, and the secretary of the Protectionist Association.

Mr. SPENCE.—Surely it is the business of protectionists to see that protection does not disappear?

Mr. KENNEDY.—Is there any danger to protection, so far as it is represented by the Tariff, whilst the honorable member for Gippsland is administering the Customs department?

Mr. SPENCE.—Yes; there is.

Mr. KENNEDY.—I have as much confidence in that honorable gentleman's administration of the Tariff as I have in the administration and respect for its administration by the late Minister of Trade and Customs. The honorable member for Wide Bay whom the letter and spirit of the Customs Act was faithfully adhered to.

Mr. HUME COOK.—Does the honorable member not think that there is some danger when the protectionist party is split into two?

Mr. KENNEDY.—Before honorable members who complain that the protectionist party is split into two accuse members of another party, they should take a little retrospective view of the situation, and ask themselves who is to blame for the split. They should not accuse the other fellow of all the sins in the Decalogue.

Mr. HUME COOK.—Surely those protectionists who are now supporting the free-traders are to blame for the split?

Mr. KENNEDY.—Might I ask what the fiscal creed of the party whom the honorable member is now supporting? Do they represent no fiscal creed.

Mr. HUME COOK.—The majority of the party are protectionists, whilst the majority of the party which the honorable member is supporting are free-traders.

Mr. KENNEDY.—How is the majority of the party to be ascertained? Has the honorable member for Bourke any doubt that the majority of the party, in the

the smallest joint, have any of their own?

COOK.—Has the honorable member proof that the free-traders will

EDY.—It is not expected to help us.

They are not traitors.

LYNE.—That is just what the whole set of traitors—and the gentleman is the arch-traitor

EDY.—I have this comfort—that as soon as there is any the programme laid down, I am here to support, the honorable member who constitute the present party that they cannot hope to be of mine. My political career will not be wrecked for the party. With that confidence does not lie in the mouth of the honorable member, and especially of the honorable member for Gwydir, whose name I have taken him round the politico reproach me. I apprehend which honorable members have extended to honorable members on this side, but I may be permitted to say that, so far as I am concerned, in the least degree uncomfortable.

CR. — The honorable member

EDY.—It is not what I ought to say, but what I actually am. When I am asked for my fiscal creed, it is useless for me to look to a man proclaiming themselves the industrial workers of Australia any fiscal creed whatever.

LYNE (Hume).—When I say now I had not the slightest idea of saying a word. I really cannot say it is that the honorable member has just resumed his seat taken with such heat.

—No heat at all.

—The honorable member himself.

LYNE.—There was considerable glow, if there appears to me that there is something underlying the very statements the honorable member makes that the honorable member should continue to be friends, because

I trust that no one will hurt the hon-

orable member's feelings; but I must say, in reply to the remarks he has made, that I think there is a very much greater probability of protectionists getting some of that which they desire from a party, the majority of whom are protectionists, when they are supported by a not insignificant minority of protectionists who do not accept the whole programme of the Labour Party as given by them, than from a Free-trade Party. When the honorable member for Moira boasts of thirteen or fourteen straying protectionists going over to the other side, to carry with them about twenty-six or twenty-seven free-traders, he must believe that those thirteen or fourteen misguided honorable members have very great power over the twenty-six or twenty-seven free-traders. The honorable member made an attack on the honorable member for Bourke which I do not think justified. That honorable member stood by his colours. He is a protectionist, and we on this side who are protectionists have stood by our colours, whilst others have done their very best to destroy the Protectionist Party in this Parliament. If they do not mind what they are about they will absolutely destroy the party and themselves too. The public like consistency; they do not like any "Yes-no" business, nor do they like honorable members who are followers of "Yes-no" politicians. One is just as objectionable as is the other. The honorable member for Moira asked what chance I had, as honorable member for Hume, of getting an opportunity from the late Government to deal with the Manufactures Encouragement Bill. I say that I had every chance and a promise honestly made, and if it had not been for the action of misguided protectionists who are now following a free-trade leader, the honorable member would have found that this week the Manufactures Encouragement Bill would have been dealt with, and become the law of the land.

Mr. JOHNSON.—What an escape the country has had.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—By their vote the other night, the protectionists to whom I refer intercepted the opportunity I should have had of dealing with that particular measure. The onus of preventing the consideration of that and similar measures, which would have been of great value to the country, must rest upon them. The honorable member was, therefore, incorrect and unfair when he said

that I should not have had an opportunity of dealing with the Manufactures Encouragement Bill. I was faithfully promised that opportunity, and I was promised that once I got the opportunity of dealing with it, the business would have been uninterrupted until the Bill was finally dealt with by the House.

Mr. KENNEDY.—The honorable member might have had an opportunity as a private member, but not as the member of a Government.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—As a private member I should have had all the rights given by the message. The late Prime Minister was aware of that, and the Speaker also decided that I had as much right to deal with the matter as if it had been dealt with by a member of the Government. Let me again emphasize the fact that the protectionists who voted against the last Government have for the time being destroyed the measure to which reference is made.

Mr. JOHNSON.—So much the better for the country.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE. — That is the kind of company that these protectionists are now keeping! I should not have said a word, except for what fell from the honorable member for Moira, but I feel that an opportunity to deal with this measure which had been offered to me has been intercepted to the serious injury of the iron industry in Australia. A time will come, I hope, when those persons who believe in dealing with a matter of this kind will be able to record their votes with regard to the action of protectionists who have acted as they have done. I presume that the Prime Minister intends to ask for an adjournment for three weeks. That, of course, will be granted, but when the House again meets, the question whether the right honorable gentleman has a majority on certain points will have to be tested. Whatever my feelings may be, I have never wavered from my principles as a protectionist, and never shall waver; and I regret to see joining a free-trade Prime Minister certain honorable members whom I never expected to see in that position, and some of whom personally informed me that they never would join such a combination.

Question resolved in the affirmative.

Bill read a second time, and passed through its remaining stages.

SPECIAL ADJOURNMENT.

Motion (by Mr. REID) proposed—

That the House at its rising adjourn until Tuesday, 7th September next.

Mr. WATSON (Bland).—I have no objection to the adjournment of the House until the 7th September. I think it is only reasonable that we should allow the Ministry to have time in which to lay down a policy or a programme. We must not take exception to the time proposed. But I must say that the probabilities are that that time will hardly be sufficient to enable the right honorable gentleman to harmonize the discordant elements under his command. Seriously, however, I have no objection to the adjournment.

Mr. McDONALD (Kennedy).—I should like to point out that an adjournment until the 7th September gives the Queensland representatives insufficient time to get to their homes. If the adjournment were extended for another week—

Mr. REID.—I am quite agreeable to wish to meet the convenience of honorable members.

Mr. McDONALD.—Speaking personally my position is that I was not able to get home for Queensland on Wednesday, and I have now no opportunity to leave till next Tuesday. I must waste a week either in Melbourne, or on the way to my electorate. The position is awkward. I do not wish to offer any antagonism to the motion, but if the House has no objection I should like the Prime Minister to extend the time for another week.

Sir JOHN FORREST (Swan).—A Western Australian member, who could not get home and return even in the time suggested by the honorable member for Kennedy, I think that we ought not to ask the Government to adjourn for a longer period than has been asked for. The session is far advanced. We shall soon be approaching Christmas. In the interests of public business we ought not to have a longer adjournment than is necessary. The shortest possible adjournment has, I think, been asked for. I should strongly object to forcing upon the Government a longer adjournment than they consider necessary. In fact, the session has been made up of adjournments, and we have done very little useful work. I hope the Prime Minister will not consent to a suggested extension of the time proposed in the motion.

Question resolved in the affirmative.

House adjourned at 4.37 p.m.

Senate.

y, 24 August, 1904.

NT took the chair at 2.30
prayers.

EXPENSES OF RIFLE
TEAMS.

HESON.—I desire to ask
neral if the Government
decision on the application
al Rifle Associations of the
for assistance towards the
ses of representative teams
g to Perth, Western Aus
part in the Commonwealth

JOSIAH SYMON.—It is
st in the direction intended.
l be definitely determined,
ed to the Senate later on.

SERVANTS' ASSURANCE
POLICIES.

ANIFORTH SMITH.—I
the Attorney-General how
wealth civil servants have
assurance policies with the
Departments, as provided
6 under the Public Service

JOSIAH SYMON.—The
Commissioner reports that
215.

GENERAL HUTTON.

VSON.—I wish to know
ey-General if he has noticed
ne Melbourne Age of Mon-
effect that the Government
ring Major-General Sir Ed-
re-engagement as General
ing for another three years?
undation in fact for such a

OSIAH SYMON.—I have
onorable friend for his
nating to me that he pro-
s question. I have no know-
on the subject, and so far as
nly authority for the rumour
y honorable friend to judge
is the newspaper statement
ers.

Col. NEILD.—I desire to
yson if it is a fact, as stated
ress, that when he quitted

office he left in the Department a memoran-
dum seriously reflecting upon the conduct of
the Major-General Commanding the Forces
of the Commonwealth?

The PRESIDENT.—I do not think that
that is a question which can be asked. The
Standing Orders provide that questions may
be asked of Ministers concerning public
matters generally, and of a private member
concerning any matter of which he has
charge, such as a Bill, or other business
before the House.

Senator Lt.-Col. NEILD.—Then, I beg
to give notice that I shall, on the next day
of sitting, move for the production of the
paper referred to.

PRIVILEGE: CASE OF SENATOR
LT.-COL. NEILD.

Senator Lt.-Col. NEILD.—I desire to
ask Senator Best, as Chairman of the Select
Committee on Privilege appointed to deal
with the charges of Senator Neild against
Major-General Hutton, if he is aware that
one of the principal witnesses for the de-
fence has asserted in the public press that
"The Colonel will go down. We have got
Best all right"? Secondly, is he aware
that the same person has also indicated that
the firm of which the honorable and learned
senator is a member was advising Major-
General Hutton in regard to the matters
coming before the Select Committee?

Senator BEST.—I must be permitted to
make some reply to these startling state-
ments, which have now come to my ears for
the first time. Neither directly nor in-
directly have I or my firm at any time ad-
vised Major-General Hutton; and I have
never heard even a rumour to the effect that
the facts were otherwise. The other state-
ment contains about the same amount of
truth as that to which I have just replied.
It is utterly without foundation.

Senator HIGGS.—If any witness said
what has been alleged to have been uttered,
he committed a breach of privilege.

Senator BEST.—I think it is most offen-
sive for Senator Neild to bring a matter of
this kind before the House.

The PRESIDENT.—The honorable and
learned senator ought not to say that in
answering a question.

Senator Lt.-Col. NEILD.—Mr. Presi-
dent, in view of—

The PRESIDENT.—The honorable
senator ought not to make a speech.

Senator Lt.-Col. NEILD.—I do not wish
to make a speech; but I should certainly
like to offer a personal explanation.

Senator BEST.—We are certainly entitled to one. It is a disgraceful thing to do what the honorable senator has done.

The PRESIDENT.—I do not think that the honorable senator can make a personal explanation. Does he wish to make a personal explanation in regard to some matter arising out of the answer which he has received?

Senator Lt.-Col. NEILD.—Yes; I think that Senator Best misunderstood my question. Otherwise he would not have made the reply which he did. As the matter was a public one, and it was known that these statements had been made publicly, I thought it desirable that the opportunity for refutation should be equally public.

Senator BEST.—I prefer to treat such statements with contempt.

NEW ADMINISTRATION.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON (South Australia—Attorney-General).—I have to announce to the Senate that, consequent upon the resignation of the Ministry of which the Honorable John Christian Watson was Prime Minister, His Excellency the Governor-General commissioned the Right Honorable George Houston Reid to form a new Administration. That task he undertook and accomplished, with the result that His Excellency has been pleased to make the following appointments:—

The Right Hon. George Houston Reid, P.C., K.C., Minister of State for External Affairs;

The Hon. Allan McLean, Minister of State for Trade and Customs;

The Hon. Sir Josiah Henry Symon, K.C.M.G., K.C., Attorney-General;

The Right Hon. Sir George Turner, P.C., K.C.M.G., Treasurer;

The Hon. Dugald Thomson, Minister of State for Home Affairs;

The Hon. James Whiteside McCay, Minister of State for Defence;

The Hon. Sydney Smith, Postmaster-General;

The Hon. James George Drake, Vice-President of the Executive Council.

It has fallen to my lot to be the leader for the Government in the Senate, a position the honour of which I value very highly, and I hope that in discharging its duties I shall secure the good-will of honorable senators, even

though we may differ upon question of policy. The House of Representatives has adjourned until the 7th September, to enable the Government to consider and prepare their programme, and to arrange the course of public business, and if it will be the convenience of honorable senators to be present at this cause, in this matter, I am entirely in their hands—I shall conclude with a motion for the adjournment of the Senate, at its rising, until that date. My own feeling is that it would be consistent with the dignity of the Senate and its importance under the Constitution, that the policy of the new Administration should be made known in the House, at least concurrently with its announcement in the House of Representatives. But if honorable senators desire a lengthy adjournment, I shall be prepared to meet the general convenience. I move.

That the Senate, at its rising, adjourn on Wednesday, 7th September.

Senator MCGREGOR (South Australia).—I rise to congratulate the Attorney-General upon his assumption of the leadership of this important branch of the Parliament of the Commonwealth, and I am sure that when the measures introduced by the Government are in the interests of the general community, he will have no reason to complain of want of support from the Senate and the House to which I have the honor to belong. We have always endeavored to conduct ourselves as to show the people of Australia that our intentions are of the very best. In view of the fact that a majority of honorable senators desire to return to their homes this afternoon, I think that the present is an occasion on which long speeches should be declined. I therefore content myself with again offering my congratulations to the new Minister.

Question resolved in the affirmative.

ARMY SERVICE CORPS: SOUTH AUSTRALIA.

Senator STORY asked the Attorney-General, *upon notice*—

1. Is there an Army Service Corps in Australia?

2. Is it a fact that members of the Convoy (Ordnance Department) were called at the late Easter encampment to perform duties of the Army Service Corps, and received no remuneration for overtime formed, but are ordered to take time off ten days each)?

3. Is the Minister aware that this course considerably hamper the business of the Ordnance Department?

JOSIAH SYMON.—The which I have been supplied

Service Corps has yet been established in Western Australia.

The question was dealt with by the Minister of Defence, and as payment was made, in accordance with the offer made, the Minister is not prepared to reconsider the matter.

ON THE PURCHASE OF GUNS.

THE HON. SENATOR asked the Attorney-General—
upon notice—

What is the cost of converting a 12½-pounder into a 15-pounder B.L. gun, including packing, shipping, and all ship charges, to the works in England?

What is the cost of a new 15-pounder, of modern construction, in England?

What is the cost of an 18-pounder recently adopted by the British Government?

What is the cost of the Commonwealth Government purchasing twenty 15-pounder B.L. guns, and the fact that guns of this type are being replaced in the British Army by 18-pounder guns?

JOSIAH SYMON.—I have asked the questions have already been answered. Even so, there is no answer to them again. The Attorney-General's answer is as follows:—

The cost of conversion of a 12½-pounder into a 15-pounder B.L. gun, including packing, insurance, and shipping, is £23; total, £523.

The cost of a new 15-pounder B.L. gun, including estimated charges for packing, insurance, and shipping, would be £23.

The information available here is that no decision has not yet been arrived at.

THE HON. SENATOR.—I wish to ask the Attorney-General out of that reply. Could he please inform me as to the cost of the 18-pounder guns to be paid to the States for the obsolete guns?

JOSIAH SYMON.—I have asked if the honorable senator would like to ask a separate question, and the Attorney-General has said that he will do so.

ON THE PURCHASE OF OBSOLETE GUNS.

THE HON. SENATOR asked the Attorney-General—
upon notice—

As stated in the Age of the 6th August 1904, the Government of the Commonwealth has agreed to return to the Government

of Western Australia for presentation to municipalities a number of obsolete muzzle-loading field guns at present in that State; and that the Government of Western Australia have declined the offer on the grounds that the cost of sending the guns in question to the municipalities would be too heavy?

2. If so, have the Government any objection to making the offer direct to the principal municipalities on the gold-fields and at the coast in Western Australia?

3. Has the Minister any objection to laying on the table for perusal any correspondence on this subject that has taken place between the two Governments?

4. On what date do the Government intend to remove the obsolete field guns now being offered to and distributed among the municipalities of the various States, from the effective list of eighty-two field guns belonging to the Commonwealth as set out in Appendix "K" of the General Officer Commanding's report for 1903-4?

I should like to explain that two of the questions were answered on a previous occasion, but, owing to some irregularity, the answers could not be included in the records.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—The replies to the honorable senator's questions are as follow:—

1. In reply to a communication from this Government, stating that there were some obsolete guns available for distribution to public parks, &c., in Western Australia, the Premier of that State wrote as follows:—"The military authorities inform me that there are at present only two guns which could be granted to parks, &c., namely, those stored at Karrakatta; but these would entail a heavy cost in removal and mounting. As the guns referred to have little interest, I question if any public body would care to pay the cost of removal, &c. There are eight smaller guns which will be available when replaced by ones of more modern pattern. These guns would, no doubt, be suitable for the purposes indicated in your letter. In view of the above facts, I think it wiser to deal with the question as it arises, and do not care to commit the Government as to its future action.

2. The Government sees no reason for doing so.

3. No objection.

4. None of the eighty-two field guns mentioned in Appendix K of the General Officer Commanding's report for 1903-4 are at present being distributed to municipalities, as the intention of the General Officer Commanding is to utilize the same until they are replaced by modern guns.

SUPPLY BILL (No. 3).

Bill received from House of Representatives.

Motion (by Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON) proposed—

That this Bill be now read a first time.

Senator PEARCE (Western Australia).—Probably honorable senators are not

aware that if they wish to debate this Bill they must do so on the motion for the first reading.

THE PRESIDENT.—The statement of the honorable senator is scarcely correct. The Standing Orders provide that in the case of Bills in regard to which the Senate may make requests, but which they cannot amend, a discussion may take place upon the motion for the first reading, with regard to matters which may not be relevant to the subject-matter of the measure. That does not, however, affect the right of honorable senators to discuss matters relevant to the Bill upon the motion for the second reading.

Senator PEARCE.—I know that some honorable senators wish to discuss matters which are not relevant to the subject-matter of the Bill, and I merely wish to point out that if they wait for the motion for the second reading their remarks must be confined to the subject-matter of the Bill. Whilst offering my congratulations to the members of the Ministry, I am sorry that I cannot compliment them upon the methods which they have adopted in order to secure their places upon the Treasury benches. As has been said in another place, they have initiated a new system in our methods of party government. They find themselves in this House with, I believe, a majority opposed to them, and they must take the responsibility of having, in another place, where they happen to have a majority, adopted methods which cannot be called fair, and which, if followed here, might place in an uncomfortable position any Government, even though it happened to possess the requisite majority to enable it to weather an ordinary no confidence motion. I think that most honorable senators have been struck with the peculiar combination now on the Government benches. Senators whose one object in political life seems to be the promulgation of the fiscal belief of free-trade are now associated with men whose one aim seems to be the advocacy of the fiscal belief of protection.

Senator DOBSON.—The honorable senator knows that that issue is dead for the next two years.

Senator PEARCE.—Certainly, if anything can kill, or discredit it, it is the action of honorable gentlemen in regard to it. After having told us that it was a most important question—more important than was any other—

AN HONORABLE SENATOR.—But they older now.

Senator PEARCE.—They have covered that it is a very secondary question. Hence we find the present wonderful combination. We have only to look at the members of the Government in this House to recollect the fulminations of the Attorney-General when he occupied the position of leader of the Opposition against the present Vice-President of the Executive Council. We all remember the war which he pulverized that gentleman when the Tariff was under consideration. In collecting these facts we cannot avoid thinking that politics occasionally proceed with strange bed-fellows. At the present time, there is before another branch of the Legislature, a Bill with which we presume, we shall shortly be asked to deal, and one in which the country is intensely interested. Looking at honorable senators opposite, and knowing by a perusal of the press of this State the opinions which some of them entertain towards that legislation, one cannot help feeling apprehensive of the fate of that measure, if it is dependent upon the good-will of the present combination. For instance, the declared followers of the present Government include Senator Dobson and Senator Fraser, two of the most irreconcilable members of the Chamber, who are always prepared stoutly to oppose anything in the nature of reform, or progression.

Senator Sir WILLIAM ZEAL.—The honorable senator has no right to say that.

Senator PEARCE.—I do not think I am falsely accusing them.

Senator CLEMONS.—Why does not the honorable senator speak when Senator Fraser is present?

Senator PEARCE.—I am perfectly prepared to do so. But I would point out that it is Senator Fraser's duty to be present. From the safe obscurity of a distance given by the Employers' Federation hurled epithets at honorable senators on this side of the Chamber when they were not present. I take this opportunity to reply to some of those epithets, and to some of the criticism directed at this party.

Senator Sir WILLIAM ZEAL.—It is a waste of time.

Senator PEARCE.—It may be so. In any rate, I intend to avail myself of the opportunity to reply to some of those statements. So far, the Government have announced their policy, and consequently we can only gather what it will be from

f their followers. The Governor, are dependent for their influence upon their supporters. Supporters, and particularly Mr. Fraser and Dobson, I gather the Administration is bitterly hostile to a White Australia.

MR. DOBSON.—The honorable senator is wrong.

MR. DOBSON.—Then Senator Dobson is wrong with the press.

MR. DOBSON.—No; I quarrel with the honorable senator. Everybody is in the White Australia with a few reasons; but everybody does not go to the extremes as the honorable senator does.

MR. DOBSON.—Senator Fraser is wrong. He said that—

He referred to had been very much surprised and some of it should be repelled the sugar-growers of Queensland to employ white men when they were there. The climate of Cairns is not at all of Mauritius.

It is a libel upon one of the members of the Commonwealth, because our honorable senator, when in ill-health, visited Cairns, with the object of visiting. In this Chamber, too, the honorable senator with whom we are in contact to part, but who recently visited Queensland in quest of health, now returned thoroughly reinvigorated, a country which is declared to be injurious to the health of white people. He expressed hostility to the White Australia, Senator Fraser said—

He referred to the recent change in politics. Mr. Reid and Allan McLean were

He was received with applause. He said—

He said the Watson Government had no clause in the Arbitration Bill which common sense or justice could

MR. DOBSON.—The honorable senator is wrong in the Ministry, because we have not yet proposed to do in connection with the Bill.

MR. DOBSON.—If they intend to present the Bill in the present form, in the opinion of the honorable senator they are “destitute of sense and justice.” Senator Dobson also found fault with the Bill in this Chamber. He proposes to amend the Bill in the Senate. The honorable senator who objects so strongly to the Bill because there are agitators who propose to revolutionize this country to place it upon a different

footing. He claims that the Senate does not represent the second thought of the community, and is not a check upon legislation. I would ask, “Is not the honorable senator himself a most appropriate representative of second thought?” Is it not a fact that upon almost every vital issue which has come before the Senate he has had a second thought, a second opinion, and given a second vote? Time after time, when the Tariff was under discussion, did he not reveal himself as a “free-trade man”? When one vote would have meant the imposition of a duty, he suddenly remembered that he was a free-trader, and his second vote was cast in favour of free-trade. Similarly, after posing as a free-trader amongst free-traders, he has, upon critical divisions, saved the protectionist cause by giving a protectionist vote. We all recollect the historic occasion upon which he recorded four votes upon one question, and distributed them absolutely impartially by casting two in favour of allowing electors the privilege of recording their votes at any polling-place within their electoral division, and two in favour of permitting them to vote only at the polling-place for which they were enrolled. The honorable and learned senator desires not only to exercise this impartiality, but to see a Senate that will also exhibit it. He said last night that he desired to see a Senate that would exercise a second thought, and would put a check on legislation. I presume that the votes which he cast in the erratic manner to which I have referred were designed on second thoughts to check his own legislation. I warn the Government that if they are to depend for their support on the honorable and learned senator, it will be necessary for them to see that he leaves the Chamber when once he has recorded a vote on any question, for otherwise it is absolutely certain that he will avail himself with the utmost alacrity of any opportunity that may be given him to reverse it. It is somewhat singular that the Government have come into power on the plea that they are not opposed to the principle of compulsory arbitration, but favour it—that they are not opposed to preference to unionists, but are favorable to it. In the words of Mr. Deakin, however, they will give that preference only when it is asked for by a majority of those working at the trade affected. It is claimed that the McCay amendment, agreed to in another place, was carried on that principle, and yet the two honorable senators to whom

I have referred have rejoiced at the undoing of the Labour Government, for the reason, as they put it, that it means the downfall of the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill. They rejoiced at the carrying of the McCay amendment, not for the reasons given by Mr. Deakin, but because in their opinion it would render the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill nugatory. When we find that the Government have come into office depending upon the votes of men who hold that opinion, and that they may retain office only by the support of such men, we cannot feel very sanguine as to the class of legislation that will be introduced by them. I should like to ask whether any person—whether he be a member of the Labour Party, or of any other party—can hope for democratic legislation from a Government which has to depend for its political life upon such supporters. I cannot understand how any honorable senator who has any belief in democracy, who has any wish to see democratic legislation passed by the Parliament of the Commonwealth, can support a Government which is dependent for its political existence on the votes of men who are opposed to the principle of compulsory arbitration, and are prepared to make the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill utterly useless for the purpose for which it was originally intended. I wish the Government to understand that anything I can do to make their path more difficult, and their political life as short as possible, will be carried out with the utmost good nature.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—That is a very straightforward intimation.

Senator PEARCE.—I recognise that they are opposed to everything that I believe to be in the nature of progress.

Senator DOBSON.—Everything?

Senator PEARCE.—They are opposed to everything which, in my view, is in the interests of the Commonwealth. That opinion may be due to short-sightedness on my part; but holding it as I do, it may readily be understood that anything which lies within my power to make the stay of the Government on the Treasury benches as short as possible, will be done with the utmost enthusiasm.

Senator GIVENS (Queensland).—Before the motion that the Bill be read a first time is agreed to, I also have a few observations to make. I should like to preface my remarks by joining with other senators in congratulating the members of the new Ministry holding seats in this Chamber on

their accession to office. No matter how we may differ politically, I think we can congratulate them on the high position which they have attained. We may agree with the methods by which the Government obtained office; we may not agree with their policy, or even with the method of administration which may be put forward by them, yet I hope that our personal feelings will not debar us from offering our very hearty congratulations. In eliciting the leader of the Senate, I should like also to express the hope that he will find it convenient, now that he has attained to so high and distinguished a position, to be more regular in his attendance than he has hitherto been.

Senator HIGGS.—He attended very regularly when the Tariff Bill was before the Senate.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—I shall do so.

Senator GIVENS.—The Government administering the affairs of the Commonwealth seems to be about the most peculiar—I would almost go so far as to say the most shameless—combination of political parties that we have yet seen in Australia. In the first place we have at the head of the Government a right honorable gentleman who has frequently denounced some of his present colleagues and their policy in the most unmeasured terms. It has always been the doctrine of the free-traders, which the Prime Minister is the head of, that protection means robbery. They have invariably said that those who support giving of protection to any Australian industry are simply robbing the rest of taxpayers, and they have denounced the most violent language, all protection being robbery. And yet we now find members of the Free-trade Party arrayed arm with men whom they formerly denounced in these terms. What particular purpose they have in view I do not know, although I may be able to give a shrewd guess. On the other hand, the protectionists used to denounce free-traders as having a desire to strangle Australian industries—as men acting entirely in the interests of foreign importers—and these very protectionists, who were so vehement in the pursuit of their alleged principle, are now to be seen arm in arm with the free-traders whom they formerly denounced in this way.

Senator GRAY.—Do we not see a similar combination in the Labour Party?

ENS.—No. Every member of the party is entitled to vote as he sees fit on a question having any bearing on the Government. We have not combined to govern as advocating a system of Government which we have not combined to support. We have combined to support the members of which have been publicly denounced by some of our members, and we have desired to strangle the Australian industry. Every member is absolutely free, and that is what should be said of the members of the Government now before us. It is not that we should now find men who have raised these views—who have raised them on a pedestal, and we have people to fall down and send them into Parliament in their behalf—swallowing and sinking everything in the name of the Labour Party; or, we have “down” the party which has the great bulk of the Australian people, the great mass of the Australian people. I said just now that it was not the honorable gentlemen in the Government who are retactics; but on further consideration to me that that is not the right honorable gentleman in the Government has spent a great deal of his political career in principles that he formerly advocated, his capacity for swallowing what I believe that, if he only commenced with, he would be celebrated acrobatic snake charmer. A man is reported to be carried about the country, and he is seen in swallowing himself. He is a member and representative, Senator Drake, who has been specially congratulated on his inclusion in the Ministry. The present Government of the Executive Council is an exceptionally fortunate political combination. One of Tennyson's ministries may come and Minister, but Senator Drake appears to be in the Ministry; no matter which Ministry, Senator Drake is in office all the time.

SENATOR.—He is a politician, Mr. Bray.”

ENS.—Senator Drake is a complacent gentleman, who is not going to embarrass any Administration which he may be connected with, even allow his dignity to be affected by his acceptance of office. He was Attorney-General in the previous Administration,

he took second place in this Chamber, giving the first to the Vice-President of the Executive Council; but now that he occupies the latter position, he immediately sinks his dignity again, and is content to give first place to the present Attorney-General. Such humility might be envied even by a Uriah Heep.

SENATOR SIR WILLIAM ZEAL.—That is most unfair!

SENATOR GIVENS.—If the contentions I put forward have no foundation they will have no effect; if they have any foundation, then it is right they should be uttered. At any rate, I shall not apologize to Senator Zeal, or anybody else, for what I may say on the present occasion.

SENATOR SIR WILLIAM ZEAL.—I do not wish the honorable senator to apologize; I should feel it a great humiliation if he offered an apology.

SENATOR GIVENS.—While representatives of Queensland may congratulate Senator Drake on his inclusion in the Ministry, I do not think they have any reason to congratulate themselves on that event. We have had considerable experience of Senator Drake in Queensland politics, and we find in him no political stability. On the present occasion Senator Drake is willing to join a Ministry, the head of which, on many occasions and in various places, has spoken of him in the most contemptuous terms. No matter how unkind or cruel my remarks may appear, what I now say is a mere circumstance compared with the contemptuous terms in which Senator Drake has been frequently spoken of by the head of the Administration of which he is now a member. Yet Senator Drake is willing to join with the present Prime Minister, and forget the past; and doubtless if I were in a position to offer the office of Vice-President of the Executive Council to Senator Drake to-morrow, the severity of any remarks I may make to-day would not, in the slightest degree, prevent his accepting the position under me. So far as the representatives of Queensland are concerned, we have no confidence whatever, judging from the past political history of Senator Drake, that the democratic legislation, which the Commonwealth Parliament has passed, and of which the people of the Commonwealth are so proud, will be faithfully administered. If there is one question that agitates the people of Queensland more than another, it is that of alien coloured labour; and it must be remembered that legislation on this point is

to a great extent permissive. This legislation, which has been passed by this Parliament, may or may not be effective, according as it is administered by the Government in power. The Act dealing with coloured labour does not say that certain things must be done, but only that certain things may be done. The Administration may or may not apply the education test; and we know that the members of the present Administration, and the vast majority of their followers are totally opposed to the spirit, intention, and principle of that legislation. What sort of guarantee have we that the legislation will be carried out in accordance with the intention of the Parliament, or of the people who approved it? Senator Drake is specially interested in this question, seeing that he is the Queensland representative in the present Administration, and it is on that account that I make these remarks to-day. This has been a burning question in Queensland for a number of years. The people of other portions of the Commonwealth have told us that Queensland is a place which must have coloured labour, although the Queensland people, especially the people in the far north, have for the last fifteen years been opposed to the employment in their midst of coloured labour in any shape or form. We should be exceedingly pleased to have some assurance that the people of Queensland, through their representative in the present Administration, will be secure against any violation of the principle of the legislation we have passed—against any danger of large numbers of coloured persons being allowed to enter that State. But in view of the political history of the Vice-President of the Executive Council, what sort of guarantee or assurance can we have to that effect? Let me briefly state, for the benefit of honorable senators, what has been the political history of the Vice-President of the Executive Council in Queensland.

Senator DOBSON.—Spare us all that!

Senator GIVENS.—I would remind Senator Dobson that there is plenty of time to deal with the matter. Senator Drake entered the Queensland Parliament as an ultra-Radical and an out-and-out opponent of all coloured labour. He joined a Radical Party, which undoubtedly had the good-will of the people of Queensland at that time. Events brought about a coalition similar in some respects to that which has been effected recently in the Commonwealth Parliament. Senator Drake refused to have

anything to do with that coalition, and separated, with a remnant of the old party who stuck loyally by him; and he gained a good deal of confidence and support in consequence of his independent attitude. When the time came—when the Queensland Government, known as the continuous Government, were actually defeated and replaced by another Administration—Senator Drake immediately abandoned his independent attitude and sacrificed his party in order to join a Ministry which was the conservative and reactionary Queensland Government ever saw.

Senator DAWSON.—What did Sir Horace Tozer say the reason was?

Senator GIVENS.—I am not going to repeat what Sir Horace Tozer said; I intend simply to express my own opinion. Senator Drake at that time joined an Administration which, to all intents and purposes, consisted of the greatest advocates of coloured labour ever seen in Queensland, and this fact the people of that State are not likely to forget or forgive. Senator Drake had, at that time, as loyal and as true a little party behind him as any leader might wish to have. The party was not so large in numbers as probably he might have had, but for fidelity and loyalty no leader who ever entered Parliament could have had a better little following. Yet the honorable senator sold that party. Although it was announced that he had joined the Government, no member of his party knew anything of the matter until he was actually been sworn in as a Minister. He never asked their leave. He never consulted them. He sold them, politically, and joined another party that was totally opposed to every principle which he had formerly professed. We cannot congratulate him on the possession of pliable political principles, as have enabled him to blow hot, and to blow cold, to join one party to-day, and to connect himself to-morrow with another professing entirely different principles, and, in fact, to do every thing which most honorable gentlemen should not be done. He was very lucky in being able to join the first Queensland Ministry. When the late James Dickson, who was the first Queensland representative in the Government, died, Senator Drake was nominated for the position by the then Queensland Government. He accepted it. That Government passed some good legislation, which, in Queensland, at any rate, hope will be carried into effect. I believe that Sen-

loyally and faithfully to the whole of its legislation. Yet, we now find him Government which is totally the best principles of that which I believe cannot administer it. I do not doubt that aspect of affairs at I trust, notwithstanding, that the Government will, remain in office, proceed with administration of that legislation. I fear, I do not believe the administration to be for the country. I fear that the Government to use its influence in a particular class—the private class. That little class, a minority of about one-tenth of the community, will, in all things, highly approve of the work of the Government, and if the Government continues in office for any length of time, a minority is likely to obtain the things which it demands can be granted only at the expense of the vast majority of the people. It is impossible to grant privileges to any particular section at the expense of the mass of the community with which I am associated to all privileges and all that we ask for is a fair field, and no favour.

MR. KER.—What about preferences?

MR. EVENS.—Preference is absolutely fair, as will, I think, be conclusively shown to the honorable members when the question comes to be discussed in the Senate. Our Standing Orders require us to anticipate debate, and not go into that question now. I am very happy when the opportunity is given to argue it with Senator Dawson, or any other honorable senator. I know that what we desire is no favour shall be shown to any particular section of the community, but that all shall be given to all. So I insist upon obtaining from the Government Administration that may be in office that we intend to be very careful to see that administration of the Immigration Restriction Bill, which I could mention, is as far as possible to be beneficial to the community, and to give expression to that in the Parliament. For my own part, I believe that there are people

in this community who are so disloyal to the Commonwealth—so disloyal to the legislation which has been enacted—that they take every opportunity to defeat its purpose, and the object which Parliament, in passing it, had in view. We, therefore, look upon it as somewhat disastrous that the administration of that legislation should be placed in the hands of the present Government. It will have to be watched very carefully. I hope that my anticipations in this regard will not prove to be correct. No one would be more pleased than myself to find the Ministry giving loyal effect to Commonwealth legislation. Should that prove to be the case, I am perfectly certain that their administration will meet with the approbation of the majority of the members of the Senate. It is too early to discuss questions of policy, because, so far, the Ministry have not announced their programme. But, as some of the members of the Government are more or less pledged to certain progressive legislation, I hope that they will keep their promises, and that it will be proceeded with. I trust that they will not make any such excuses as that there is not sufficient time to pass progressive legislation this session, and that we must wait for a more convenient session. I hope that nothing will intervene to prevent the Government from proceeding with a liberal programme, which will enable the members of this Parliament to pass some of that progressive legislation for which the public are so eagerly waiting, and the benefits of which they so strongly desire.

Senator O'KEEFE (Tasmania).—Like the honorable senators who have preceded me, I wish to take this opportunity to congratulate the Attorney-General and his colleague upon having attained to their honorable positions, on the occasion of the recent reshuffling of the political cards. I do not propose to detain the Senate at any length, nor do I intend to touch upon matters of policy. This is not the most opportune time for dealing with the policy of the new Administration.

Senator DAWSON.—Their programme is that of the Labour Party.

Senator O'KEEFE.—I hope that will prove to be the case. I do not take it as a bad thing for the democratic side of politics in Australia, that the present Government has come to occupy the Treasury benches. I feel that those whose political ideas are on a par with my own will have far more to gain while the

present Administration occupies the Treasury benches than if they were in Opposition; because I am satisfied that the right honorable gentleman at the head of the Government is not likely to make any proposal that may be carried fatal to the life of his Cabinet. I feel sure that when alterations are made by the Senate in legislation which is submitted to Parliament—as alterations will be made, because we have a sufficiently strong democratic majority in this branch of the Legislature to make them—and when Bills are sent back to another place with those alterations embodied in them, the head of the Government will always be willing to give the most earnest consideration to our amendments before he will imperil his position by making any proposal vital to the life of his Cabinet. But my chief reason for rising at the present juncture was to call attention to what I believe to be a very serious departure in Federal politics. The other representatives of Tasmania in the Senate do not seem to be anxious to put forward the argument which I intend to submit, and in another place none of the five representatives of Tasmania took the opportunity to represent this phase of the situation. It has been the custom that the States, which are the component parts of the Commonwealth, shall be represented in the Cabinet. Probably I shall be met with the statement that the last Administration of which I was proud to be a strong supporter, made the first departure from the practice adopted in the formation of the Federal Cabinet. But there were many circumstances surrounding the last Administration providing a reason for that action, which cannot be claimed by the members of the present Government. It seems to me that the smaller States are in a very great danger of having their best interests jeopardized in the future if a practice which gives the whole of the Ministerial representation practically to two States, is to continue. The course now followed gives six-eighths of the total representation in the Cabinet to two States, one-eighth each to two other States, and leaves the other two States entirely unrepresented, and without the slightest voice in Cabinet councils.

Senator DAWSON.—Without even an honorary Minister.

Senator O'KEEFE.—They have not even an honorary Minister, as my honorable friend interjects. Whilst the departure was made by the late Administration—and, I am free to avow, against my inclination—there were,

in the view of Ministers, certain very reasons for making that departure, and reasons cannot be advanced by the members of the present Administration. A reason why Tasmania found no representation in the last Cabinet was that there were only two supporters of the Administration in the Federal Parliament by the State of Tasmania, out of eleven representatives from that State, and there were many of whom had far greater claims on various grounds to Ministerial rank and office than the two members of the party representing Tasmania. In this case, however, we find that in the other branch of the Legislature there are five representatives from Tasmania, one of whom has had more than a quarter of a century of parliamentary experience as a gentleman who was a Minister in the Government of the Commonwealth, and against whose administration of the Land and Telegraph Department nothing was urged, either in the press or in either branch of the Federal Legislature. That honorable gentleman has been passed over in the formation of the Reid-McLean Administration.

Senator DAWSON.—This is not the first ten season.

Senator O'KEEFE.—Then we have another Tasmanian representative, who has been a hot and strong supporter of the present Prime Minister. So warm a supporter of that right honorable gentleman was he a few weeks ago—I do not know whether it is so now—and so bitter an opponent of the late Deakin Administration, that on the night before the Deakin Administration went out of office, that gentleman sent a telegram from Tasmania to the whip of the Opposition, to this effect, "Try to keep the debate going, because I want to be in at the death of the Deakin Government." The bitterness of this gentleman's opposition to the Deakin Government was as keen as the strength of his allegiance to the party led by the right honorable member for Epping, Sydney. Yet that gentleman, who has had a very long political experience in the Senate from which I come, has also been passed over.

Senator DE LARGIE.—He will be in at the death of the present Government.

Senator O'KEEFE.—Then we have another Tasmanian representative, who has had many years' political experience, and was returned last December as a supporter of the Deakin Administration, but who immediately after taking his seat in the Federal Parliament, seemed to develop a most intense admiration for the right honorable

t the head of the Govern-
h that gentleman was re-
ctionist, and was recog-
tionist in his State career,
cacy of that fiscal faith in
veloped an intense admir-
ent Prime Minister. That
all matter nowadays, when
side to side so easily.

AY.—Might I ask to whom
ator is referring?

EEFE.—I am speaking of
mber in another place. I
at it is necessary that I
name, though I should be
do so if it were necessary.
senator should know very
am referring from the de-
I have given.

AY.—I thought the honor-
referring to a member of

CE.—Did the honorable
cap on?

EEFE.—I referred first of
postmaster-General; then to
representative, who was so
nt of the Deakin Adminis-
ret that the boat could not
fast enough to enable him
death of that Government;
rred to a third Tasmanian

As there are but three
orters of the present Reid-
istration in the House of
Senator Mulcahy should
are.

ON.—Let us into the secret.

EEFE.—If Senator Dawson
to learn their names, I can
im privately. Of the five
of Tasmania in the House
es, three are hot and strong
e present coalition Govern-
ow to deal with this branch
ure in which Tasmania,
is, has equal representation
State in the Commonwealth.

Chamber six honorable sena-
mania, and at least four of
warm supporters of the pre-
Government. I think that
only a few months ago were
supporters of such a com-
think it will be found that
prepared to support almost
the present Government
in this Senate.

CAHY.—The honorable sena-

Senator O'KEEFE.—It is quite easy
to be a prophet in these matters. In poli-
tics nowadays he who runs may read. A
Member of Parliament has only to make a
few speeches and we know exactly where he
stands, and what are his political leanings.
These honorable senators will, I think, be
found supporting the present Government.

Senator DAWSON.—It is not because they
love them well, but because they hate us
more.

Senator O'KEEFE.—Very likely that is
true. We know that we have in the Senate
an honorable and learned senator from Tas-
mania whose place should decidedly be at
the table. That honorable senator has
earned a place in the present Government
by the splendid work he did for the party
in connexion with the Tariff during the first
long session of seventeen months. That
honorable and learned senator, by reason
of his ability and general capacity, also
is entitled to a seat at the table of the Senate
as a member of the present Administration,
but he has been passed over. We have in
Senator Mulcahy also an honorable senator
who has had a long political experience.
During his political campaign the honor-
able senator made himself out to be a sup-
porter of the Deakin Administration, but I
am sorely afraid that he is likely to find
himself in bad company during the next few
weeks. I am sorry to have to believe that
we are not likely often to have the pleasure
of the honorable senator's assistance in
divisions likely to take place on such mea-
sures as the Arbitration Bill.

Senator MULCAHY.—Occasionally, when
honorable senators opposite go right, I shall
be with them.

Senator O'KEEFE.—I shall not go too
much into prophecy with regard to the hon-
orable senator, because I still have hope
that his past democratic ideals will not be
altogether forgotten, and that he will not
entirely desert the democrats who have
placed him in Parliament.

Senator MULCAHY.—I never have.

Senator O'KEEFE.—I still have hope
that we may find the honorable senator sit-
ting with us in divisions on important legis-
lation, which will mark a distinct line be-
tween the democrats and the reactionaries.
The honorable senator has, however, been
passed over in the formation of the Reid-
McLean Administration. We have then an-
other honorable and learned senator, who, I
am sorry to say, is not at present in the
Chamber, an honorable and learned senator
who can be all things to all men, and who

is, therefore, quite eligible for inclusion in any Ministry. Seeing that the present Reid-McLean Administration is admittedly and openly a coalition Government, comprised of four protectionists and four free-traders, in order that it might be a genuine, fair, and square coalition, I shall probably be met with the reply that it was not possible in the circumstances for some of the Tasmanian representatives to whom I have referred to be included. But even that argument will fall to the ground. I have no doubt that the honorable and learned senator, whose omission from the Ministry will cause great disappointment in Tasmania, was passed by because he happened to be a free-trader, and a very consistent one indeed, and it was necessary for a protectionist here to be chosen in order to balance the Government.

Senator PEARCE.—Senator Dobson a free-trader!

Senator O'KEEFE.—No; I am referring to Senator Clemons, and not in any offensive way. If that is the reason for his exclusion, it is a very strange thing that since a coalition implies an equal representation of each side, the palpable claims of other senators should have been disregarded, and that some of the States should have been entirely ignored. But if we leave out the honorable and learned senator, whose claims, I say, to a place at the table here, stand first, we still have my honorable friend opposite, who certainly has not been long in the Senate, but who, I am sure, has come to adorn it. He came here as a common-sense protectionist. Where was a bar to his admission into the Ministry?

Senator MULCAHY.—Do not forget that they have a protectionist policy.

Senator O'KEEFE.—We have a protectionist policy, but there was absolutely nothing to prevent the honorable senator's inclusion in the Cabinet, and thereby give Tasmania a voice in the counsels of the Commonwealth.

Senator PEARCE.—The honorable senator said that he was a common-sense protectionist, and that was the bar.

Senator O'KEEFE.—Senator Mulcahy knows what he meant by that definition, I do not. He came into the Senate as a protectionist, and almost as though he had the gift of second sight, and could see six months ahead, he said in his electoral campaign that he was a common-sense protectionist, and a supporter of the Deakin Government with an "if," that he believed

in the policy of a White Australia with "but"—with certain reservations. I not quite sure, but I think that he pressed his belief in a system of old pensions, with a reservation.

Senator MULCAHY.—No; I believe that without any reservation.

Senator O'KEEFE.—The honorable senator was a protectionist, and a supporter of the Deakin Government, but a strong admirer of the policy of the present Administration, and of at least some of its members. I intend that no honorable senator more fit, by reason of his plauds, pledges, and apparent political ideas, have a place in the coalition Cabinet, was my honorable friend. We now have to the fourth representative of Tasmania in the Senate. It seems to me that Senator Dobson would "fill the bill," in either a protectionist or a free-trade Government, in either a democratic or a reactionary Government, because, in that smiling way of his, he can be all things to all men at the same time.

Senator FRASER.—That is very unkind.

Senator O'KEEFE.—It may be unkind and no doubt it has often fallen to the lot of Senator Fraser in his political life to make remarks which, although very unkind, were still very true.

Senator FRASER.—Not personal, though.

Senator Sir WILLIAM ZEAL.—That is they have been doing—blackguarding.

Senator O'KEEFE.—These events should not be given point to without occasion using names, and I do not think that Senator Dobson needs Senator Fraser or Senator Zeal, or any one else, here, to look a him.

Senator Sir WILLIAM ZEAL.—He does not want the honorable senator's support anyway.

Senator O'KEEFE.—Senator Dobson does not want my support, because he has the support of the honorable senator and others behind him. As regards any speaking offensively of Senator Dobson, is, I think, the one agitator in this Parliament, who is going round Australia, stirring up strife between the classes.

we had a few more gentlemen of his political line of thought, speaking as he has been doing lately, that revolution of which he is so much afraid might soon come to pass.

Senator FRASER.—It would suit the honorable senator's crowd.

Senator O'KEEFE.—No; nor would it suit the honorable senator's crowd either.

amusing to observe the attitude of Senator Dobson, who has a very dictionary for epithets to the Labour Party.

Mr WILLIAM ZEAL.—What has the senator been doing for the rates? Nothing else but black-

O'KEEFE.—When any one else is to say, the friends of Senator are very anxious that his name be mentioned, and that nothing be said about him. I have taken the liberty of pointing out that a serious departure has been made. When a State returns a number of members of a party it should have the Cabinet. In this instance four of the eleven representatives had a claim to Ministerial rank at least one of them should have

I shall leave it to the representatives of Western Australia, if they think with the omission of a representative from the Cabinet. On the 11th, when there had been a shuffle of portfolios, the honorable and learned member is now in the proud position of the Senate, congratulated the members. Speaking from this side of the Chamber referred to "this Ministry of fragments." The phrase was striking, and it stuck. Without being as able as Senator Symon to use striking phrases, I think that they might be called a Ministry of extremes, because they are ceremotomists in fiscal faith, and react on matters of general policy for the State and progress of the people.

TRENWITH (Victoria).—I am glad that we were to have a discussion of this character this afternoon. I do not think it wise that we should, for I cannot see that any good result can accrue from a discussion of this kind. It is not desirable to have such a discussion at this time; a fortnight ago would be the proper time. I rise for a moment. Since we have met this afternoon I have been accosted by a friend with the words, "You have not changed your position, are you supporting the Government?" This has led me to question whether a change of Government is considered necessary, in order to fully inform every person, that a change of Government taking place, a change his seat. I do not know so. I have felt that the Senate in the House of Representatives should give consideration, not

so much to men as to measures of legislation. In that respect, its functions are different from those of the other House.

Senator PEARCE.—No. Are we not concerned with administration?

Senator TRENWITH.—I think that we are. I am explaining my own position, so that no one shall make a mistake about it. I should not like to deceive any section or individual member of the Senate; and it is because of the remark made to me by a friend that I have felt it my duty to say a word or two upon this head. So far as I know, I am opposed to the present Government, that is, I disagree with their policy of refraining, during the lifetime of this Parliament, from amending our notoriously incongruous protective Tariff. Protection may be a good thing, but we have it not; free-trade may be a good thing, but we have it not. In the minds of fiscal thinkers there appears to be no middle course in this matter. They range themselves on one side or the other. Men like Senator Pearce believe that the best thing for any country is absolute and unrestricted free-trade, while others, like myself, believe it to be perfect and complete protection for native industries. Neither side has achieved its desires in connexion with the Commonwealth Tariff. There must be a majority in the Commonwealth in favour of one of these two policies, and my own view is that a very substantial majority favour the imposition of a complete and scientific protective Tariff.

Senator O'KEEFE.—Hear, hear.

Senator TRENWITH.—It is a debatable point, and one which we should discuss. As I differ from the Government in regard to it, I feel it my duty at a very early stage to make my position plain. The contention of Senator O'Keefe that it was wrong not to give Tasmania a representative in the Ministry, cannot be too firmly deprecated. There is no vested right in any part of the Commonwealth to be represented in an Administration.

Senator O'KEEFE.—It is all very well for an honorable senator who represents a big State, which has three Ministers in the Government, to say that.

Senator TRENWITH.—I am a native of Tasmania, and think a great deal of it.

Senator O'KEEFE.—The honorable senator does not represent Tasmania.

Senator TRENWITH.—I feel that I do, just as I feel that I represent the most northern part of Queensland. I am a Member of Parliament for the Commonwealth,

and the Government is the administrative body for the Commonwealth, whose people are entitled to the best to be obtained from the material to be selected from.

Senator O'KEEFE.—Has the Commonwealth got that?

Senator TRENWITH.—I shall not discuss that matter. I am dealing now simply with the question of principle. To consider arbitrary geographical lines in the selection of an Executive would be unwise, and I, for one, shall always set my face against such a course. There may come a time when the splendid little island where I was born may present to this Parliament—

Senator MULCAHY.—The whole Government.

Senator TRENWITH.—The whole Government. To my mind that is not at all impossible.

Senator O'KEEFE.—My contention was that some of the best men available have been left out simply because this is a coalition Government.

Senator TRENWITH.—I do not wish to labour the question, though it is an important one. As a Parliamentarian of considerable experience, I know that geographical considerations have often led to the formation of weaker Governments in connexion with the administration of the affairs of the States than would otherwise have been obtained, and I hope that the practice of considering geographical lines will not obtain in connexion with the formation of Commonwealth Administrations. If there is anything to be said in favour of the present Government, it is that, in some measure, geographical lines have been disregarded in its formation. At present that is all I can say in favour of it.

Senator DE LARGIE.—Why was Senator Dobson left out?

Senator TRENWITH.—I do not know that the Prime Minister would have done anything wrong if he had taken in Senator Dobson, whom I know very well, and with whom I had the honour to work as a fellow-member of the Convention which created the Constitution under which we now live.

Senator O'KEEFE.—It would have been a different Constitution if Senator Dobson had had his way.

Senator TRENWITH.—I very rarely agree with Senator Dobson, and, though I am perhaps as vain as another man, I think that if every member of the Convention had always agreed with me, the

Constitution might not have been as it is. It might perhaps have been. The fact that we had men of various views, of high ability, of strong passions, and of great courage, led to our Constitution which, on the whole, I think, very general satisfaction. I shall not take part in any department of belittling of Senator Dobson which happens not to see as I do. I think to be wrong when he does not see but he no doubt thinks that I am wrong when I do not see as he does; and, all, no one can have a perfect patent of right.

Senator FRASER.—Yes; the members of the Labour Party have.

Senator TRENWITH.—As this question has been discussed, I wish to say in my opinion, it is a great misfortune that there is growing up a reading of the Constitution of the meaning of responsible government which is extremely prejudicial to the well-being of the Commonwealth. I have been a member of the Government for a period of only eight months—there have been two changes of Government of which we should have had, but for a strained and, I think, uncorrected interpretation of the meaning of responsible government. Responsible government is the growth of practically the system which has just passed. Original Administrations were held responsible for every item and detail of administration for carrying on the government of the country. Responsibility for legislation was attached, in the first instance, and, recently, only to financial measures to measures for carrying on and maintaining His Majesty's Government. Merely ordinary legislation did not come under the meaning of measures for which governments were responsible, and that it is a pity that we have from that reading of the term "responsible government." The action of the Government in making a change upon which it went out of office a change is to be seriously deprecated, and that is that of the Deakin Administration. In my opinion, it is owing to the narrow, proper, and restricted definition of the term "responsible government" that we are in the trouble in which we are now; and we should set our face against a future adoption.

Senator DAWSON.—But suppose a majority take the essence out of a Bill?

RENWITH.—I think that if action placed upon responsible by recent Governments were Parliament would be deprived responsibility, because members deterred from making a measure it ought to be from the fear of every issue, upon every detail, of voting of an "i" or crossing of might put out of office the men who had confidence.

DAWSON.—Therefore, the honorable senator is opposed to party government.

RENWITH.—I am not.

DAWSON.—I am.

RENWITH.—I am not opposite to party government; neither am I of the new doctrine now being which seems to me incompatible with the continuance of the monarchy, and the proposal that we should have a republic. I am in favour of the principle of responsible government, restricting very materially the "responsible." The Government should be responsible for carrying on its Administration—the Government of the country—and the Parliament responsible for taking up and discussing every piece of legislation. I should not have made these remarks in a discussion which has arisen. I have a question as to the place in which I desire to explain that my remarks are dictated by physical reasons. When I came into this Chamber I took a seat, because it suited me physically. I have only one eye, which happens to be right one, and whilst sitting in the right-hand corner of the chamber I am in a position to keep my eye upon the honorable senators. If I sat anywhere else I should not be able to see the whole of the honorable faces about me. Therefore, if there is any objection on the part of the Attorney-General and of my honorable friend Senator Drake, I prefer to sit upon the benches. I shall oppose the Government upon issues in connexion with the Government, and support them in regard to which I agree with them. It would be my attitude in what I do in the House I might sit, and I am in a position in saying that whatever is in power, I shall in the future do the same as was done in the past, namely, concerning anything else the character of the Government that is proposed. Even if

men whom I do not like personally—there are not many of them, because I am of an affectionate disposition—introduce legislation of which I approve, I shall vote for that legislation, and altogether disregard the men.

Senator MATHESON (Western Australia).—I wish to explain my position in regard to the proposal to create a Council of Defence. As honorable senators will remember, the amendment to the Defence Bill proposed by me, and agreed to last session by the Senate, provided for the constitution of that essential body. The amendment was rejected by the House of Representatives, and I had intended as soon as the session commenced to bring in a small Bill to amend the Act, and to give effect to what I understand is the desire of the majority of honorable senators. When I went to see Senator Dawson, who was then Minister of Defence, I found that he had become thoroughly converted to the views I held last session, and that he had, as a matter of fact, appointed a committee of experts who were looking into the question, which was afterwards to be brought before the Cabinet. Under these circumstances, it was obviously unnecessary for me to bring forward an amending Bill.

Senator DAWSON.—Why does the honorable senator say I was converted?

Senator MATHESON.—Because the honorable senator declined to support my amendment.

Senator DAWSON.—I differed from the honorable senator only upon a matter of detail.

Senator MATHESON.—I did not know that the only difference between us was with regard to a detail; but, however that may be, I am very glad that the honorable senator agrees with me now. Now a new Government has been formed, and I know that at least one member of it, Senator Drake, is opposed to my scheme. I am unacquainted with the views of the other Ministers. I was prepared to speak at some length to-day, with a view to eliciting from the Government, when we re-assembled, a statement as to their intentions upon this matter. The Attorney-General has, however, assured me that the question will be taken into consideration, and that there is no necessity to direct special attention to it this afternoon. To my mind the question of appointing a Council of Defence is one of the most important that could engage our attention.

Senator GIVENS. — Why not afford us an opportunity to consider and deal with the matter?

Senator MATHESON.—I am assured by the Attorney-General that that opportunity will be afforded to honorable senators on another occasion. I consider that the appointment of a Council of Defence is essential, and I understand that a substantial majority of honorable senators are in favour of the proposal.

Senator PEARCE.—The Government do not believe in substantial majorities.

Senator DAWSON.—Is there not a wide divergence between the scheme proposed by the honorable senator and that which was adopted by the late Government?

Senator MATHESON.—I am not aware that the late Government adopted any scheme. All that I know is that a committee of experts gave the Government certain advice, and that the subject was to be brought before Parliament for discussion.

Senator DAWSON.—A *précis* of the proposed scheme was published in the press.

Senator MATHESON. — That is true. I am not quite in accord with the scheme of which a *précis* was given, but I am not aware that that truly represented the Government proposal. I think that the honorable senator knows that it was not accurate. However, I have been requested to abstain from discussing the matter at this stage, and I shall wait and watch events.

Senator HIGGS (Queensland). — I desire to offer my congratulations to the Attorney-General upon having attained his present very high position. His presence here this afternoon makes it very difficult to say all the complimentary things I should have liked to say with respect to him, however much I may disagree with his political principles. I can also congratulate two other members of the Ministry, namely, the Prime Minister and the Postmaster-General. My congratulations, however, partake very much of the nature of the applause with which one might greet a man who had succeeded in climbing a greasy pole, or one who had succeeded in tying himself into a knot and walking down a ladder.

An HONORABLE SENATOR. — Fancy the Prime Minister tying himself into a knot!

Senator TRENWITH.—That is not conceivable.

Senator HIGGS. — I deplore the fact that the right honorable gentleman has succeeded in attaining the position of Prime Minister of Australia.

Senator GRAY.—That is because the honorable senator does not know him.

Senator HIGGS.—I know a good deal about him. I have watched his political career for many years, and I must say I am not at all surprised at his having adopted the particular methods which resulted in his attaining office. If honorable members of the Federal Parliament had been of the same mind as myself, the right honorable gentleman would not have succeeded. I cannot understand Senator Symon and others, who hold similar political principles, could find it possible to support such a Government. Those who saw or heard those honorable senators during the four months occupied by us in discussing the Tariff, who heard the doleful pictures they painted regarding the burdens imposed upon taxpayers by that Tariff, will, I am sure, be very much astonished to learn that they are prepared to fall in with Mr. Reid, and the Government, in their determination to sink the fiscal question for a period of years. I agree with all that has been said of the Vice-President of the Executive Council by Senator Givens. It is a hard thing to say, but I must confess that the honorable and learned gentleman deserves the whole of the condemnation heaped upon him. His career in Queensland was that of a democrat. For years he kept the flag of a White Australia flying, when that policy was unpopular with the classes with whom he is now allied. To me the subject is a painful one, and, therefore, I do not propose to pursue it. The present Ministers claim that, in carrying on the Government of the Commonwealth, they adopt a method which is quite different from that adopted by members of the Labour Party. I point to the caucus, and to the platform given by members of the Labour Party as proof that our methods ought to be criticised and condemned by every right-thinking person in the community. I may say, and I am sure that most honorable senators who know anything about the history of the Labour Party will agree with me, that if the members of other political organizations had only discharged their duty to the people of Australia, the Labour Party would never have made its appearance in politics. The fact is that we were compelled to adopt our present methods to keep certain gentlemen up to the point of scratch.

TRENWITH.—It fails every time.
HIGGS.—It does not fail. Of
e are some instances in which
no sign pledges break them, but
y the adoption of the pledge and
ation of a political programme
fect of keeping out of politics a
men who would sell the people
occasion. A great deal has
y the party at present in power
our caucus. Our caucus method,
freedom itself compared with
Reid and his party. No mem-
Labour Party has any diffidence
a caucus meeting to give expres-
sions, but if report be true, the
no attend the caucuses convened
ne Minister dare not open their
this afternoon we have an exam-
in the silence of honorable sena-
e. Senator Matheson alone has
then only by way of explana-
ne it is evident that Mr. Reid
an edict that members of his
s Chamber are not to speak, with-
on of the leader of the Senate,
make a few observations in ex-
f his views. I desire to place
the political pledge which the
the Labour Party are required
It reads—

pledge myself not to oppose the can-
d by the recognised political Labour
and, if elected, to do my utmost
the principles embodied in the Fede-
platform, and on all questions affect-
form, to vote as a majority of the
y Party may decide at a duly con-
s meeting.

CLEMONS.—Where can I obtain
that pledge?

HIGGS.—The platform of the
ty is published in the Queens-
er every week. This particular
rs only to the Federal platform,
drawn up in Sydney in Decem-
by a conference of delegates re-
the labour political organizations
the Commonwealth. Those or-
are open to any barrister or busi-
or, indeed, to any person in the
who cares to pay a shilling per
here is the restriction upon free-
tech or individual liberty under
stances?

GRAY.—Do they not agree to
ny action of the caucus after-

HIGGS.—No. I will tell the
enator what may happen.

Senator DOBSON.—The honorable sena-
tor will give the Labour Party away in a
minute.

Senator HIGGS.—Senator Dobson ob-
jects to the true position of affairs being
explained. If any member of the Labour
Party thinks that sufficient progress is not
being made in a certain direction he can
ventilate his opinion at the caucus. If a
majority are of opinion that the rapid pas-
sage of any Bill should be urged—the Arbi-
tration Bill, for example—its leader conveys
that wish to the proper authorities in a re-
spectful way. That is all the pressure that
has been brought to bear upon any Govern-
ment by the Labour Party at any time in its
career.

Senator DOBSON.—Are not members of
the Labour Party bound by the decision of
the majority?

Senator HIGGS.—The honorable senator
has something in his mind that does not
exist in reality. We are not bound by any-
thing save the planks of the platform to
which I have referred; but we are bound
to do our best to get those planks embodied
in the legislation of the Commonwealth.
What is there in that pledge which would
make it derogatory for any honorable sena-
tor to sign it?

Senator GRAY.—Was there not a meeting
of the Labour Party held in reference to
the drought?

Senator HIGGS.—The honorable sena-
tor who is making so many irrelevant inter-
jections is a free-trader, but nevertheless he
declined to sanction the remission of the
duty upon fodder which was intended for
starving stock. As he is one of the repre-
sentatives of the great free-trade party in
New South Wales, I should like to know
whether he is going to flout the wishes of
the 176,000 electors who voted for him,
because he was a free-trader, by sinking
for a time the fiscal issue.

Senator GRAY.—If the honorable senator
will pardon me, I will tell him—

Senator HIGGS.—I cannot allow the
honorable senator to interrupt me at this
stage.

Senator GRAY.—Then I can only say that
what the honorable senator said is not in
keeping with my remarks.

Senator HIGGS.—I signed the Labour
platform, and the Labour pledge, and have
never felt myself any less a man because
I did so. It is, after all, a purely busi-
ness transaction. If a candidate advocates
certain legislation, and wishes to represent
the Labour Party, he is invited to put his

signature to a document, embodying the principles of the party, so that if at any time he go back on them, the party will be able to confront him with it. If an honorable senator called on Senator Walker, as a director of the Bank of New South Wales, and sought to obtain a small loan from the institution, he would find that he could not secure it unless he were prepared to attach his signature to a document, setting forth that he would repay the amount. If that be necessary, surely it is equally necessary that candidates for election to Parliament, as representatives of a party, should be asked to put their signatures to the platform which they propose to support? In order to show that all the talk about want of dignity shown in signing a platform is mere sham and hypocrisy, I would remind the Senate that the Governor-General would not accept the word of the right honorable member for East Sydney, when he called upon him to form a Government. He required him, as well as every other member of the Ministry, to take an oath or make an affirmation, far more drastic than anything demanded of a labour candidate, to the following effect:—

I, George Houston Reid, being chosen and admitted of His Majesty's Executive Council in the Commonwealth of Australia, do swear that I will, to the best of my judgment, at all times when thereto required, freely give my counsel and advice to the Governor-General for the time being for the good management of the public affairs of the said Commonwealth; that I will not directly or indirectly reveal such matters as shall be debated in Council and committed to my secrecy, but that I will in all things be a true and faithful councillor. So help me God.

Did the Prime Minister, or any other member of the Executive Council, think that there was anything undignified in taking that oath? If there was not, why is there something that is to be deprecated in the action of a Member of Parliament putting his signature to a paper setting forth a series of principles, and pledging himself to advocate those principles, and do his best to place them on the statute-book? I do not know whether the Governor-General was specially glad to obtain Mr. Reid's signature to the oath which I have just read, or whether he gave the matter any thought—and I do not use the Governor-General's name in any disrespectful sense—but any one who is familiar with the present Prime Minister's political career must recognise that such an oath was certainly necessary from him. I have taken a considerable interest in the Prime Minister's career.

Senator Higgs.

Senator GRAY.—The honorable senator seems to know little about him.

Senator HIGGS.—I have before me report of a speech which he made at Toowoomba in March, 1901, when this great leader of the Free-trade Party, in addressing the electors of a protectionist constituency, said—

He was a free-trader himself, but he thought they must all recognise that in the majority of the States protection existed, and that to bring in a Free-trade Tariff would dislocate the whole of the industry and commerce of the Commonwealth. Existing rights must be respected, and whatever was done must be done gradually and carefully, and with due regard for the best interests of the whole Australian people. Mr. Barton had stated, it was probable that a Federal Tariff would be more like the existing Tariff of Queensland than like the Tariff of any of the other States. There must be no loss of time in abstract discussion on the relative merits of free-trade and protection until they had gained some experience of the working of a Federal Tariff, after which they would be better able to judge what the permanent uniform Tariff ought to be.

That is an extract from a speech made in March, 1901; but at the Melbourne Town Hall, on 11th October, 1902, when addressing a particularly well-dressed audience whom he said were being ruined by the policy of protection, he stated, in referring to the Tariff, that—

So ashamed were the Protectionists at the result of their great victory that they would not own it. He fully believed that if he adopted the policy of letting the Tariff alone for a few years he could get a considerable number of votes both inside and outside the Federal Parliament; but that was not the way in which he desired to act in public life. (Cheers.) If he had made one thing more clear than another it was that he had an invincible repugnance to measures of that description. If the power came in his hands—

And I would draw the particular attention of Senator Drake to this sentence—

he would not rest until the Tariff of Australia was based upon sound principles.

Those sound principles, as we know from a review of the Prime Minister's career, consist of the raising of the revenue mostly by way of duties on stimulants and narcotics and the removal of duties of a kind that are likely to protect the industry of the Commonwealth. Having said that, if the power came into his hands he would not rest until he introduced a free-trade policy for the Commonwealth, the right honorable gentleman, for some reason or other, is now prepared to abandon all his political principles, and, if necessary, to sink free-trade a hundred fathoms deep. Honorable senators will therefore see, from a review of these incidents in the Prime

career, how very necessary it took office, to obtain from him he would be loyal to the principle at the root of responsible

He was just as willing last year into an alliance with the party as Mr. Deakin was this year, the life of the Barton-Deakin union. Had the Labour Party alone, the present Prime Minister been perfectly willing to make with us on the same lines as those has combined with the Congress of the Protectionist Party. Held in the Town Hall, Sydney, December, 1902, he said—

You all know, intimate and friendly the Labour Party of New South five years whilst I was Prime Minister. I never mind the caucus my road. We had five years alliance. . . . But I do not know William McMillan about the I say that as long as they go my all right.

ones disclose the political character of a gentleman which is at the head of administration of the Commonwealth are the principles which that honorable gentleman, and it is to be satisfactory to honorable men who have changed their seats as Smith, Matheson, Best, and his coalition, to me, is a most one, which one could hardly be in a democracy like that

DOBSON.—“Anything is possible in a democracy.”

HIGGS. — Senator O’Keefe the question of State representation appears to be a combination of conservative elements of Victoria and South Wales against the demonstration in Australia. The other four are, to a very great extent, simply ignored by the Government. It is a matter of satisfaction of the Labour Party to know that the things cannot last. The members of Australia are bound to see the result of the combination—to see the indecent dishonesty of it—and when the Government and their supporters are the constituencies, as they will be, the people will have a right to express their opinion. I must do not think Mr. Reid has been very astute in his selection; and some members of this have a right to complain. I can-

not understand how Mr. Reid came to ignore a gentleman who has fought his battles in this Senate, a gentleman in support of whom some 200,000 electors in New South Wales went to the poll. I refer to Senator Neild, and I cannot understand why Mr. Reid should have passed over that gentleman in favour of Senator Drake, who, I am satisfied, is acceptable neither to the democracy of Queensland, nor to the commercial classes whom, I believe, Mr. Reid thinks he is satisfying by his selection. I do not know how Senator Clemons feels. I know that the speeches which he made from this side, when Senator O’Connor and Senator Drake were in charge of the business, expressed, in very strong terms, his admiration for Senator Drake! In fact, Senator Clemons’ appearance this afternoon, and the appearance of the leader of the Senate, the Attorney-General, prove that neither feels very comfortable in his present position. We know that politics make us acquainted with strange bed-fellows; but I am sure that the present position must be to those gentlemen absolutely too exasperating for expression.

Senator WALKER (New South Wales). —I am surprised that it should be supposed for a single moment that there is a gag put upon honorable senators. I am a perfectly independent supporter of the present Government; and I congratulate the country on a coalition Administration composed of a large proportion of the talents of Parliament. I also desire to congratulate the late Ministry on having made a good record. I am no admirer as you, Mr. President, know, of the views of the Labour Party; but the late Prime Minister, and the late Vice-President of the Executive Council discharged their official duties admirably. I think the record of the Labour Government goes to show that the Labour Party has sufficient ability amongst them to conduct an Administration, as well, probably, as could the members of any other party.

Senator O’KEEFE.—Has the honorable senator anything to say against the administration of the late Government?

Senator WALKER.—I am not called upon at present to go into details; but I may say that I have a personal regard for each member of the late Government. Senator Givens delivered a powerful philippic against my good friend Senator Drake, the present Vice-President of the Executive

Council. I was one who took an active part in the Federation movement in days gone by, and I know that Senator Drake was always a good federationist. I heard the honorable and learned senator deliver an admirable address in the Town Hall, Sydney, in 1899, on the question, and I have always entertained a great regard for him, although, in the matter of fiscal policy, we are as opposite as the poles. When there is a common danger before the public, parties have a perfect right to coalesce against that danger.

Senator GIVENS.—What is the common danger?

Senator WALKER.—I consider that at the present time there is a great danger of Socialism. I do not think there is a stronger free-trader than I am myself; and, in my opinion, the free-traders are perfectly consistent in their action, in the face of such a common danger as generally unites persons who at other times do not see eye to eye. Certain honorable senators opposite are fond of preaching on the word "democracy," somewhat like the old woman who saw great virtue in the "blessed word Mesopotamia." The idea of those honorable senators seems to be that they have only to speak the word "democracy" in order to settle everything. On our side of the House we are Liberals. We do not call ourselves Democrats; indeed, I regard the word democrat as always a doubtful compliment. Pure democracy is an excellent thing, but we do not see it in its purity out here. One point was, I think, made with some force by Senator O'Keefe. I am quite sure that, although we are Federalists, it is desirable, other things being equal, that each State should be represented in the Ministry.

Senator O'KEEFE.—That is all I ask.

Senator WALKER.—I can quite understand that representatives of Tasmania and Western Australia must feel somewhat sore because they are not represented in the present Ministry. As a supporter of the Government, I hope the matter will be seriously considered, and that representatives of those two States will be appointed honorary Ministers. It was understood that there had to be three Ministers in the Senate, a resolution to that effect having been passed, I believe, unanimously. But here we are in the same position as before, with only two Ministers in this Chamber. I hope that when the Government do appoint two honorary Ministers to represent

Tasmania and Western Australia, they will be selected in this Chamber, where there is plenty of material to choose from. Senator Pearce made some allusion to the climate of Queensland, as though it were impossible for people to go there without being scorched. Senator Givens, however, certifies that winter in Northern Queensland provides, probably, the most perfect climate in the world.

Senator MCGREGOR.—That is what Senator Pearce said.

Senator WALKER.—But Senator Pearce seems to think that Senator Pearce was inconsistent in going to Queensland on his health, that senator having spoken in favour of the employment of kanakas in the labour. It is perfectly consistent for a senator to be in favour of regulated kanaka labour, and yet to be of opinion that Northern Queensland is a good place for white men to visit during the winter months.

Senator GIVENS.—The climate of Northern Queensland in summer is sometimes cooler than that of Melbourne in summer.

Senator WALKER.—The late Government was composed of four free-traders and four protectionists, and the present Government is composed of the two in like proportion. Yet honorable senators opposite find fault with the Prime Minister on that account.

Senator DE LARGIE.—The Labour Party is not a fiscal party.

Senator WALKER.—The honorable senator knows perfectly well that there are staunch free-traders within the Labour Party.

Senator DE LARGIE.—It is not a question with us.

Senator WALKER.—The Labour Party dare not make the fiscal question a party question, because it would split the party up. The Labour Party unite for one object, and sink the fiscal question; and they blame the other side for doing a similar thing. Members of the Labour Party are not "game" to say whether they are free-traders or protectionists; they are on the fiscal issue, and then blame the other side, as I say, for doing the same thing. But the other side are determined to defeat the Labour Party at the polls. We are anti-Socialists. We believe in individualism—in allowing every one to use his abilities to rise as high as he can in the world. The system of honorable senators opposite is to pull down, not to build up. I hope that my remarks will not be taken not unkindly. Personally, I

accord to the present Government independent support, but I am not willing to swallow my free-trade principles. The issue has been sunk by honorables opposite, and there is no reason why it should not be sunk by the support of the Government. Once more I commend the Senate on being led by Senator Fraser, who has an excellent lieutenant, Senator Drake.

SENATOR DE LARGIE (Western Australia).—This is the only opportunity we have to have to say a word or two in praise and congratulation of the new Government. I wish to remark that I entertain a respect for the two Ministers of the Ministry in the Senate, and I am certain that every member of the Senate, on personal grounds, shares that respect. I respect them because of the way in which they have always conducted themselves as members of the Senate, and because of the way in which they have stood up for the principles on which they were elected to Parliament. We turn from personal considerations to the somersaults which have recently been performed in order to bring two direct opposites on the fiscal issue together in a Government. I think that any honest free-trader, any honest politician, no matter what school he may belong to, cannot but feel anything but disgust. I am sure that we see that two gentlemen, for whom we have had so much respect, have allowed themselves to be parties to a combination which, I am sure, will result politically of burying them in the eyes of the democracy of Australia. I do not complain that the Government has been brought to this. It suits the party to which I belong admirably. Never in the history of the Labour Party, I believe, has any man been in a place that will work so directly to his benefit in the long run as the formation of the present Government. By this combination of events all the hopeless conservatives have been put into one camp. That in itself has the effect of causing any man who is a true democrat to go over to the

SENATOR FRASER.—We believe in working for the benefit of the whole people.

SENATOR DE LARGIE.—We believe in working for the democracy.

SENATOR FRASER.—So do we.

SENATOR DE LARGIE.—The honorable senator who interjects, has in the past

worked only for the benefit of a small percentage of the people, and has been successful in throwing dust in the eyes of a very large section of the electors.

SENATOR SIR WILLIAM ZEAL.—That is what the honorable senator is doing now.

SENATOR DE LARGIE.—Our policy has always been open and straightforward. There is nothing which we have advocated on the public platform but we have been manly enough to endeavour to carry it out in Parliament.

SENATOR SIR WILLIAM ZEAL.—This is very manly—abuse of opponents!

SENATOR FRASER.—It is very manly; if I were the honorable senator's age I would ask him to come outside.

SENATOR DE LARGIE.—I hope that if Senator Fraser intends to take criticism in that spirit, he certainly will select some one who is more nearly his own age. Whatever policy I have advocated on the public platform I have always endeavoured to have carried out in legislation.

SENATOR SIR WILLIAM ZEAL.—The honorable senator should refrain from making attacks on others.

SENATOR DE LARGIE.—I am attacking their political practices, and I am entitled to do that just as the honorable senator has done on many occasions.

SENATOR SIR WILLIAM ZEAL.—I have never done it.

SENATOR DE LARGIE.—We have had sufficient exhibitions from Senator Zeal to be reminded of what he has done in this Chamber. It is of no use for him to apologize now; it is too late in the day.

SENATOR SIR WILLIAM ZEAL.—I do not apologize to the honorable senator.

SENATOR DE LARGIE.—I do not find fault with Senator Zeal, because I believe he is a consistent Conservative. He has always been manly and straightforward in the Senate.

SENATOR SIR WILLIAM ZEAL.—The honorable senator is an inconsistent Conservative.

SENATOR DE LARGIE.—I never thought that I should be accused of endeavouring to sail under the colours of a Conservative. But what I do find fault with is that honorable senators who hold liberal opinions should now be sitting cheek by jowl with Conservatives. Take the remarks made a few evenings ago by Senator Fraser. We find him congratulating his associates on the fact that Mr. George Reid and Mr. Allan McLean, who "were to be depended upon," were members of the present Government.

Senator FRASER.—Certainly; I say so now.

Senator DE LARGIE.—How does the honorable senator make that remark fit in with his 12th of July orations? Fancy Senator Fraser saying that Mr. Allan McLean is a man to be trusted!

Senator FRASER.—Certainly.

Senator DE LARGIE.—That gives the honorable senator's whole case away. If—judging from his past history and the tactics which he has hitherto pursued—there is any thing that is likely to injure his policy it is statements of that kind from a gentleman of his status. The honorable senator, as every one knows, when the Watson Government came into office, became ill. He was laid up with influenza. But since the Watson Government has been out of office he has been nearly insane with delight. Therefore we can excuse his little exhibition this afternoon. I repeat that, personally, I am quite satisfied with the turn that affairs have taken. I am sure that I am on the winning side. I face the situation knowing full well that ultimately events will turn in favour of the party to which I belong. But what I object to is the attitude of men of Senator Dobson's type towards that party. Ever since Mr. Watson, who was formerly a compositor, and Senator McGregor, who was a good old common labourer, with their hobnail boots, obtruded themselves into the Executive Council chamber, these so-called superior individuals have been addressing women's political leagues, employers' federations, and kindred associations, and have taken advantage of every opportunity to decry these men occupying such positions. No doubt the honorable senator now congratulates himself that these dangerous men, as he would call them, are out of office. Not only has he been making such remarks about the Labour Party in Parliament, but he has felt impelled to make attacks upon a gentleman who is not here to defend himself. At one of his meetings Senator Dobson made the following remarks concerning Mr. Tom Mann. He said—

The stupid, wicked, ideas of Tom Mann, and the Political Labour Party were already causing a great deal of misery.

That was one of his statements before one of those afternoon tea-meetings of well-fed and well-groomed dames from up Toorak way. I have no doubt, also, although the newspapers did not report his remarks, that Senator Dobson trotted out the old wheeze about free love, and all that sort of thing,

for the benefit of the poor innocent women to whom he was speaking, and who knew no better. I have no doubt that he served out to them the old hog-wash about the violation of the sanctity of the marriage tie.

Senator DOBSON.—Absolutely untrue.

Senator DE LARGIE.—When we find that the man who makes statements of that kind, and talks of the "stupid, wicked ideas of Tom Mann," is an honorable and learned senator who introduced in the Chamber an outrageous and irreligious Divorce Bill, it is enough—

Senator DAWSON.—To make the angry weep.

Senator DE LARGIE.—As Senator Dawson says, it is enough to make angry weep.

Senator DOBSON.—The honorable senator will accept my statement that I never referred to that phase of Socialism at a meeting, and I advised the women's organizations to drop it, on the ground that members of the honorable senator's party had repudiated it.

Senator DE LARGIE.—Does the honorable and learned senator deny that he used the words that he is reported to have used when he spoke of the wicked and stupid ideas of Tom Mann?

Senator DOBSON.—That was a reference to Mr. Mann's proposal to tax people out of their property. In my opinion, that was wicked and unjust.

Senator DE LARGIE.—I have heard some more of the honorable and learned senator's statements, which were made at a meeting of contractors. It will be noticed that the honorable and learned senator is very careful in the selection of the company to whom he says these things. He is reported in to-day's *Age* to have said—

Politics would be purified, and they would develop into a higher and nobler nationhood.

Fancy Senator Dobson talking of "a higher and nobler nationhood!"

But this could not be done if the Liberal Party went to the falsehood of extremes, as called by the term "blacklegs" those whose consciences would not allow them to agree with it.

"The falsehood of extremes." I know of no political party that has tried to rise to higher ideals in politics than has the Liberal Party. There is one thing which we can say in our praise, and that is that, no matter who may have attempted to drag us from the straight path of the policy we have followed before the country, rather than remain

like any temporary advantage offered us in that way, always refused it. Had we hung on to the sweets of office and the methods adopted to bring the present coalition Government, I doubt that the Labour Government remained in office for a very long time. If we had been willing to denounce principles, and practically to sell out, we have no doubt we could have remained in office as long as we chose. But we sell our principles for the flesh-pot, we consented to go out, and we came down with the flag flying, and we continue in office to the disgrace of the country to which we belong. What I cannot do is, that we should find men who have been fighting for a particular principle for so long, and whose only reason for being as a political party, so ready to sell their principles aside. Free-trade has been the one solitary plank in our platform, and when that has been dropped, there is no apparent reason for our existence as a political party, and their opposition to the Labour Government is too soon to criticise the present coalition Government. We have their policy no doubt in our hands. But I hope that if they insist by their principle of opposition to the Labour Platform, they will be obliged not to follow the Labour Government to submit a policy in direct opposition. We shall then have a straight fight before the country on which a Government may be elected, and we shall see whether the country will tolerate free-trade on the hustings, or be prepared to sink that principle when it enters Parliament, and men who are as strong protectionists, are ready to sink their protectionist principles in office. Our party has never pretended to be a fiscal party. Both fiscal beliefs belong to the Labour Party, and fiscalism has never been the vital plank of the Labour Party. I hope that when the Government forward their policy, we shall have a straight-out opposition to our policy. I shall not cry about anti-Socialism; anti-Socialism proposed from the Government is in opposition to the Labour Party. I shall hail such an announcement as being in the best interests of the country to which I belong, if it be that that party should be re-

turned again to power. I believe that we are on the winning side, and that we shall have the flood of public opinion with us if the party opposite are only plucky enough to put to the country a policy of anti-Socialism apart from a policy of free-trade or protection.

Senator FRASER.—Then honorable senators will have to change the Tom Mann policy.

Senator DE LARGIE.—Tom Mann is changing politics too rapidly to suit the honorable senator.

Senator DOBSON.—He is doing the classes more good than anybody else.

Senator DE LARGIE.—There has been an accession of members to the Labour Party everywhere Tom Mann has gone. He has everywhere been successful in increasing our strength, and so long as we get such admirable results from his work, honorable senators may depend upon it we shall stick to Tom Mann's methods.

Senator FRASER.—Does the honorable senator approve of him then?

Senator DE LARGIE.—Most certainly, I do.

Senator FRASER.—Hear, hear. We know where the honorable senator is now.

Senator DE LARGIE.—If Tom Mann only worked as well for the honorable senator as he does for the Labour Party, I have no doubt whatever that Senator Fraser would be prepared to throw over all his past declarations, and take Tom Mann to his bosom.

Senator PEARCE.—Does Senator Fraser agree with Mr. Walpole's statements?

Senator DE LARGIE.—I might ask if Senator Fraser agrees with another paid agitator, Mr. Walpole, a man who so far as I have been able to gather, is disseminating anything but the truth?

Senator MCGREGOR.—Or with Seibright?

Senator DE LARGIE.—I do not think that Senator Fraser can approve of Mr. Seibright, because he is one of the paid agitators whom the conservatives of Western Australia have been very glad to get rid of. I know that one of the members of the Western Australian conservative association, the so-called "National Political League," has said that Mr. Seibright has done them more harm than good, and that they were very glad to get rid of him. We must have the policy of the Reid-McLean Administration presented to us before we can criticise it, and I hope for the sake of a straight-out fight, which I do not think should be delayed any longer, seeing that

there is so much unanimity on the Government side, that it will be a policy of opposition to a socialistic policy. I think that the party opposite should be manly enough to bring forward a policy declaring their opposition to Socialism, that we may have a straight-out issue submitted to the country.

Senator PEARCE.—No more irrigation works.

Senator DE LARGIE.—No more irrigation works, no more butter bonuses, and a hundred and one other measures advocated by some of the party opposite. I have been very much disappointed to find the two representatives of the Government in this Chamber sitting together as members of the same Administration. I expected better things from them. I should have been delighted to see either Senator Symon or Senator Drake at the head of a Free-trade or a Protectionist Government; but their appearance in this Chamber as members of the same coalition Government, which is neither one thing nor the other, does not add anything to their political reputations.

Senator Sir WILLIAM ZEAL.—What was the late Government? They were half and half. What is Senator Dawson, for instance?

Senator DE LARGIE.—Other honorable senators, as well as myself, have explained often enough that fiscalism is no part of the policy of the Labour Party.

Senator Sir WILLIAM ZEAL.—Why not concede the same to the present Administration? Why should they not be given equal fair play?

Senator DE LARGIE.—Because the *raison d'être* of their very political existence is fiscalism, and they should be consistent in the advocacy of their principles. The last Administration was formed by a party advocating labour principles, apart from fiscalism.

Senator DAWSON.—What does Senator Zeal think I am?

Senator Sir WILLIAM ZEAL. — A free-trader.

Senator DAWSON.—The honorable senator is absolutely wrong.

Senator DE LARGIE.—I feel quite sure that this Government cannot possibly be in accord with the wish of the electors of Australia, and that fact will soon be found out, unless they are prepared to sink fiscalism and make no further recognition of those declarations which have so often been made

here in the past. Senator Symon has declared, on the floor of the Senate, that protectionists were robbers.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—Did I use so hard an expression as that?

Senator DE LARGIE.—The honorable and learned senator used that term. *Hansard* will prove. A free-trader who holds an opinion of that kind cannot possibly reconcile his association with protectionist colleagues unless——

Senator FRASER.—Against a common interest it is quite justifiable.

Senator DE LARGIE.—If that is the honorable senator's policy, I can admire it. I have been satisfied for many years that the Conservatives would be obliged to follow that policy, and therefore I have no faith to find with the honorable senator for doing so. But I contend that it is wrong for the honorable senator who has been elected a free-trader or protectionist to combine with those who politically are opposed to his fiscal faith to form a Government without having gone before the electors and given him his political existence. The honorable senator changed his fiscal coalition the last Parliament. He started the session as a protectionist, and he ended as a free-trader.

Senator FRASER.—To whom does the honorable senator refer?

Senator DE LARGIE.—I am referring to the honorable senator, who moved the Address-in-Reply for a protectionist Government, who was recognised then as a protectionist, and who ended the first session as a free-trader. I am glad to find that he is not alone in that regard; they are all in the one boat, so that he is no worse than the others.

Senator FRASER.—I leave my votes to the Senate to prove that the honorable senator's statements are not correct.

Senator DE LARGIE.—Does the honorable senator still claim that he is a protectionist? (If he does, he will have to convert the protectionist paper of this day into his view, because it has declared time and again that he has gone back upon his fiscal principle on which he was elected, and that it intends to deal with him as he presents himself on the public platform.)

Senator MCGREGOR.—Did he not go to Reid's caucus at the Grand Hotel?

Senator DE LARGIE.—I do not know if he did, but it was reported that he left his fiscal party, and gone over to the enemy. That statement appeared in

newspaper, and if it is wrong, the first time I have heard that it is.

GRAY.—Sir Edmund Barton said his Government was not a pro-government.

DE LARGIE.—We shall not start definitions. Suffice it to say, honorable senator who interrupts me, time and again that it was a policy. Whether it was an out-of-reckionist Government or not, it is not very much at this date, as the Government have gone to that policy which awaits the present Government very long. We shall see what their policy is. I hope in accord with the sentiments of Senators Dobson and Fraser—opposition to the socialistic policy—I shall be quite willing to abide by it when it is presented to the

DOBSON (Tasmania).—I do not take part in a debate which has not consisted of personal abuse, motives, and raking up of political matters, and which, I think, has devalued the Chamber. I have risen for the purpose of referring to a grossly unwarranted attack which Senator de Largie has made on me.

DE LARGIE.—I rise to order. The honorable and learned senator has accused me of making attacks on this side of degradation. I submit to you, sir, that it is an insult to its dignity, that that is the order of the day.

DOBSON.—I do not think that the honorable and learned senator ought to make such an expression.

DOBSON.—I withdraw the expression. I do not think that the debate for the last two hours is likely to reflect on the dignity or usefulness of the Chamber or do I think that it is likely to reflect on the respect of even the democracy of the Government. Senator de Largie has made a gross attack, which he had no right to make, and which I have had reason to believe more than once.

DE LARGIE.—The honorable and learned senator attacked me.

DOBSON.—The honorable senator attacks anybody who attacks him. He attacks the honorable senator, but not me. If he will only listen to me, he will see how grossly unjust and unwarranted his attacking me.

Senator DE LARGIE.—The honorable and learned senator attacked a man who was absent.

Senator DOBSON.—I desire, first of all, to speak on general grounds. Ever since I took my seat in the Senate several members of the Labour Party have exhibited a happy knack of making interjections for the sole purpose of belittling myself and others, and exalting themselves in the eyes of the electors. The early pages of *Hansard* will be found to contain such expressions as "piebald Australia," "scabs," "blacklegs," "smoozers," and "you are in favour of a piebald Australia." All these expressions were interjected by honorable senators in the most irrelevant way, and presumably for the express purpose of belittling myself and others, and exalting themselves in the minds of the democracy of Australia. Senator de Largie caught hold of an expression of mine, in which I accused Mr. Tom Mann of uttering some wicked ideas. I was referring to his attack on the land-owner. At meeting after meeting Mr. Tom Mann has said that if he had his way he would put such a tax on land as would make the land-owner only too glad to sell it or give it back to the Government. I denounced that as an unjust idea, and to my mind it is essentially a wicked idea. I think that my honorable friends opposite will give me the credit of having met Mr. Tom Mann on a public platform, and saying to his face a year or two ago what I repeated recently behind his back. Although I indicated the statement of Mr. Mann to which the term "wicked" had reference, still Senator de Largie went on to jump at a conclusion; and because some men have been, unwise enough to talk to meetings of men and women about the extreme socialistic idea that at some time we are to have a State nursery, to which all children shall be sent, and that to some extent the sanctity of the home is to be invaded, my honorable friend, in order to make a most damaging point against me if he could, said upon no other authority than his inner consciousness, that I had at certain meetings of the Women's League been indulging in this criticism. I desire to state to Senator McGregor, the leader of the Labour Party here, that from the first I have objected to the fourth plank in the platform of the Women's League—"purity in our homes." When I asked what the meaning of it was, I was told that there were some quotations in the *Tocsin* which represented the views of leading German Socialists. I

assured the women and their husbands, again and again, that there was nothing in that plank; that the moment a member in the House of Representatives accused the Labour Party of holding those views, it was repudiated by the whole of them in that House, and that three times an honorable gentleman rose to try to explain away what he had said. From the very first I have asked that that plank be taken out of the platform of the Women's League. I have said that it was a boggy, and had been repudiated by the Labour Party. I was trying to explain this to Senator de Largie, but, in his anxiety to make an unjust and unfair attack on me, he would not listen, and went on to impute to me thoughts which I have never uttered, or held.

Senator O'KEEFE.—Does the honorable and learned senator repudiate Mr. Walpole's statement?

Senator DOBSON.—I know nothing about Mr. Walpole's statement. I have advised the friends with whom I act that the Labour Party of Australia, through the late Prime Minister, for whom I have the greatest respect, had repudiated these notions, and that there was no occasion for them to retain the plank in their platform—to put up a boggy for the purpose of knocking it down.

Senator O'KEEFE.—That is just what Mr. Walpole is doing.

Senator DOBSON.—I have nothing to do with Mr. Walpole, and I am not responsible for the views which he expresses. What right has any honorable senator, because Mr. Walpole, or any one else, makes some statement, to impute it to me? Why draw a bow at a venture in making an attack upon me?

Senator DE LARGIE.—I quoted the honorable senator's own words.

Senator DOBSON.—I have made a clear statement, which I think any one can understand, yet the honorable senator imputes to me expressions which I have never used, because I do not believe that the Labour Party hold the views which have been attributed to them. Cannot he express regret for the attack which he has made, instead of trying to bolster himself up? Are the members of the Labour Party going to imagine that persons have said certain things, and then, in this the highest assembly in the Commonwealth, accuse them of having said them? If that is to be the policy of the party, let them abide by it. I make them welcome of it.

Senator Lt.-Col. NEILD (New S Wales).—I wish to say a few words, particularly in reply to the observations Senator Higgs, who seems to think that cause a large number of members sitting his side of the Chamber have addressed Senate, we on this side are under a bon silence.

Senator PEARCE.—Was not the honorable senator told not to speak?

Senator GRAY.—I certainly was not.

Senator FRASER.—Neither was I.

Senator Lt.-Col. NEILD.—I have been a Member of Parliament for something a quarter of a century, and no one has dared to tell me not to speak. Such a command would have been a sufficient incentive to make me talk until "all was blue." I have never entered a House of Legislature to act as the tool of any political party. My object has always been to discharge to the best of my ability my duty to those who have elected me to represent them.

Senator MCGREGOR.—Is that why the honorable senator was ignored?

Senator Lt.-Col. NEILD.—I do not recognise the aptness of the interjection. I doubt it is an exceedingly wise one; but I am unable to see the meaning underlying it. I elected to sit on the right of the President, because I knew that my honorable friend and his party were moving on to the bench on which I formerly sat, and I thought that I might be in their way if I remained in my old seat. Therefore I moved to Melbourne, and asked that my name might be placed on a seat on this side of the Chamber, where I hope I shall remain in any one's way.

Senator PEARCE.—The honorable senator will be in the way of the Government if he does not keep quiet.

Senator Lt.-Col. NEILD.—I have heard it suggested that those sitting on this side of the Chamber should remain quiet during this discussion. I certainly think that no member of the Ministry would be courageous enough to make such a suggestion to me. If such a suggestion were made to me, it would be sufficient to cause me to indulge in what a great orator years ago described as a wild shriek of liberty. I should let myself go. There are, however, one or two matters which I wish to mention. I am not going to deal with any question of politics at the present time, because I do not yet know what the policy of the present Administration is to be, and the fact that I am sitting on the Government side of

hamber is an indication of nothing more than my desire to get out of the way of those who are now occupying the benches which I have left.

Senator MCGREGOR.—Will the honorable senator go to the caucus?

Senator Lt.-Col. NEILD.—I know nothing about caucuses, and I have never attended one. If my honorable friend desires me to attend the caucus over which he so ably presides, I would remind him that I have not yet received an invitation to do so.

Senator GUTHRIE.—The honorable senator is quite welcome.

Senator Lt.-Col. NEILD.—There is a matter which I wish to bring under the notice of the Ministry, of Parliament, and of the public, and which only lately came to my knowledge; I refer to an extraordinary traffic in postage stamps of so serious nature that I deem it my duty to at once draw attention to it. It has come to my knowledge that colonial postage stamps to a great value are being shipped from Europe to Australia in single stamps, not in sheets. I learnt recently from a most reliable and authoritative source that between £9 and 10 worth of single stamps have been returned from Europe to discharge a bill owing in an Australian capital.

Senator FRASER.—Does the honorable senator refer to penny stamps?

Senator Lt.-Col. NEILD.—The stamps are of various values. Those who read the newspaper advertisements will know that used stamps are saleable. Old stamps, of course, are of value to the stamp collector; but advertisers also offer to buy any quantities of stamps which were used recently as yesterday. I have it on a most reliable authority—which I am prepared to give to the Government—that large quantities of stamps, which have been obliterated by the postal officials, are bought by certain persons, sent to Europe, and by a clever chemical process there cleansed of the obliteration, re-gummed, and re-mailed to Australia. As I am making this statement in the presence of the chief legal adviser of the Crown, I hope that he will take note of it. I believe, from the information given to me, that stamps thus treated, of probably thousands of pounds in value, are each year finding their way back to Australia, and are being re-used legally, thus defrauding the revenue. I have referred to this matter at the earliest opportunity available to me, after the receipt of the information. Some honorable

senators opposite have commented upon the healthy climate of Queensland, and upon the fact that I recently visited that State for considerations of health. I do not know, however, that there is any similarity between travelling on the coast in a comfortable steamer and labouring in a cane field. But it is perfectly futile, when speaking of the climate of Queensland and of Northern Australia, to speak only of the winter climate. While I should be glad to spend every winter of my life in that part of the world, because I know no more charming climate than it possesses, I should be very sorry to have to spend a single summer there, because in that period of the year the climate is exceedingly oppressive, and is to be gauged not merely by the degrees of temperature registered by the thermometer, but even more largely by the condition of the atmosphere.

Senator DAWSON.—Did the honorable senator ever spend a summer in Northern Queensland?

Senator Lt.-Col. NEILD.—No; and I shall take precious good care that I never do.

Senator DAWSON.—Then why give an opinion on the summer climate of the State? The honorable senator should confine his remarks to his own experience.

Senator Lt.-Col. NEILD.—I have been in Northern Queensland as late as November, and as early as the end of March, and those dates were quite as near to the hot weather as I wish to be. I do not desire to anticipate too much by going to Queensland in the summer time.

Senator MCGREGOR.—Did the honorable senator take the St. George's Rifles with him?

Senator Lt.-Col. NEILD.—I should not have objected to do so, if any opportunity had presented itself to rid the community of a few interjectors. Northern Queensland has a most charming climate in the winter, but is a place to be carefully avoided in the summer.

Senator DAWSON.—The honorable senator has had no experience of a Queensland summer.

Senator Lt.-Col. NEILD.—I have been in Queensland just before the approach, and just after the close of the hurricane season, and I am not anxious to extend my experience. This is the first occasion on which I have been able to attend the Senate for some time past, because on two occasions I have had to apply for leave of absence. I take this opportunity to thank

honorable senators for their kindness and courtesy in granting me that leave of absence on account of ill-health. I took the unusual precaution of sending medical certificates to the Clerk, as indicating the *bond fides* of my applications. I take this opportunity, the first which has been afforded me, to refer to something that happened whilst I was away, with reference to a most innocent article written by me, and published in an English magazine. I find that both in this Chamber and in another place opportunity was taken most ignorantly—I cannot believe that my assailants were actuated by malevolence—to misrepresent what I stated in that article. I desire to point out that all I said, that could in any way reflect upon the Commonwealth, or anything connected with it, was that there were not a sufficient number of rifles in Australia at the time at which I wrote to equip the existing Infantry regiments, if they were extended to their war establishments.

Senator MCGREGOR.—Did not the honorable senator say something with reference to pillow cases full of cartridges?

Senator Lt.-Col. NEILD.—I said that some persons believed in the doctrine that it was not necessary to put our forces through a complete course of military training, and that some people thought that if a man had a rifle and a pillow-case full of cartridges he could do wonders. In making that statement, I was merely quoting from a very prominent Commonwealth publication. However, let that pass. I take this opportunity to repudiate the statement that I made any attack upon our citizen soldiers. I do not know how such an accusation could have been invented. One gentleman—I use the term gentleman, although I do not think the person to whom I refer is worthy of being so called—went so far as to allege that I had defamed men who in contradistinction to myself, had discharged military duty in South Africa. Was it my fault that I was not in South Africa? I have here copies of my applications, together with the acknowledgements of them, for service in South Africa, and I can go further, and say that, after having failed to obtain an appointment for service in South Africa I offered, at the time when the reputed massacre of the legation at Peking was engaging every one's attention, to raise and command on service in China, a battalion of Colonial troops. I am almost carried beyond the limits of human patience when I reflect that both in this

House, and in another place, advantage taken of my absence to defame me a citizen soldier, to represent me as defaming my comrades in arms who had the good fortune to perform military service in South Africa, and as defaming the men supported and sent me here by an aggregate vote unparalleled in the history of the British Empire. I almost make an apology for introducing this matter here, but I have found that if statements are made and notice is taken of them—if they are treated as they ought to be, with contempt; and I admit that that is the proper course to take—one may be asked afterwards whether he did not deny them if they were not true. It is for that reason that I have ventured to repel accusations that could have resulted only from ignorance. I do not think they could possibly have been due to malevolence. If any of those honorable members who made speeches to which I refer had taken the trouble to read my article, they would have seen that it breathed the full spirit of a citizen soldier, and advocated that the people of Australia, instead of giving much time to sport and money-making, should devote a little more energy, time and enthusiasm to the higher duty of citizenship.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON (South Australia—Attorney-General).—I only desire to thank honorable senators sincerely—I am sure they will believe in my sincerity—for the very kind remarks they have made in regard to me personally. In many respects the criticisms which they have been good enough to offer are entitled to, and will receive, full consideration.

Question resolved in the affirmative.

Bill read a first time.

Motion (by Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON) agreed to—

That the Standing Orders be suspended to enable the Bill to be passed through its remaining stages without delay.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—I move that this Bill be now read a second time. I shall follow the precedent of my honorable friend Senator McGregor, and content myself with stating that this is an ordinary Supply Bill for the month, necessarily following that which was passed on the 27th July—necessarily because of the delay which was unavoidable in regard to the preparation and submission of the estimates. Although everything was left in an advanced state by the late Prime Minister and Treasurer, it was impossible for

good example set by Sir George made his Budget statement of July. We are indebted to the Minister for his courtesy in the necessary notices and pre-Bill.

DAWSON.—Would the Attorney-General maintain the largely increased vote?

SIR JOSIAH SYMON.—When the Committee stage I shall be able to afford any explanation with reference to the items in the schedule that may

be resolved in the affirmative.

On a second time.

Committee:

to 4 agreed to.

PEARCE (Western Australia).—I direct attention to the fact that in the Estimates, a sum of £12,000 was provided for the fortification of Fremantle, assuming the existence of the Government, however, this money was for the purchase of rifles and ammunition. Whilst I admit that, from the point of view of urgency, the supply of small arms ammunition is more important than the fortification of Fremantle, it is the nearest port to the scene of operations in the Far East, and one possessing a valuable trade, should not be defended longer than is absolutely necessary. I trust, therefore, that the Government which I have referred to will be able to deal with this matter and without any further delay.

MATHESON (Western Australia).—I wish to direct the attention of the Government to the item, "Royal Naval Service," in Division No. 44. In the Supply Bills this sum of £15,000 was voted in connexion with each of the States, was clearly set down as a sum which was to be repaid and not as a grant.

I should like to hear an explanation as to why a sentence to that effect was omitted from this measure. We are paying money for the Royal Naval Service, but it merely makes an advance to the Government. I quite understand that the present Ministry cannot be held responsible for the preparation of this Bill, but it is framed prior to their assumption of office. The item to which I refer is under Divisions 46, 49, and 53. In this instance I think that the words "paid by the British Government" should be inserted. Another matter raised by Senator Pearce,

to which I did not intend to allude. I refer to the defence of Fremantle. In the Estimates for 1903-4 provision was made for the expenditure of £8,270 on works, and £5,000 on armament. Thanks to Mr. Carpenter, we now know that £9,000 of the vote which was intended to be spent, namely, £5,000 on armament and £4,000 on emplacement for the guns, has never been expended.

Senator DAWSON.—That is not quite correct. The vote was diverted to another purpose.

Senator MATHESON.—We have also learned that the present Treasurer, whilst filling a similar office in a previous Administration, formed the opinion that from £60,000 to £80,000 would require to be expended upon these works, and that, therefore, he deliberately gave instructions that the money which Parliament had voted should not be spent. As far as I am able to judge, the Treasurer's assumption is an entirely erroneous one. So far as I am able to gather, the position is that it was originally proposed to erect a fort at Arthur's Head, Fremantle. At that time it was clearly recognised that £20,000 would require to be spent upon that work.

Senator DAWSON.—Should we not have to buy the town out, on account of the damage that would be done by the recoil of the guns?

Senator MATHESON.—I do not know anything about that matter. No doubt it is a subject upon which the late Minister of Defence is well posted. The Government of Western Australia were quite willing to transfer the necessary land to the Commonwealth, and to offer every facility for carrying out the work. It has now transpired that the Treasurer did not wish to spend this money, and, looking round for some excuse—

Senator SIR JOSIAH SYMON.—I do not think that the honorable senator ought to say that.

Senator MATHESON.—Then I withdraw the expression. The Treasurer declared that an expenditure of from £60,000 to £80,000 would be required. That estimate was arrived at by including expenditure in relation to an entirely separate fort at North Fremantle, which was never mentioned, and on which no part of the £4,000 which we voted was to be expended.

Senator DRAKE.—But is it not necessary for the defence of the harbor?

Senator MATHESON.—I really cannot tell the honorable senator. The question

before us is what we knew when we voted this sum of £4,000 as forming part of a total expenditure of £20,000, which would be required to complete the work. The representatives of Western Australia knew that a fort was contemplated at Arthur's Head, and that the sum named was sufficient for the purpose, and they were content that the work should be proceeded with. Then the present Treasurer imported into the matter the question of another fort, and the vote was allowed to lapse. I do not think that that is a state of affairs which is creditable to the Deakin Government. I do not wish any confusion to arise in regard to this matter. The Deakin Government alone brought about the present position, and no blame can be attached to the late or to the present Government.

Senator GIVENS.—Did not Sir John Forrest hold office in the Deakin Government?

Senator MATHESON.—Certainly, and he was a consenting party to the determination that the £4,000 should not be expended on the work for which it was voted.

Senator GUTHRIE.—He was Minister of Defence.

Senator MATHESON.—That is so. The curious point to which, having regard to the explanation made by the present Treasurer, I wish to draw special attention is this: That Major-General Hutton, in his report, dated 1st May, 1904, which has only recently been laid on the table of the Senate—and is therefore published long after the date on which we voted the sum of £4,000 for these works—states, at page 24, that £26,200 is all that will be required for the fortification of that part of Fremantle and the construction of the battery, including the purchase of the land. I have given the reference to this official document in order that honorable senators may see how absolutely futile and useless is the explanation made quite recently by the present Treasurer. Further evidence of the futility of that explanation is to be found in the fact that the General Officer Commanding has made provision for only one 7.5 gun and mounting for the defence of Fremantle for the next four years. We are, therefore, reduced to this position: That the present Treasurer, when holding the same office in the Deakin Government, refused to allow any money to be spent on this work, on the ground that there was no provision for the expenditure of some £60,000 or £80,000 which

would be necessary to complete it; Major-General Hutton never contemplated spending any more than £26,200 on it the next four years; and that Fremantle, which, as Senator Pearce has rightly pointed out, is a most important trade centre, and a considerable shipping trade, was thus left unprotected, because of the squabbling of two Government Departments, for a period of five years, dating from the time when the £9,000 was voted. This is to be the position, simply because of an agreement as to the amount of money available. The defence expert said that required only £26,200 to carry out the work, while the financial man said, "If you ask for £60,000, and until you are granted that sum by Parliament, you must not have anything for the work." Is that a perfectly fair statement of the situation? Parliament voted £4,000 for this work, but because we did not vote £60,000, the Treasurer, as a member of the Deakin Government, said that it should be spent, while on the other hand we have the statement of the General Officer Commanding that £26,200 is ample.

Senator CLEMONS.—The honorable senator does not say that we voted £26,200 on this work?

Senator MATHESON. — No; but we voted £4,000, knowing that £26,200 would be required to complete the work. We have since voted on the Supplementary Estimates a sum of £3,800. The Deakin Government, which said that the money which Parliament had voted for this work should not be spent, actually expended it the sum of £3,800 which we did not vote, and the present Treasurer stated afterwards that he would not spend the £4,000 because it would entail an expenditure of £60,000 to complete the work.

Senator DAWSON. — That is during the financial year.

Senator MATHESON.—No.

Senator DAWSON.—It must be.

Senator MATHESON.—The honorable senator is mistaken. The Treasurer said that the total expenditure on this work would range from £60,000 to £80,000, and until Parliament authorized the expenditure of the full amount required, he declined to allow any portion of it to be spent.

Senator DRAKE.—That is not quite correct. The Treasurer said that he declined to allow the £4,000 to be expended until Parliament voted it with the knowledge that

mitting itself to the total examined.

MATHESON.—I will accept the senator's statement. And in Government, of which Senator Matheson was a member, spent £3,800 on the Harbor Trust without any authority from Parliament.

GUTHRIE. — Knowing that it would cost £60,000 to complete it.

MATHESON.—Knowing that it would not mean to spend the money to make the first instalment effective in July, this year, they brought in the Supplementary Appropriation Bill, which item of £3,800, which, as I read, had hardly been noticed at first sight.

logical sequence between these questions? It is a perfect scandal. The mantle should be treated in the same way. When we deal with the defence estimates generally I shall have more to say to the scheme. I quite admit that the present Government is not to be blamed for the fact that there is no occasion for the item to protest if I speak somewhat about the character of a Government.

PEARCE.—Some of the members of the present Government are still responsible for past sins.

MATHESON.—What I desire is special attention of the present Government to the fact that £60,000 is apparently required by the General Officer commanding to carry out the work. I may say that I understand that the Estimates for the current year make no provision for expenditure on the defences.

DAWSON.—There is some provision.

MATHESON.—It is understood that the Government do not see their way to commit the Commonwealth to an expenditure of £60,000 on this work, and I am glad they have not made any provision for it on the Estimates for the current year. Meanwhile the sum of £3,800 expended on the Harbor Trust building has been entirely wasted. There is no room for space on the top of the hill.

DAWSON.—To what Government is the honorable senator now referring?

MATHESON.—There is some difference in distinguishing between the Governments which have recently been in office, but I understand that the Government control these matters, and not

the Minister, so that I am referring to any Government which happens to be run by the Defence Department, so far as questions relating to that branch of the service are concerned. I understand that is the position, but I may be wrong.

Senator DAWSON.—I am very sorry for the honorable senator's misunderstanding.

Senator MATHESON.—I may misunderstand the position, but I strongly believe that the Departments are paramount in these matters, and that a Minister, however well-intentioned he may be, never gets a show.

Senator DAWSON.—They have a legacy left for them if the Ministry like to take it up.

Senator MATHESON.—I may inform the Senate that I gave Senator Drake notice of my intention to raise this question in the Senate in order that he might be prepared with some explanation as to how this apparently unexplainable discrepancy arises.

Senator GUTHRIE (South Australia).—I should like to draw attention to one or two items which I think require explanation. On comparing the Bill with the Supply Bill we passed a month ago, I find that on the present occasion there is an increase of expenditure in the Defence Department amounting to nearly £20,000. There are new votes for New South Wales Rifle Clubs of £2,000; for Victorian Rifle Clubs of £7,000; for Queensland Rifle Clubs of £500; and for South Australian Rifle Clubs of £200. These, with other items, represent a total of £11,500. Then there is an item of £5,800 for ammunition for New South Wales, and, under the same heading, an expenditure of £2,400 in Victoria, or a total of £8,200. Training schools, which are an absolutely new item, represent an expenditure of £250 in New South Wales, £150 in Queensland, £100 in South Australia, £100 in Western Australia, and £100 in Tasmania—a total of £700. There are also increases in the votes for arms and equipment, and for ordnance in Victoria, and also for instructional schools. An additional expenditure in one month of £20,000 ought to be closely watched; at any rate, I look to the Minister for some explanation why these items have been included without any explanation being offered on the introduction of the Bill.

Senator Lt.-Col. GOULD (New South Wales).—Senator Guthrie, in directing attention to the increases of expenditure under the Military Estimates, is no doubt opening up a very fruitful topic of discussion.

My desire is to say a few words on the matter of defences, because I feel that at the present time the Commonwealth is, in this respect, in a pitiable state. It is a disgrace that there should be the present inadequate means for the protection of the community. One of the boasts of certain members of Parliament has been that a smaller amount of money is spent on defences under Federation than was the case when there were six separate State establishments. To my mind, that is not a fact of which we should feel proud. I agree that money should not be wasted, but that we ought to receive real solid value for all we spend. We must bear in mind, however, that if ever we are placed in a position of difficulty through Great Britain becoming involved in war, the Commonwealth will, unless a change takes place in defence matters, find itself the target of a hostile attack at various points. We shall be utterly unprepared to meet the attacks which may reasonably be expected. The strength and the safety of communities nowadays lie in their being prepared for all emergencies and eventualities. Honorable members who have taken the trouble to read the reports of the General Officer Commanding from time to time, know that the burden of his song has been that the Commonwealth is not doing what it ought to do in the matter of defences. A little time ago we were told by the late Minister of Defence, Senator Dawson, that it was intended to follow the advice of the General Officer Commanding, so far as providing a certain proportion of the necessary amount to make our defences efficient. The General Officer Commanding, however, reported that in order to place ourselves in a proper position of defence we ought at once to expend the full amount of money estimated as necessary; and it was only because of pressure that the General Officer Commanding made the recommendation that the expenditure should be distributed over a period of four years.

Senator MATHESON.—Where was the pressure exerted?

Senator Lt.-Col. GOULD.—It was parliamentary pressure.

Senator MATHESON.—Never!

Senator Lt.-Col. GOULD.—I say that there has been parliamentary pressure.

Senator MATHESON.—Ministerial pressure.

Senator Lt.-Col. GOULD.—But from whom do Ministers take their cue?

Senator MATHESON.—Not from Parliament.

Senator Lt.-Col. GOULD.—If honorable senators take the trouble to read the debates that took place in the other Chamber, when the Estimates were being dealt with year after year, they will find that the cry was, "Cut down the defence expenditure." One honorable member who occupied the position of Minister of Defence, came down to the House and said, "Gentlemen, I am not only prepared to cut down the expenditure to the extent you desire, but to further reduce it by £60,000 or £70,000." That was done in opposition to the recommendation of the General Officer Commanding. Why did we bring that officer to England at a high salary? It was because we believed he was a competent man to advise the Commonwealth as to what was ought to be taken in order to carry out of the special objects of Federation—defence of the community. The idea was to have, not separate systems of defence, but one system; and although that determination and object have been kept in mind by the General Officer Commanding, reports have been ignored, and matters have gone from bad to worse year after year. I give credit to the late Minister of Defence, Senator Dawson, and the late Government for being prepared to invite Parliament to vote the amount of money required for one year; but it would be far more to our own credit if the full amount were at once provided. We know that the whole of the money could be spent in one year, but we ought to see the Government in a position to provide the necessary defences for the Commonwealth. The Government would have responsibility; but, as matters are now, the Government may, or may not, have the means at their disposal. If the Government, in consequence of the parsimonious short-sightedness of Parliament, are not given the means, we cannot blame them for any eventualities which may arise. I hope they will not, arise. Is there a single man in the community who does not realize that at the present moment we may be on the verge of trouble of the character indicated? War has been going on between Japan and Russia for months past, and there appears to be a determination to involve in it some of the other powers of the world. If those powers should become involved—armed—how readily Great Britain may

—in what position shall we find ourselves? Although the Japanese are endeavouring to "bottle up" the fleet in Vladivostok and Port Arthur, a squadron has been enabled to enter the former port, and make attacks on the mercantile marine of Japan, in Japanese waters. Then on the other side, cruisers of one of the belligerents are going about picking up what they can and endeavouring, as far as possible, to involve England in the war. With this in view, we may readily imagine that, if our navy may be, it would be sufficient for two or three of the enemy's cruisers to elude the British ships, and come close to our coasts. Such cruisers would be able to take possession of our country ports; it would be sufficient for a few days if they had two or three days to threaten bombardment, when we would be compelled to pay a handsome sum to save our property.

PEARCE.—The honorable senator talked very differently when the Naval Subsidy was under discussion.

Lt.-Col. GOULD.—I did not say so. I believe that the Naval Subsidy gives us the best scheme under the circumstances; but PEARCE has never heard me say one word about providing, as far as possible, for our defence. I have always maintained that it is part of the duty of the Commonwealth to, at any rate, maintain our naval bases, so that, in the event of the British Navy being driven to seek shelter, it could come in to refit, knowing that our bases were impregnable.

DAWSON.—We are spending our money on staff rides and training officers!

Lt.-Col. GOULD.—Well, staff rides are valuable. Officers also are valuable. We cannot have an army without officers, and officers are of no use unless they are well trained. We must have well trained and well trained officers, and in the time of trouble comes, we must have soldiers to rely upon their own ability and intelligence instead of being properly led.

DAWSON.—Is it not more important, when we have the men trained, to be able to put rifles into their hands and bullets into the rifles?

Lt.-Col. GOULD.—It is useless to have a body of men unless we also have competent leaders.

Senator DAWSON.—We have the men now, but not the equipment.

Senator Lt.-Col. GOULD.—We need to have proper equipment also.

Senator DAWSON.—I say that we have the men.

Senator Lt.-Col. GOULD.—What men have we as far as our permanent forces are concerned? We have fewer soldiers in Australia to-day than we had five years ago. Our military forces are less efficient to-day than they were five years ago. The cause of this is the mistaken policy of our Parliament in not providing adequate means of defence.

Senator PEARCE.—We have more rifles now than we had five years ago.

Senator DAWSON.—And more ammunition also.

Senator Lt.-Col. GOULD.—That is one improvement certainly. But the Commonwealth is utterly unable to defend itself from a hostile attack, which might be made by a couple of cruisers from any part of the world. It is all very well to boast of our great country, and our vast resources, but we should be prepared to defend them? It will redound to the credit not only of this Parliament, but of the Commonwealth, if we make provision for all necessary expenditure, in order to bring ourselves in line with the requirements of our position.

Senator GIVENS.—What is the use of the Naval Subsidy if things are so bad?

Senator Lt.-Col. GOULD.—The Naval Subsidy is of very great value to us. It enables us to have stronger vessels on the Australian station than we should otherwise have, and to take a small amount of the share of defending our coasts upon the water. The honorable senator may reply, "Let us have a navy of our own to defend our coasts at all times." But it has been shown clearly by naval experts that it is necessary to have naval forces concentrated as much as possible, instead of their being scattered. I quite agree with the honorable senator to this extent—that we ought to have destroyers, and boats of that class, maintained upon our coasts for the defence of our ports. The possession of such vessels would add to the assistance which we should be able to render to the more important naval force which at present assists in our defence.

Senator DAWSON.—Does the honorable and learned senator know what a Destroyer would cost?

Senator Lt.-Col. GOULD.—I know of course that it would cost a large sum of money. But I also know that our Commonwealth is worth defending. If our country is worth holding, it is worth while to find the necessary money to defend it.

Senator DAWSON.—We spend £300,000 per annum on naval defence, and the honorable and learned senator urges that, in addition, we should have Destroyers, which would cost at least £55,000 per vessel. The Commonwealth purse is limited.

Senator Lt.-Col. GOULD.—Even if the vessels cost that sum, it would be true economy on the part of the Commonwealth to put itself in the position of being able to defend itself. Suppose an attack were to be made upon any one of the great ports of Australia. Would not a far greater amount of damage be done to the whole of the Commonwealth by the immense injury that would accrue from a bombardment than would be involved in the expenditure which I have suggested? Take the case of Sydney. Sydney occupies an important position on the sea-coast, which would allow it to be bombarded from the ocean. A bombardment of Sydney would probably involve a loss of millions, as compared with hundreds of thousands, which might have to be spent in order to provide us with adequate defence.

Senator DAWSON.—An enemy's fleet could not get to Sydney until it passed through the waters of Queensland or Western Australia, which are the two entrances to the Commonwealth.

Senator Lt.-Col. GOULD.—Yes; and at Thursday Island there is a garrison of forty-three men. At Albany on the west coast, the defenders consist of about an equal number. There are plenty of other means of coming down upon our coasts than by passing Thursday Island or Albany. We should endeavour to protect every one of our great seaports against any possibility of successful attack. I do not say that we could make them absolutely impregnable; but we certainly should do all that it is reasonably possible to do in that direction. I earnestly hope that the Government will take this matter into their careful consideration, and that they will ask Parliament for such a vote as may be necessary in order to protect the Commonwealth against the damage and loss which we should suffer in the event of war being declared between Great Britain and any other great naval power.

Senator DAWSON.—We have already spent our money.

Senator Lt.-Col. GOULD.—If the Commonwealth cannot raise sufficient money to protect itself efficiently, it cannot compete with some other nation suggests taking charge of Australia on its own account. I believe, however, that the Government will give the matter their serious consideration, with a view of making our defences more efficient, and that, if necessary, they will go even to the extent of purchasing torpedo boat destroyers, although we are assured that they would cost £55,000 each.

Senator Lt.-Col. NEILD (New South Wales).—It does not seem to me to be very much use for the Commonwealth Government to publish ponderous documents such as that which I hold in my hand, to have here a copy of the last report of the General Officer Commanding the Maritime Forces. There is abundant information to be gathered from this document to show that what is wanted is an entirely new system of Defence administration. I quite agree with Senator Dawson that we require an entire change. We find that the present system has been in full working order for very nearly three years—for years and eight months, to be precise—that at present, in some parts of the Commonwealth, even a parade cannot be held, because the men have no uniform to wear. That is actually the case. It is not an exaggeration in the slightest degree. A big parade was to be held in Sydney in the course of next month, indeed, in about a week from now. Well, the last fortnight it has been postponed indefinitely. Why? The fact is noted that the whole of the Defence administration of the Commonwealth has not succeeded in giving to the men new uniforms for two years or more. Indeed, I suppose that it is something like five years since they had new uniforms. First of all, there was to be a fresh uniform. Then a number of people in the different States, particularly in Victoria, were set to work to design new uniforms. Certain mercantile firms—tailoring firms—who had no special knowledge of military work, were authorized to prepare them. Phenomenal sums—I am afraid to say how much—appear to have been paid for designs for jackets. I believe it will be found that the Department has paid from £10 to £25 apiece for these designs. But many have not been acted upon. They have been thrown aside. Of course the taxpayer

to pay for these experiments. I finally a very unsatisfactory has been chosen, and a very unsatisfactory cloth has been accepted by ten-ning else has gone wrong, and up to the last to the present time there is no cloth in the Commonwealth to make uniforms, except for a few staff ser-vice officers. I repeat that to clothe a soldier is an impossibility, and this is the case for years and eight months of the year. When that is the state of affairs, it is time there was some change. I can report that the General Officer Commanding says—

Compared for the unexpired portion of his term of service with the Commonwealth in the routine of my duties pro-vided for an officer is temporarily attached as Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-Gen-eral. An officer of the Corps of Australian Engineers is similarly attached for the performance of the duties of Assistant Adjutant-General, Engineer Services.

I know whether these demands of the General Officer Commanding have been met with, and whether we are being asked in this Bill to vote the money required for the purchase of rifles for the officers. I have only just now received a copy of the report, and I had time to look at it carefully. On page 15, I find a statement under the signature of the General Officer Commanding, which abso-lutely confirms what I said half-an-hour ago, and as absolutely confirms what I said in the *British Navy League Journal*. There is a paragraph here referring to "Small Arms," which re-lates to the revolvers, about which there has been a shindy, of which Senator Dawson may be able to tell us some-thing. This is the paragraph—

Senator DAWSON.—There will, on the completion of the orders now placed in England—

In his last report the General Officer Commanding told us plainly that it would take from eighteen months to two years to get an order executed. When the rifles are to arrive we do not know, and this is in this report—

Senator DAWSON.—All, on the completion of orders now placed in England, be sufficient to complete the whole of the Military Forces.

precisely what I wrote last March. I do not deny that there were enough rifles for the peace establishment. I de-clare that there were enough for the war

establishment. Six months after I wrote it I find this confirmation of the article I referred to in an official document sub-mitted by the General Officer Command-ing.

Senator DAWSON.—The honorable sena-tor forgets that there were 5,000 rifles ordered.

Senator Lt.-Col. NEILD.—It does not matter a button whether they were ordered or not when the General Officer Commanding tells us that it takes from eighteen months to two years to execute an order. I said they were not available. If one orders a thing, and has not got it, it is not available. If Senator Dawson were a bachelor, and were about to espouse a charming damsel, and if he neglected to take the wedding ring with him to church, the probabilities are that, the ring not being available, the marriage would not take place.

Senator DAWSON.—No; if I loved the damsel, I should have broken into a pawn-shop and stolen a ring.

Senator Lt.-Col. NEILD.—That is too deep a riddle for me to solve. I do not know what the honorable senator means, nor do I think he knows himself. I say that to order a thing does not make it available. I did not say that rifles had not been ordered. I did not know what had been ordered, but I do know that orders are sometimes countermanded. That does not matter a button; the point is that if the rifles were not in the Commonwealth they were not avail-able. Everybody knows that, and of what use is it to say that they were ordered? Of what use is it for the people in charge of a bank on which there is a run, to say, "We have ordered sovereigns from the other end of the world"? The people "run-ning" on the bank desire that sovereigns shall be there, and it is of no use to tell them that they have been ordered from the other end of the world. The sovereigns not being available, the bank bursts, and this Commonwealth would be burst, in a military sense, if we had to rely for its defence upon rifles which had been ordered. I should like to know also, whether, in addition to these rifles, the necessary leather equipments have been ordered. I should like to know whether there are slings for these rifles, belts, ammunition pouches, and bayonet frogs.

Senator PEARCE.—And pipeclay.

Senator Lt.-Col. NEILD.—That is a very silly observation to come from so wise

an honorable senator. If we are going to have sensible leather equipments we should have brown leather, and no pipeclay nonsense. Senator Pearce has no stronger objection to pipeclay than have I. I say that in ordering rifles we do not necessarily get the equipment, without which the rifles are of precious little use, unless there has been some new arrangement. It may be so, and I should like to know whether the necessary leather equipment is to be supplied along with the rifles. It is unnecessary for me to quote page after page of this astounding report to show how utterly Australia is without anything that can, in a sensible way, be described as defence. I shall, however, quote one paragraph which the General Officer Commanding has put into this report—a good many people think for the first time. But it is merely a copy of what he wrote in July of last year with reference to the Western Australian railway scheme. He has repeated what he wrote in his last report, because I suppose he considered it so good as to be worth repeating. He says—

It may be as well to state at once that a force of the requisite strength, organized and capable of taking the field, does not at present exist in Australia, and that there are at present no local means of equipping such a force.

I never, in any article I wrote, or in any speech I made, said anything half as strong as that.

Senator GRAY.—Everybody knew it.

Senator Lt.-Col. NEILD.—My honorable friend says that everybody knew it. If they did, it is astonishing to me that people should be so willing to trust the insurance of their property in such a rotten insurance office. If one desires to take out a policy to protect his house against fire, he is not satisfied to go to an office which is staggering on its last legs. He prefers to select an institution which is likely to be able to pay the face value of his policy should a fire take place. This insurance policy comparison is one which I used something like twenty years ago in the New South Wales Parliament, and it has become popular of late years. The fact that it has become popular shows that there is something in it. Such a defence force as we require in Australia, such a force as the defence vote is submitted to maintain, is not needed for the purpose of aggression, of attacking any other country, or of occupying any other territory.

We desire such a force as a protection in the event of our house being on fire—in the event of some force being perpetrating an arson upon us, in order to express it. I say that we are wasting our money in paying for an insurance policy, if we do not secure a force. This document bristles from one end to the other with allegations that we have a particularly rotten and unsatisfactory state of affairs existing in the defence of our wealth.

Senator MATHESON.—On what ground is the honorable senator placing the responsibility?

Senator Lt.-Col. NEILD.—I do not mean to say that it is a joint-stock affair. I mean that it is sufficiently in the inner running of the Government to be responsible.

Senator MATHESON.—What is the Ministerial responsibility?

Senator Lt.-Col. NEILD.—It does not seem to have been any responsibility of any kind except in the direction of needless expenditure. The Minister for Defence has spoken of the staff rides. In New South Wales there was a staff ride. I do not know the cost, or who paid for it; but I know that a few gentlemen travelled and were given a piece of country to which no one had ever dreamed of going, any more than they had dreamed of trying to capture Mount Stirling on the off-chance of getting a whiff of the war. I have not sufficient patience to discuss the matter quietly. The wildest piece of investigation, in the vicinity of Sydney, was selected for a staff ride, and there was not a pretence at defence, simply an attack. There was no attempt to make a defence; there was only an attack over this wild piece of country followed by the publication, at great expense, of as many maps as would be required for the defence. We were considering half-a-dozen sites for the Federal Capital.

Senator DAWSON.—Do not forget that we have cancelled a few of the staff rides.

Senator Lt.-Col. NEILD.—I am not blaming my honorable friend for merely describing things as they are. I do not pretend to know who is responsible for their existence, or to lay the blame on any one; but I hold that the time has come when, if we are to vote money for the defence Forces, we must vote sufficient to have management efficient enough to obtain value for that money.

General Officer Commanding
ay—

ion is incomplete;

ctly what I said just now. I
w that I was coming to that
use I had not read it. I was
ne organization as being abso-
satisfactory, and the Major-General
, or I back him up—

ents necessary for a mobile army
e created.

ments are good enough to get
r staff rides; that is one thing
—

neither sufficient guns, arms, equip-
munition available.

ave the General Officer Com-
ing a great deal more than I
that magazine article for which
in both Houses of Parliament,
iculously attacked in the press.

AWSON.—The honorable sena-
the Australian people.

Lt.-Col. NEILD.—My hon-
d must have had the article
and the reader must have read
thing which was not there, be-
ows that I did not attack the
people.

AWSON.—The honorable sena-
the Australian people.

Lt.-Col. NEILD.—My honor-
must know, if he read the
I did not attack anybody.
hat more attention should be
e serious question of defence,
less attention to the joyousness
ts, and the joy which some per-
e in making money.

AWSON.—What about the
at, if possessed of a rifle and
e full of cartridges, the Aus-
ks himself a match for the
soldier of any nation under
hat is against the authorities.

Lt.-Col. NEILD.—If my hon-
d will give me the article to
referring—

AWSON.—Yes. Here it is.

Lt.-Col. NEILD.—I do not
her this typewritten copy is

AWSON.—The copy is all
he article is most contemptuous
Australians.

Lt.-Col. NEILD.—As my hon-
d says that, I must go into this

I first of all drew attention
ual manner in which officers and

men were selected for service in South
Africa, I pointed out that it had been the
practice of Imperial officers in Australia to
select men who had had no service at all in
many cases, as against officers and men of
the Defence Forces who had had years of
training, and I then went on to say—

These mischievous ideas were fostered by the
action of Imperial Army officers commanding the
local forces in recommending for commissions
in the various contingents despatched from Aus-
tralia utterly inexperienced youths and gentle-
men possessing social qualifications, in prefer-
ence to experienced and trained officers of the
Defence Forces.

Is that against Colonial troops?

And as the officers, so the rank and file. The
wholly untrained were as, or more, welcome
than trained members of the Military Forces.

With these examples of selection before them,
and with the successes achieved by the officers
and men so chosen before them—

That is an admission that the officers and
men without any training had achieved suc-
cess in South Africa.

the people of Australia have now an ingrained
belief—

“Ingrained” is not a word that I remember
using; but I dare say I did—

that an Australian, astride anything with four
legs, is, if possessed of a rifle and a pillow-
case full of cartridges, a match for an indefinite
number of the best-trained soldiers of any na-
tion under heaven.

There is not a word in that against the De-
fence Forces or their members. I only point
out that there are in Australia a number of
persons who have not read aright the lesson
of the success of Colonial troops in South
Africa, and who have a silly and mistaken
idea of military matters. Not one word of
that comment applies to Colonial troops. I
do not take back a word of it.

Senator MATHESON.—Is it not a bit of a
sneer?

Senator Lt.-Col. NEILD.—It is a bit of
a sneer at persons who have not paid atten-
tion to matters as they ought to have done.

Senator GUTHRIE.—And the honorable
senator sent that sneer to the people of Eng-
land?

Senator Lt.-Col. NEILD.—If it makes
my honorable friend in any way happy to
put that construction on it, he is welcome
to do so. The General Officer Command-
ing proceeds to make these observations—

It will, therefore, be seen that the construction
of a Transcontinental Railway would, under
existing circumstances, confer no satisfactory
advantage upon Australia in its present con-
dition of military unpreparedness.

So that the General Officer Commanding
tells us that we have neither guns, rifles,

equipment, nor ammunition available; no departments necessary for the constitution of a mobile army, and no local means of equipping such a field force, and that we are in a condition of military unpreparedness.

Senator MATHESON.—It is all quite true.

Senator Lt.-Col. NEILD.—I believe it is, and I draw attention to these facts. so that the taxpayers may have an opportunity of using their power at the right time to correct this shocking piece of administration. The General Officer Commanding continues—

The most that could be expected from the military situation at present existing would be the concentration of a certain number of armed men, who, without adequate administrative Departments, or the required equipment, would be quite incapable of coping with even an inferior number of an invader's troops, carefully trained, organized, and equipped with the latest modern appliances, as they unquestionably would be.

That paragraph is in entire agreement with statements which were made in this Chamber by me long ago. To pit Commonwealth soldiers, a large, or even a considerable number of whom were untrained, or insufficiently trained, against the troops of an invading force which would undoubtedly be highly trained, completely equipped, and furnished with every means of destruction that warlike science could devise, would be to send them to certain annihilation. No half-trained or half-equipped troops would be sent to attack Australia. Every man sent here for warlike purposes would be a picked man.

Senator DAWSON.—To what kind of training does the honorable senator refer?

Senator Lt.-Col. NEILD.—To the kind of training which enables men to carry out the duties attaching to warlike operations. In view of the fact that we are now being asked to vote a proportion of the £500,000, or more, annually spent upon defence, it behoves us, as the guardians of the public purse, to ask for information as to what is being done, and not to vote the money blindly. It would be absurd for a man who had a policy in a rotten fire insurance company to regard himself as protected against loss by fire, and it would be equally absurd for the people of the Commonwealth to flatter themselves that they are protected against invasion by the possession of a military force which has no chance of becoming as efficient as any attacking force would be. Our men may be as brave as any set of men under God's heaven could be, but they would have no chance of success if opposed

to men who are better armed, and who commanded by efficient officers. In connexion, I would draw the attention of the Minister to the fact that, according to Appendix K to the report from which I have just quoted, there are in the Militia branch no fewer than 197 officers short, and in the Volunteer branch a shortage of 144, a total shortage of 341. Now, although Tom Atkins may be trained in the elements of soldiering by three months' drill, it takes years to make a decent officer.

Senator GIVENS.—Some of them are decent, even after years of training.

Senator Lt.-Col. NEILD.—That may be so. Many men who think that they are officers take a mistaken view of their capabilities. Speaking, not from any technical knowledge, but from my general knowledge, I have no doubt that the real shortage of officers is something like 400, because a great many of those on the list do not attend to their work. Probably some honorable senators know that there are on regimental lists names of officers who do no duty, who ought to be got rid of. To re-what a shortage of between 300 and 400 officers really means, I ask the Senator to remember that the usual company strength of volunteers is three officers to 100, or ten officers to 1,000, so that the shortage is something very serious. In the militia it is about three to sixty. It is no use to have staff rides, and provide other training, unless means are taken to provide a proper complement of officers. The service should be made sufficiently attractive to induce men to undertake this work. Though I am speaking in the most general terms, from a sense of my responsibility as a public man, I nevertheless speaking as the oldest military commander in New South Wales with but one exception.

Senator MATHESON.—What attractions are lacking?

Senator Lt.-Col. NEILD.—There are many causes why men remain out of service. For one reason, the forces have in a general way been in a state of disorganization. We have had inquiries after inquiry. Only the other day it was stated in the press that there was to be an inquiry into the alleged serious leak of official secrets—from what branch of the Defence Department and in what connexion I do not know. But, strange enough, what is complained of in Melbourne now took place when certain officers, one of whom subsequently left

file the other ceased to be at-
e in New South Wales. Those
are in Melbourne to-day, and
only within their cognizance all
of the Military Department. I
now whether there is any con-
e between the two incidents; but the
main all the same.

DAWSON.—It is rather sugges-

Lt.-Col. NEILD.—I feel that
evidence.

GUTHRIE.—It is more than that.

Lt.-Col. NEILD.—Several other
ve been inquired into of late.
been a scandal about a cable-
er about a revolver, and yet
ut an after-dinner speech. There
ministrative branches, the Min-
e, which is supreme, and the
ice, and, judging by statements
appeared in the press, there
serious disagreements between
ad something in the newspaper
ich shows that that is so. These
r to me to be sufficient justifica-
at I said just now in regard
ed for an entire change.
on of officers is of paramount

What is the use of import-
if we have not the num-
ers necessary for instructional
nd for leading the men? For
New South Wales, there were
rs to every 100 men in the
egiments, but now there are
s to every sixty men. With
y altered proportion of offi-
is a shocking shortage, and
that this matter should receive
consideration of the Adminis-

MATHESON.—What would the
enator suggest in order to make
attractive?

Lt.-Col. NEILD.—If my views
I shall be prepared to make
in the right quarter.

MATHESON.—Is not Parliament
arter?

Lt.-Col. NEILD.—If the mat-
that way, I admit that I have
mind at the moment any special
itions. One important point
would direct attention, however,
hat ever since the establishment
nonwealth, the Defence Depart-
een in practically a chaotic con-

Senator DAWSON.—Do I understand the
honorable senator to say that, in the pre-
sent state of the Defence Forces, at least
400 additional officers ought to be ap-
pointed?

Senator Lt.-Col. NEILD.—I am adopt-
ing the exact figures given in the report of
the General Officer Commanding. He
shows that three officers are required for
the permanent forces, 197 for the militia,
and 144 for the volunteers. I do not
know whether the total given is correct.
I have found such extreme mud-
dles in the documents issued by the
Military Department that I place very little
reliance upon them. However, the report
shows a total of 344 officers short of the
establishment, and I have no doubt that
even a larger number than 344 would be
required, inasmuch as there must be a cer-
tain number of officers who exist solely on
paper, and who are not doing any work.

Senator MATHESON.—Would such officers
be paid?

Senator Lt.-Col. NEILD.—No.

Senator DAWSON.—Does the honorable
senator contend that for the number of men
now constituting the forces, an additional
400 officers would be required in order
to secure efficiency?

Senator Lt.-Col. NEILD.—According to
the report of the General Officer Command-
ing, 344 officers and 2,782 men are re-
quired to bring the forces up to their full
strength.

Senator DAWSON.—That is quite a dif-
ferent thing.

Senator Lt.-Col. NEILD.—But three or
four hundred additional officers would not
be required for two or three thousand men.
For 2,700 men we should require only
eighty or ninety officers. For the sake of
convenience, let us say that 100 additional
officers would be required for the men who
are not enrolled, but who ought to be en-
rolled in order to bring the forces up to
the strength authorized by Parliament.

Senator DAWSON.—I thought the hon-
orable senator was arguing that the present
forces were under-officered.

Senator Lt.-Col. NEILD.—Allowing
100 officers for the men who are not en-
rolled, an additional 250 officers would be
required for the men who are enrolled.

Senator DAWSON.—Would that be from
the non-commissioned officers upwards?

Senator Lt.-Col. NEILD.—Yes. Com-
missioned officers.

Senator DAWSON.—The honorable senator is calculating on three officers for every 100 men?

Senator Lt.-Col. NEILD.—Yes; roughly. Of course, a few more would be required. Taking a complete foot regiment of eight companies, twenty-four company officers and three staff officers would be needed, making in all twenty-seven officers. The proportion of officers would be greater in the case of mounted troops. Therefore, the figures which I gave just now would be nearly correct as applying to infantry, but not so accurate as applying to mounted troops.

Senator GUTHRIE.—How about the artillery?

Senator Lt.-Col. NEILD.—I should not like to say off-hand. I have not every detail at my fingers' ends. I do not pretend to know everything. Roughly speaking, however, my statement would hold good. I do not tie myself down to a few officers, more or less, because in order to be exact, I should have to calculate the actual shortage in each branch of the service—in the mounted troops, the artillery, the militia, and the volunteers. I see in the report of the General Officer Commanding a statement with regard to uniforms. I do not wish to take up time by quoting further from the report, but I repeat what I said this afternoon, namely, that although the present system of command and administration has been in going order for two years and eight months, it is not possible to-day to hold a review of the troops of the Commonwealth, because the men have not suitable uniforms in which to turn out. In New South Wales the uniforms are so disgraceful that the Commanding Officer can only order night parades, at which the uniforms cannot be seen. That information is published in the newspapers. I am not giving away military secrets, but I am only stating what has been published in the General Orders, and has been stated in the press.

Senator DAWSON.—But has the honorable senator stated the reason correctly?

Senator Lt.-Col. NEILD.—Yes. I recently made personal inquiries, as a member of the Federal Legislature, and found that there was no cloth in New South Wales of which uniforms could be made.

Senator GUTHRIE.—Contracts are only now being accepted in some parts of the Commonwealth.

Senator Lt.-Col. NEILD.—The authorities are always accepting contracts, but little comes of it.

Senator DAWSON.—Does the honorable senator know that the Commonwealth Government is to supply the cloth, and that contract has been accepted for the making up of the cloth into uniforms?

Senator Lt.-Col. NEILD.—Unfortunately all the world knows that a contract accepted for the supply of the cloth required for the uniforms, but the material was such an unsatisfactory character that it condemned, and everything came to a standstill. Some time afterwards another contract was accepted, and I suppose that new contractors have not yet supplied cloth, because there is none in New South Wales.

Senator DAWSON.—Cloth is being supplied to New South Wales from Queensland.

Senator Lt.-Col. NEILD.—I am delighted to hear it, and Queensland has most sincere congratulations.

Senator DAWSON.—The cloth is to be made in Queensland for the purpose of meeting the requirements of the New South Wales forces.

Senator Lt.-Col. NEILD.—The cloth has not yet reached New South Wales, or, if it has, it has not been placed in the contractor's hands. Some reference was made this afternoon to the condition of affairs obtaining at Tidbinbanna, which has been designated as the gates of Australia. So it is. It is a gate which rests upon very old hinges at the present time. Two forts have been erected there upon two hills. I do not know the exact distance between the hills; it cannot well be under a mile by road, but may be materially more—but the army provided to fight the guns in the forts consists of about forty-three persons.

Senator MATHESON.—How many guns are there?

Senator Lt.-Col. NEILD.—I do not know. This little weakling force used to be eked out with a partially-paid or militia company, but I learned recently whilst on my visit there that this force had practically "petered out," as they say on the Pacific Slope. From discouragement, and for one cause or another, there is now no force there worthy of consideration. It is unfortunate, because there is an enormous number of hardy active men in the locality who would be able to work the guns in excellent style.

Senator GIVENS.—Where are those men to be found?

Lt.-Col NEILD.—They spend their time on the water.

GIVENS.—Owing to the policy of the honorable senator and his cannot make a living there.

Lt.-Col. NEILD.—I do not see that policy the honorable senator

GIVENS.—To the black labour

DOBSON.—That is another objection.

Lt.-Col. NEILD.—I do not see the interruption is pertinent to the question. Some persons would say it is impertinent.

DOBSON.—It is incorrect; that is a fortunate feature of it.

GIVENS.—It is absolutely correct.

Lt.-Col. NEILD.—There is also Albany, and a few troops are there. Senator Matheson has been particularly under his ken, and he has told the Committee some startling stories about it. Then we are aware that Fremantle is an important harbor at Fremantle which is utterly unprotected at the present time. Until the present works are completed and a large paling fence is kept the wind out of the harbor port was, I understand, declared an American captain as being in the Indian Ocean sheltered by the Cape of Good Hope." That deplorable condition of affairs which existed in Western Australia, at considerable distance provided an excellent little harbor, ought to be in a position to be so. Why did that State join the Commonwealth if she was not to share in the Commonwealth which the larger States could provide for to the present time, however, it has not received a pennyworth of contribution in the nature of defence from the Commonwealth, the defence forces of Western Australia are now probably materially inferior and less efficient than they were some years ago.

DOBSON.—That is not the fault of the Government. It is owing to the unequal and judicious distribution by the Government of the Commanding.

Lt.-Col. NEILD.—I have already said that I do not pretend to allocate funds for what exists. I do not urge that the Ministerial administration with the military administration. Doubtless, it rests somewhere, but I make that statement unhesitatingly as a man of a quarter of a century's

standing. I do not know who is responsible for the present position of affairs, but I presume that if a row can be created about a revolver, a similar disturbance may be raised about big guns. We require an entire change in existing methods connected with our great expenditure upon Commonwealth defence, and I sincerely hope that by some means a solution of the difficulty will be arrived at, and that we shall not continue to spend £500,000 annually in the unsatisfactory manner in which it has been expended in the past.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON (South Australia—Attorney-General).—I am sure that honorable members do not expect me to be familiar with all the details and ramifications of the Defence Forces—

Senator GUTHRIE.—Being a man of peace.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—For the reason suggested by my honorable friend, as well as for others. I know they will not expect me to traverse the wide field which has been covered by honorable senators who have spoken, and who have a good deal of information regarding defence matters at their fingers' ends. Such information as I have I shall give to the Committee, in answer to the specific questions which have been addressed to me. At the same time, I desire to express my indebtedness to those honorable senators who have spoken, for directing my attention to reports and details, and to the general subject of the defence of Australia. There is no doubt whatever that we are all strongly impressed with the vital necessity of providing for an efficient and complete defence of our shores and of our country. I may also add that no Ministry would be worthy of its position in the Commonwealth if it did not realize the gravity of the situation, and seek to arrive at its solution in the way that would most effectively secure the desired end.

Senator MCGREGOR.—Have we not got the Auxiliary Squadron? What more do we want?

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—I am sure that past Governments have been animated with equal zeal in that direction. I know that during his term of office Senator Dawson made a most earnest study of the whole subject, and I believe that he has left behind him valuable information and recommendations concerning the matters which came under his notice. All those recommendations, as well as the suggestions which have been made by honorable senators upon this side of the Chamber, will receive most careful attention.

Senator DAWSON.—It is to be hoped that the Government will adopt my recommendations.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—I am sure that my honorable friend will not expect me to pledge myself to that course, until I have considered them. The first point which was raised by Senator Matheson, had reference to the omission of the words "to be repaid by the"—shall I say, "Imperial Government"?

Senator MATHESON.—No; "British."

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—"By the British Government" in connexion with the expenditure of £15, which appears under Division No. 44. There is no doubt whatever that that money has to be repaid. The inclusion of that amount in this Bill, without the words referred to, does not mean that it is not to be repaid. Those words were omitted—I will not say because the late Government were frightened by the honorable member's references to the use of the word "Imperial" in the last Supply Bill.

Senator MATHESON.—Is that the insinuation?

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—No.

Senator MATHESON.—I would not mind such an insinuation being made.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—I am perfectly certain that the honorable senator's observations have always very great weight. At any rate, we see the omission, and the sum of £15 in the particular instance referred to is to be repaid. The other point which was raised related to the vote passed last year in connexion with the fortification of Fremantle.

Senator DAWSON.—There is no omission.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—In reality, there is not. When the last Supply Bill was before the Senate, the fortification of Fremantle was dealt with by Senator Matheson, and explained by Senator Dawson, who said that the vote in question had been expended in purchasing ammunition.

Senator MATHESON.—But this relates to another sum of £5,000.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—I think that my honorable friend will see that the whole of the unexpended balance was used in the purchase of ammunition. This is the same matter that was dealt with on the last Supply Bill. I think that Senator Matheson was a little severe—or, perhaps, I should rather say, mistaken—in his criticism of the attitude taken up by Sir George Turner. Sir George did not say that because it would involve an outlay of £60,000

to complete the defence works at Fremantle. He considered that the sum voted last year should not be expended. He is greatly impressed, as we all must be, with the importance of having an adequate defence at Fremantle, and said so over and over again, that he wished that defence to be not a sham, but a safe and secure one. It was pointed out by him that, in connexion with the amount placed on this year's Estimates, there was a footnote indicating that it was only a preliminary vote, and that it was, he stated, determined on the assumption that the expenditure would be very much less than as he afterwards discovered it would be. On conference with the authorities, he learned that an expenditure of from £60,000 to £80,000 would probably be necessary to complete the work; but it has since been ascertained that this estimate will be considerably reduced by the fact that, as mentioned by Senator Pearce, the Government of Western Australia intend to allow the land requisite for the purpose of the fort to be treated as transferred property. Finding that was so, my right honorable colleague, as Treasurer in the Defence Ministry, obtained on the Supplementary Estimates which were passed—

Senator MATHESON.—That related to £5,000, not to the £9,000.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—The sanction of Parliament was obtained for the expenditure of the balance of the money voted for this work, on the purchase of ammunition, and, as Senator Dawson explained, it was spent in that way. The Treasurer, having ascertained, as he stated, that the sum required to secure an adequate defence for Fremantle, will be considerably larger than he originally contemplated, when the Estimates-in-Chief are brought down, it will be found that they make provision for a first instalment.

Senator DAWSON.—Which will include all these Estimates.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—It is so. All these Estimates will be brought down, and Parliament, in voting the instalment, will be fully informed as to what the carrying out of this work entails. I think that is an honest and straightforward course to adopt. It would be scarcely treating Parliament with absolute candour if, on the voting of a particular amount, the ultimate expenditure involved with regard to this item could not be better ascertained than it was in the first instance. It was, therefore, from

starve the fortifications of Fremantle rather from the point of view of defence than from the point of view of efficiency. It should be made efficient, safe, and strong, and this change was made.

SENATOR MATHESON.—Then how did they spend the sum of £3,800, for which they had no authority?

SIR JOSIAH SYMON.—They intended to spend £9,000.

SENATOR MATHESON.—They brought down £3,800 as a supplementary vote, for which they had no authority whatever.

SIR JOSIAH SYMON.—The reference which has been made, in the Estimates, to the expenditure in connexion with the demolition and re-erection of buildings on the site. When the Estimates were submitted, the whole item will be explained, and my honorable friend will give full explanation and the revised Estimates before him. Senator Guthrie has the excess of expenditure under the heading of "Defence," saying that there is an excess of £20,000 in excess of the amount provided under that heading in the Supplementary Bill. I may say that the amount represents expenditure on the purchase of ammunition.

SENATOR GUTHRIE.—It consists mostly of the purchase of rifles.

SIR JOSIAH SYMON.—That is the ammunition. I am explaining to the honorable member the information which I have.

SENATOR DAWSON.—It relates to amateur rifle clubs.

SIR JOSIAH SYMON.—For the year 1904 and so forth. The Divisional Committee make up this excess of £3,800, 87, 90, 106, 109, and 124, which represent a total of over £20,000. A provision has to be made before the year is ordered, because the Treasurer has to be paid on the money being paid to the contractors before the order is sent, and they have to be, through them. Then Senator Mather also referred to two smaller divisions. He mentioned division 99, which shows an increase of £10 as compared with that in the last Supply Bill under this item for an expenditure of £520, while in this year the item is £530. The explanation is that we cannot always accurately estimate the expenditure for the year into one representing a month's supply. It is a matter of dividing the total, and in this instance the amount has been £530 instead of £520.

SENATOR DAWSON.—Not necessarily to be spent.

SENATOR SIR JOSIAH SYMON.—Exactly. It is merely a provision with a view to expenditure that may be required. I take this as an illustration, because the same thing occurs in other instances. It occurs, for example, in connexion with the item "Camps of training and schools of instruction," in respect of which a sum of £250 is set down.

SENATOR GUTHRIE.—The total is £750.

SENATOR SIR JOSIAH SYMON.—I take as an example the sum of £250 relating to New South Wales.

SENATOR GUTHRIE.—That is absolutely new.

SENATOR SIR JOSIAH SYMON.—It is; and I may say I understand that the late Prime Minister and his colleagues, after full consideration, decided to leave the amount as it now stands. The money is not necessarily to be spent, but provision is made so that it may be expended if it is found necessary to do so. That is how the matter stands at present. In regard to all these matters, and particularly the more important general questions to which attention has been so ably directed, I hope that when we have the Estimates-in-Chief before us, the whole subject will be thoroughly ventilated, and that every point to which attention has been called will be considered in the meantime, so that we may have that which we all desire, a thoroughly efficient system of defence.

SENATOR MATHESON (Western Australia).—I wish to say a few words in reply to the remarks made by the Attorney-General. He will understand of course that we absolve him and his colleagues from any responsibility in this matter. We thoroughly recognise that it is simply an inheritance, and that the explanation which he has given is that which has been furnished to him by the Department. I want to point out two facts; first, that only £5,000 of the £9,000 in question was spent on ammunition, as is clearly shown on page 6 of the Supplementary Estimates.

SENATOR DAWSON.—That was only a diversion.

SENATOR MATHESON.—It was a diversion of £5,000 from the gun at Fremantle to the ammunition.

SENATOR SIR JOSIAH SYMON.—That is quite right.

SENATOR DAWSON.—The reason was that we could not get the gun, and we did want the ammunition.

Senator MATHESON.—I am not raising any question on that point, but merely making a statement of fact. There was another sum of £4,000 for the fortification at Fremantle, and that sum Sir George Turner said he would not spend because the total involved was too great to embark on without the authorization of Parliament. In spite of that, however, Sir George Turner spent, without authority, £3,800 on another branch of the same fortification. It seemed to me then, and it still seems to me, that the explanation Sir George Turner gave as to why the £4,000 was not spent in accordance with the authority of Parliament, is the most feeble and illogical that ever proceeded from any Treasurer in Australia.

Senator GIVENS.—Such a great man, too!

Senator MATHESON. — Sir George Turner has from me the utmost respect that I could entertain for any Treasurer; but in this case I suppose he was at the mercy of the Department, or something of that sort, and did not understand what was going on. We voted £4,000 for a specific purpose, and for a specific reason, which Sir George Turner gave, that sum was not spent; but, notwithstanding that fact, Sir George Turner spent £3,800 on a cognate undertaking which was never authorized, and which, unless the whole scheme be authorized, will mean that the money is entirely thrown away.

Senator CLEMONS.—Is the honorable senator not rather blaming Sir George Turner for not having done two wrongs?

Senator MATHESON.—On the contrary, if there was any wrong, it was in not spending the money we voted for a specific purpose, and then offering an explanation which does not bear investigation.

Senator DAWSON.—Was that in regard to the total expenditure of £60,000?

Senator MATHESON.—It was in regard to the non-expenditure of the £4,000.

Senator DAWSON.—I am speaking of the intended expenditure—of an instalment of the expenditure of £60,000.

Senator MATHESON.—The £3,800 was spent without authority, and will be absolutely wasted unless we confirm the scheme which authorizes the expenditure of £60,000.

Senator DAWSON.—That is what I mean.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—It will not be wasted if the work of the fortifications goes on.

Senator MATHESON.—It will not be wasted, but Sir George Turner has suspended the expenditure of the £4,000, because he waits for further authorization.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—He waits the sanction of Parliament.

Senator MATHESON.—Then why ask, did Sir George Turner spend £3,800?

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—Surely honorable senator does not complain that?

Senator MATHESON.—I do most certainly. Here we have the Treasurer in his place, and saying that it would be folly to spend the £4,000 which was authorized; and yet on his own account without authority, he has spent £3,800. I want to make the right honorable gentleman logical. I want to convince the Senate and the public that Sir George Turner's excuse for not spending the £4,000 is a bit—absolute rubbish.

Senator CLEMONS.—Why should Sir George Turner not stop the expenditure if he was doing wrong, from the honorable senator's point of view?

Senator MATHESON.—Sir George Turner was doing what he ought not to do from my point of view. I consider money should have been spent; but I object to is the quibble.

Senator GIVENS.—Surely the honorable senator does not think that Sir George Turner would stoop to a quibble?

Senator MATHESON.—I do not think that Sir George Turner would do so personally; he is a gentleman for whom we have the utmost respect. It is the management of the Department to which I am referring.

Senator GIVENS.—If the Treasurer is a mere figure-head, why is he in the position? We are simply wasting his salary.

Senator MATHESON.—That is a question which I cannot debate on the Definite Estimates. In regard to the omission, it is suggested by Senator Symon, of certain essential words in the Supply Bill, simply because they would have entailed the omission of the word "Imperial"—

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—I did not say that.

Senator MATHESON.—That is certainly what I gathered from the honorable and learned senator's remarks.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—What I said was that the honorable senator had been frightened then.

MATHESON.—Undoubtedly ; as a suggestion that the gentleman have lately formed the Government country, sooner than omit the periodical ” and insert the word omitted the whole sentence. I understood that to be the suggestion, regret it, because I should have to see the word put in.

Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—My attention has just been called to the fact that I think Senator Matheson has informed that the expenditure was actually and expressly authorized by the Supplementary Estimates ending 30th June, 1904.

MATHESON.—Hear, hear ; those estimates passed in July of this

Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—Then with all submission, to suggest that the honorable senator's fervour has been unnecessary.

MATHESON.—No.

Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—I understand the honorable senator to complain that the late Government or some one had spent £3,800 without au-

MATHESON.—Undoubtedly ; and to come for authority on the Supplementary Estimates in July of the cur-

Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—And authorization ?

MATHESON.—Yes, but after the money has been spent.

Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—But what argument got authorization ?

MATHESON.—Undoubtedly.

Lt.-Col. NEILD (New South Wales).—I should be glad if the Attorney-General could answer the inquiry I made some time ago in this discussion that he says that it has slipped his mind. On page 6 of his report the Attorney-General says that the Officer Commanding lays down as a precedent to his continuing to perform his duties during the remainder of the year, that an Acting Deputy Assistant-Master-General and an Assistant-Master-General of Engineer Services have been appointed. I should like to know whether the present Estimates include any provision for the salaries of two such officers, whether we are appointing those officers, or whether the General Officer Commanding may continue to discharge his

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—There is no additional provision on the Estimates with regard to two such officers. There has always been a provision for one officer, and that remains.

Schedule agreed to.

Bill reported without requests ; report adopted.

Bill read a third time.

Senate adjourned at 8.35 p.m.

Senate.

Wednesday, 7 September, 1904.

The PRESIDENT took the chair at 2.30 p.m., and read prayers.

ASSENT TO BILLS.

Assent to the following Bills reported :—

Seat of Government Bill.

Supply Bill (No. 3).

PAPERS.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON laid upon the table the following papers :—

Report upon the disposal of obsolete guns and carriages.

Report by Mr. Surveyor Chesterman upon proposed Federal Capital Site in the Tooma district.

PUBLIC SERVANTS AND POLITICS.

Senator PEARCE asked the Attorney-General, *upon notice*—

In regard to the following paragraph which appeared in the *Argus* of 24th August, 1904—

“ Mr. R. L. Phillips (the junior vice-president) proposed the toast of the Public Works Department.”

“ Mr. J. H. Marsden (of the Federal Public Works Department) responded. He said that he had been sent over to New South Wales to give evidence before the Commission. He had made inquiries with regard to day labour on public buildings, and had found that the work done by day labour cost 50 per cent. more than that done by contract, and was not any better.”

1. Is the Mr. J. H. Marsden referred to as “ of the Federal Public Works Department ” an employé of the Federal Government ?

2. If so, is he not bound by the regulation prohibiting public servants from “ publicly taking part in politics ” ?

3. If so, do the Government intend to ask the Public Service Commissioner to call on Mr. Marsden for an explanation in thus publicly taking sides on a party political issue ?

goes out and another Government in, the course of business disturbed in such a manner, some special reason or necessity. We shall proceed with the Trade and the Evidence Bill, which introduced by the late Government. On an understanding, I gather, that the Marks Bill would be recommitted—honorable senator desired to that direction, in order that any which had been dealt with in Committee be further considered. I inquire out the understanding entered Senator McGregor, and to give unity which he proposed to give, as I have indicated. The Evidence Bill, perhaps, not one of altogether interest, but it is of interest to me. It is a very useful little Bill, conceived with the idea of lessening the expense of proving certain more or less matters, and the principles of which may be able to explain to the Senate when it comes on in the ordinary course of the Fraudulent Marks Bill, which came down from this Chamber to the House of Representatives will be prophetic there. The Seat of Government Bill, which has just been introduced into the Senate—is now in the Senate. And I think I ought to say that the late Government are entitled to credit for having got that Bill into the statute-book. We know the Bill which have taken place in regard to the State of feeling which is set up in various directions in regard to both its principles and its details. It is a creditable circumstance that it ought not to pass over that it has been introduced on the statute-book by the late Government. I desire to inform the Senate that the Ministry have taken steps with a view to communicating the measure to the Government of New South Wales, and indicating the desire of the Commonwealth Parliament. Alterations are being prepared, the plans for which I have seen, embracing the various elements which may be considered essential in order to meet the desire of all of us with a view to the conveniences, the access, and other matters to which attention has been directed. The areas are being defined, more or less roughly, in plans in a tentative way, so that every facility may be given for harmonious negotiations between the Commonwealth Government and the Government of New South Wales, and

we should be in a position, I hope, soon, to get some progress made with those negotiations, because of course everything requires the approval of the Commonwealth Parliament, and that we may be enabled to arrive at some definite conclusions as to the precise area, general area being all that is now indicated in the measure. Certainly we shall lose no time in having that matter, subject to further discussion, defined so far as regards the wishes of the Government of New South Wales, which, subject to the claims of the Constitution, we all desire to consult. There were two great measures of the first class with which this session began—the Navigation Bill and the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill. The Navigation Bill is now undergoing the consideration of a Royal Commission, as I think—I do not know whether there were any differences of opinion on the question—wisely appointed by the late Government. Honorable senators did me the honour of bearing with me, I am afraid for a very long time, at the second-reading stage, when I sought to explain my own views as to many parts of that measure. I thought then, as Senator McGregor did, when pointing out to the Senate the programme of the late Government in May last, that the Bill was unsatisfactory to almost everybody, and I shall not offer any opinion further than to say that no one can doubt that a Commission, constituted as this is, will render valuable service in regard to the principles, the objects, and the methods that should be followed in any such legislation. I am particularly pleased that my honorable friend from South Australia, Senator Guthrie, who has devoted immense attention to the whole subject, is a member of the Commission. We propose to take up the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill as it stands, and to carry it through if we can.

Senator DAWSON.—That is a good proviso.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—We hope to have the Bill here at an early date.

Senator MCGREGOR.—Is Senator Fraser going to vote for it?

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—I have not questioned my honorable friend on that subject, but if I am not transgressing the Standing Orders by making an incidental reference, I would say that this Bill is in something like the position which the Trade Marks Bill occupies in the Senate. It has reached the stage of a motion for recommitment. There are, I believe, a number

perhaps a large number, of amendments to be proposed. Many of these amendments are more or less verbal or formal. There may be some which contain matters of substance, and which may involve debate. Therefore, it is impossible for me now to anticipate when the Bill will be received here; but I trust that it will be sent up soon, and when it does come, whatever difference of opinion there may be—in fact, as there must inevitably be—I feel sure we shall devote our best energies to its consideration from the lights that we individually possess. So far as the Government are concerned, we take the Bill, and shall endeavour to bring it into effective force, as far as possible, in the form in which it now stands. Last year, Mr. President, we had the Budget opened in the other Chamber, as early, I think, as about the 27th July. We are now in the month of September. Therefore, I need not say that it is of importance—perhaps I may go further, and say of vital importance, that the consideration of the Budget and the financial position of the Commonwealth—its financial arrangements and adjustments—should be proceeded with at the earliest possible date. I put that as the view of the Government, and I am sure it will commend itself to the Senate. However, looking at the position which the Senate occupies—the high and important position which it occupies—in relation to financial matters under our Constitution, it is desirable that we also should have sufficient time for the consideration of the Estimates and the Budget, and that that time should not be lessened if it can possibly be avoided. As far as I am concerned, I shall do everything that I can with a view to prevent the possibility of a sort of hurried consideration of financial matters, with the determination of which we are greatly concerned. This year, of course, owing to the exigencies of public business, it has not been possible to have the Budget laid before Parliament earlier. But as soon as the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill is out of hand in the House of Representatives the Budget will be proceeded with, and we hope that that will be before the close of the present month. These matters in themselves form a fairly heavy programme, looking at the period of the session, and it will be difficult to squeeze much more into the time at our disposal. To use a homely expression, I do not know that it is a good thing in political or parliamentary affairs, any more

Senator Sir Josiah Symon.

than in other human affairs, to try to chew off more than we can chew.

Senator HIGGS.—Did not Mr. Reid say that he would not leave the Labour Party a feather to fly with?

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—I am not aware whether that is so, or not.

Senator MILLEN.—They are in that position now!

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—We intend, if possible, in the time at our disposal, to proceed with the Papua Bill, which is already before the House of Representatives. I think that it is important that we should, if possible, proceed with that Bill this session. It is not contentious. It is not a party matter; and it seems, to the Government, to be desirable that we should have our relations with our dependency in New Guinea placed upon a footing at the earliest moment.

Senator MILLEN.—Is that the New Guinea Bill?

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—It is the New Guinea Bill, but the name of it is the Papua Bill. I have carefully gone through it. It was introduced by the Minister of External Affairs, Mr. Hughes, and, in principle at all events, it follows very much the lines of our own Constitution, so far as it is applicable to a dependency in the circumstances of New Guinea. I think that in all probability, when honorable senators come to consider the Bill, they will not find much in it that will require very grave alteration at any time; and that we may be able to see it placed upon the statute-book this year. There is one part of the Bill—or rather, there is a question arising under it—about which there may be some difference, and that is in connexion with the liquor traffic. There is a suggestion on the one hand for an absolute prohibition of the liquor traffic in New Guinea, and there is, on the other hand, the suggestion that the existing system, which involves prohibition so far as the natives are concerned shall be continued, but that entire prohibition shall not be enforced. There is great diversity of opinion on that aspect of the matter, and that diversity will be given effect to by the Government by leaving that particular point an open question.

Senator DAWSON.—Do the Government propose to alter the principles of the Bill?

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—We adhere to the principle of any of the Bills which we take up. We take up the Papua Bill as it stands. But we shall endeavour

ray to make it effective, and if any portions of it which we think selves to improvement, we shall end it. We also intend to propose the Western Australian Survey

STYLES.—Never!

Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—I know the friend's view of that measure.

PEARCE.—It is weakening.

Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—Is he? Senator Styles now occupies a place to my honorable friend Senator Higgs and that lays him open to the imputation of one of the most effective per-
sons in this Chamber.

STYLES.—I have succeeded to the position which Senator Symon formerly held, and, perhaps, later on, I may find myself on the other side of the

Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—No rejoicing more than I should do should happen, but I hope that it will happen for a considerable time. At present, we are going to proceed with

HIGGS.—Will the Government raise this vital question?

Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—The Australian representatives regard this as a vital question.

I do not say that the Government, myself, come from a State where I am free to say that there is not unanimity in favour of that great measure. But I am also aware of the fact that there is no sentiment against the delay of having the information which they possess enlarged and completed, before obtaining that, without which I cannot speak for myself, and I know there are many others like me—to give full consideration to the subject of the intimate construction of the railway which we shall be called upon to express our opinion sooner or later. From that point of view, we feel that the measure which I have mentioned, if it is to receive the sanction of Parliament, ought to be put forward for consideration at the earliest possible moment. If Parliament does not sanction the survey, that is another matter, but my belief is that Parliament will sanction it, and I am quite sure that it will be a good thing to do. I will do our utmost, in the time at our disposal, consistent with dealing with the many and graver matters which I have intended to pass those two Bills. But there is a bill which has been put forward a

good deal, and with which we do not intend to proceed this session. That is the High Commissioner Bill. There are two reasons which actuate us in coming to that conclusion. One is the period of the session, and the regard we must pay to what we can ask Parliament to undertake in reference to the transaction of business. The other is that it is desirable, as I think honorable senators will see, that we should before actually going on with a measure of that kind, come to some kind of understanding with the States, with a view to accommodate their interests, as far as possible, and to lessen expense. If there is one thing more than another which was predicted of the Commonwealth—of the union—originally, it was that it would be the instrument of reducing State expenditure in certain directions.

Senator DOBSON.—Quite right.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—As a member of the Convention, I took that view, and I take part of the responsibility for having put that as a very strong argument in favour of the union. We had before us, amongst other things, the consideration as to the lessening of the expenditure in connexion with the Governors of the States, the expenditure in connexion with the Agents-General of the different States, and so on. It seems to me that we shall be doing good service—that is the Commonwealth Parliament, and the Commonwealth Government will be doing good service—if they make use of the proposed legislation, in concert with the States Governments, in order to give them a reason for reducing their expenditure in connexion with the States representatives in England, and, if possible “fixing them up”—if I may use that expression—in connexion with the Commonwealth representation. I believe myself that that will be—in fact, I feel sure that it will be—recognised as a course which ought to be taken, and that we should not, independently of the States, simply pass our own legislation, with a view of setting up a High Commissioner in London. At any rate, we do not propose to proceed with that Bill this session; and we hope in the interim, by opening up negotiations, to carry out the idea which I have laid before the Senate. We have also in operation, a Select Committee in regard to a very important matter—I allude to certain electoral adjustments, having relation to a more effective method of working our electoral legislation. But it is doubtful if we can have the benefit of the report of the Committee in time,

and if we had it before the session closed, it is doubtful whether we should be in a position to bring before Parliament legislation in accordance with the necessities of the case. The Government are not in a position to hold out any hopes that a Bill to amend the Electoral Act will be brought before Parliament at this stage. The Inter-State Commission Bill, which has also been under discussion in various ways directly and indirectly, stands in the position which it occupied when the late Government took office. It is in abeyance, pending the results of the conference of railway authorities and heads of the railway services of the different States. Until the information, which it is expected to obtain from that quarter, is available, the Bill will stand over. There is also a Bill which has been a good deal noticed. I refer to the Bonus for Manufactures Bill, upon which there is a diversity of opinion. We do not propose to proceed with any measure of that kind this session, and if the question is proceeded with, or brought forward, by a private member, either in the Senate or the other House, that also will be an open question, so far as the Government are concerned. The basis of the Government in regard to such matters is that we are in a position of fiscal peace.

Senator STYLES.—We are not quite sure of that.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—Well, we, as a Government, shall do our utmost to maintain that position. Whatever else may be said or whatever criticism may be offered, I should say that the composition of the Government is an assurance—I go further, and say that it is, perhaps, an effective guarantee—that our policy will be one of fiscal peace.

Senator MCGREGOR.—The Government are a peaceful crowd!

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—I am always a man of peace myself. My honorable friend, Senator Pearce, referred with good-natured banter to my having pulverized—I think that was the phrase he used—the representatives of the Government during our exceedingly interesting Tariff debates. I had no more valuable ally on the free-trade side than Senator Pearce himself, for whose assistance I always was, and am now, most grateful. He put it very kindly in saying that I had pulverized the representatives of the Government who then represented

the protectionist view. But since that struggle ended, I have always thought, I still hold the view, that there ought to be fiscal peace. Whatever views others have entertained, I expressed that view, and I had the honour of being quoted by my friend, Sir William Lyne, during most interesting tour in Tasmania, as being unlike other free-traders—and I am as strong a free-trader as ever I was—because I had stated that there ought to be peace for a time, in order that the effect of the Tariff could be fully ascertained, that the commerce of the country should not be thrown into confusion again, and kept in confusion for months and months, and that we should abstain, as far as possible, for a time, at least, from Tariff agitation which always results in business uncertainty. I hope honorable senators will do me the justice of believing that. I merely mention it with the view of explaining that that was my own view, and that I have never departed from it. For my own part, I believe that there are differences in every community, the great mass of the commercial interest of this country is in favour of the Tariff which we passed with so much labour, and making it as perfect as we could, having a fair trial; and that we should not seek to disturb it until that fair trial has been accomplished, and until we have an opportunity of really seeing not its influence upon one incident here and one incident there, one grievance here and one grievance there, but its general effect upon the whole progress and prosperity of the Commonwealth. That is my view.

Senator HIGGS.—Will the honorable learned senator name a period for the operation of this fiscal peace? How many years is it to last?

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—I do not think that the Government have gone into matters of prophecy of that description. Sufficient for the day is the proportion thereof. At any rate, I have made it as plain as my capacity would allow me to make it, that our policy in regard to this matter is that of fiscal peace, and that we intend to do our level best to carry that out. Associated with that matter is a question which has been the occasion of very many public forms and other references—that is the question of what is called preferential trade. We are not second to any citizens of Australia in our desire for the closest possible trade relations with the mother country. If we trade with one country

another we, of course, naturally to trade, so to speak, with our own house. At the same time, one of those who think that the classes of Australia—nor do the people of Australia—at their interests should be tied to any principle of trading with any country more than with another. It is more or less selfish, but at this question strikes me—and is led by the Ministry—as being less one for academical discussion.

STYLES.—Is it the honorable senator's opinion that we deal with all countries alike?

Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—I did think that we ought to deal with all alike. What I said was that if there is to be any preference it should be in favor of the mother country. I think that the age I used was to the effect that we have to trade with one people more than another we should trade with our own kin. But at the same time I did not believe in pushing the principle too far—that I did not think that the trading community of Australia should consent to being altogether regulated in their trade operations by a convention of that kind.

STYLES.—The honorable senator would treat all countries

Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—When a question comes to be submitted to us—we had no offer from England yet—that the people of Australia will in all probability be disposed to determine those questions by considerations of what will benefit themselves; in all probability it will be so. And when we have proposed to England on the question we are prepared to give them the most careful and favorable consideration, in our own interests and of matters of common concern. But when I read in that very journal—that historical conservative journal—the *Quarterly Review*, a statement like this—

that Mr. Chamberlain's admirers must admit that no parliamentary leader, since 1886, has been so much derided as he.

It only comes to the conclusion that we should anticipate at a very early date the submission of proposals with regard to preferential trade coming from England, for consideration of the Commonwealth Par-

liament.

Senator PULSFORD.—Not this century.
Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—At any rate, the present Government in England is not at one with that great statesman, Mr. Chamberlain, on this subject; and, in all probability, we need not reckon the question as within the region of practical or practicable politics, for consideration this session, or for some time to come.

Senator HIGGS.—Are the Government taking up the proposal, suggested by Senator Dobson, to invite Mr. Chamberlain to Australia?

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—The Government have not considered that matter yet, and, therefore, I am unable to definitely answer my honorable friend's question. There are various other matters which remain to be dealt with. The Government have been considering these matters, and we hope during recess to arrive at the best way to bring under Commonwealth control, and uniform legislation, the important subjects of quarantine, banking, and so forth, as laid down in the Constitution. We also propose to take into consideration that most important question of the population of Australia, and the cognate matter of immigration.

Senator MCGREGOR.—Are the Government going to offer a bonus on marriage?

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—The honorable senator's question leads me to say that my own State is in rather a deplorable position in this connexion. South Australia shows the third lowest birth and marriage rates as compared with other countries. The population of South Australia proper was less by 2,089 than it should have been with the natural increase during last year.

Senator GIVENS.—Is that at the present time?

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—Yes; those are the latest statistics. I mention, for the information of the honorable senator—and this has been a subject of platform discussion before—that the number of births of infants registered in South Australia in 1903 was 8,475, which was fewer by 452 than the births recorded in the previous year, and that the birth rate per 1,000 of the mean population was only 23.33, which was below the rate of any other of the last fifty-two years.

Senator PEARCE.—The South Australian people cannot get land in their own State, and they are going to Western Australia.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—The Commonwealth Government have not the power to deal with the matter of the land.

Senator GIVENS.—Yes, they have.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—I am a strong advocate of that system of closer settlement, which, I am glad to say, is not merely receiving attention, but is making great progress, certainly, in some of the States. An honorable senator has referred to the countenance and assistance that may be given in this connexion; and the Government propose to consider the whole question of aiding rural industries and formulating some plan within the limits of the Constitution, so as not to trespass on the powers of the States, but to assist the latter as far as possible.

Senator DAWSON.—By way of bonus?

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—We have not considered the shape that the assistance shall take, or the methods that may be pursued, and at present I ask the honorable senator not to press the question.

Senator HIGGS.—The Government will bring the matter before the States Conference?

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—That will present an opportunity; but in this connexion there is also the other question on which great doubt exists as to the relative powers of the States and the Commonwealth; I mean the matter of water conservation, particularly in connexion with the River Murray. Whilst the Government, with the assistance of Parliament, intend to ascertain and exercise, as far as they can, the powers which they may have under the Constitution, there is associated with this another question which greatly affects my own State—that is the question of maintaining navigation. I have always held the view, and I expressed it in the Convention, that as between the two interests, that of navigation, in a country like this, may probably be regarded as subordinate to the interests of irrigation.

Senator Lt.-Col. NEILD.—We can make roads, but we cannot make rivers.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—I am sure that every one desires to do the fullest possible justice to the claims of navigation—to the claims of South Australia in this regard—but I should not be dealing fairly with this great question if I did not say that I have seen no reason to change the view which I formed during the Federal Convention, and which I have expressed just now. We must keep to our views as far as we can, until they are shown to be incorrect—we must do the very best we can, straightforwardly and honestly, to

aid the advancement of the country; the assertion of the views in which I believe.

Senator DAWSON.—The honorable and learned senator is against irrigation?

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—Indeed I am not.

Senator DAWSON.—Then the honorable and learned senator is against navigation?

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—Indeed I am not. I want to try as far as I can harmonize the two interests. There is also the great subject which must be considered in connexion with the States, suggested by Senator Higgs, namely, age pensions. That must necessarily be the subject of conference and some kind of basis for common action, even to a greater extent than that which I venture to indicate desirable in so comparatively small a matter as the appointment of High Commissioner. What I mean is that the States should be consulted, and the plan adopted should be one which is harmonious. The Government will take every opportunity, both at the conference to which Senator Higgs has referred, and in other ways, to arrive at a decision, and to formulate views to be submitted to Parliament.

Senator GIVENS.—And in the meantime the poor old people can starve.

Senator DOBSON.—Rubbish! They are not starving.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—I have given as clearly as I have been able, with regard to that brevity which I said I should endeavour to observe, the views of the Government. I recognise one conspicuous obligation in respect of which, though from this side, I regard myself as in the service of the Senate as a whole—the Senate as representing the States, and guardian of the States' interests. That duty is to do my utmost to uphold the dignity and maintain the rights of the Senate, and see, as far as one can, that in the sphere allotted to it by the Constitution, the Senate is not restricted in the effective and patriotic use of its constitutional powers. I believe that in this regard, at any rate, I shall not appeal in vain for the assistance of honorable senators on whichever side the Chamber they may sit. On other questions there may be, and there certainly will be, strong differences of opinion. There will be that keen controversy which is essential to the right solution of problems of public moment; but I shall endeavour, so far as I am able, to do my part

en debate is over—when the fight is lost, and when the heat of contested away—no sting of bitterness remain.

(by Senator MCGREGOR) put—
debate be now adjourned.

ate divided.

...	...	...	23
...	...	...	6
...	—
Majority	...	...	17

AYES.

R. C.	McGregor, G.
S.	O'Keefe, D. J.
	Pearce, G. F.
H.	Pulsford, E.
	Smith, M. S. C.
	Styles, J.
	Symon, Sir J. H.
S.	Trenwith, W. A.
G.	Turley, H.
G.	
H.	Teller:
A. P.	Dobson, H.

NOES.

J.	Walker, J. T.
D.	Teller:
	Macfarlane, J.

n so resolved in the affirmative.
agreed to; debate adjourned.

TRADE MARKS BILL.

(by Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON)

Bill be recommitted for the reconsideration of clauses 15, 72, and 93.
Committee.—(Recommittal.)

15—

essential particulars of a registrable mark shall be one or more of the following:

—
1. The name of a person printed, impressed, or written in some particular and distinctive manner; or
2. A written signature or copy of a written signature of the person applying for registration thereof or his predecessor in business as a trade mark; or
3. A distinctive device, mark, brand, heading, label, or ticket; or
4. An invented word or invented words; or
5. A word or words having no reference to the character or quality of the goods and not being a geographical name used likely to be understood in a geographical sense.

However, that any word or words, letters, or combination of letters or figures, used as a trade mark before the first day of One thousand nine hundred and one, registered as a trade mark under this

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON (South Australia—Attorney-General).—I moved for the recommittal of this clause with a view to delete the proviso, and substitute provisions which I think will be more effective, and more in consonance with the law as it stands. The proviso was inserted at the instance of Senator Best, who, I am sorry to see, is not in the Chamber at this moment. Honorable senators will see that it is couched in very wide, large terms. Of course, they are now familiar with what a trade mark means. A trade mark is essentially a mark which indicates that any particular goods are the manufacture of a particular person, or, it may be, that they have been selected or imported by a particular person. But a trade mark, in its accepted, and its legal meaning, gravitates, so to speak, between those two points. Before there was effective legislation on the subject, almost anything could become a trade mark as legally, as well as generally, understood. Then came the Trade Marks Act of 1875, which enabled the registration of marks of a particular kind to be made. All marks which were previously used as trade marks were not susceptible of registration. A limited number were taken from them and registered; but in order that no injustice might be done to persons who had been using trade marks before 1875, and had acquired a kind of property in them, those trade marks were allowed to be registered, although not answering the definition in the Act, if they had been used previous to its coming into operation. That provision was adopted in all State legislation, and the proviso to this clause is intended, I apprehend, to meet the same state of things in regard to the Commonwealth registration of trade marks as to any word or words, and so on, used before the coming into operation of the measure. But if it were put in this way, instead of meeting the case, and doing justice to those concerned, it would have the effect of enabling any word or words, letter, figure, or combination of letters or figures, whether susceptible of registration under the State law or not, to be registered if used prior to the passing of this Bill, which, I think, Senator Best does not desire to effect, and which would be wrong. If the desire be to protect unregistered trade marks which were in use before the passing of the State law, it ought to be limited to that. It should not allow any mark which is being used now to be registered as a Common-

wealth mark, but it should allow a mark to be registered as a Commonwealth mark, if it was in use, and susceptible of registration, although not registered under the State law. That would protect everybody. I am not proposing this alteration from any antagonism to the principle of the proviso, but merely with a view to making the measure as perfect as possible. I have drafted an amendment which I think will meet the purpose, and which reads as follows:—

(1) The proprietor of a trade mark in use in any State at the commencement of this Act may make application for the registration of his trade mark under this Act.

(2) The application shall, subject to paragraphs (3), (4), and (5) of this section, be dealt with in the same manner as other applications for registration of trade marks.

(3) The trade mark may be registered, if it could have been lawfully registered under the State Trade Marks Act in force, at the commencement of this Act, in the State in which the trade mark was then used had an application for its registration been made before the commencement of this Act.

(4) If the trade mark does not contain the essential particulars required by this Act, it may, nevertheless, be registered subject to such conditions and limitations as to mode or place, or period of user, as the Registrar, Law Officer, or Court thinks fit to impose.

(5) Where the trade mark, or a nearly identical trade mark, was, at the commencement of this Act, common to the trade in another State, the registration under this Act shall confer no exclusive rights in that State on the registered proprietor, and that State may be excepted from the registration under this Act.

That will, I think, exactly meet the case contemplated by Senator Best.

The CHAIRMAN.—Does the honorable and learned senator wish to add those words to clause 15?

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—I did propose to insert those words in lieu of the proviso, but it will be more clear if I ask the Committee to strike out the proviso with a view to insert a new clause at a later stage. I move—

That all the words after the word "sense," line 18, be left out.

Amendment agreed to.

Clause, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 72—

In this part of this Act—

"Trade Union" means any trade union registered as such under the law of any State or any organization or association of workmen or employes registered under any law of the Commonwealth or of a State, relating to conciliation or arbitration for the prevention or settlement of industrial disputes; and

"Trade Union Mark" means a distinct mark or device adopted by a trade union for the purpose of designating the products of the labour of the members thereof.

Senator PEARCE (Western Australia)—I move—

That after the word "State," line 4, the following words be inserted, "or association such unions."

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—In the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill I think the word "association" is used. Would that word do here?

Senator PEARCE.—No. The clause allows separate unions to register a trade mark, and I desire the whole of the union as an associated body, to possess that right. Instead of, for instance, the Bootmakers' Union of each State registering a label, I wish this clause to be altered so as to allow any Association of Bootmakers' Union in Australia to register one trade union label for the whole of that trade throughout Australia.

Senator DRAKE.—Will that be an amendment under the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill?

Senator PEARCE.—It may not.

Senator DRAKE.—Then a definition of "association" is required.

Senator PEARCE.—I think that word explains itself.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—I do not think that the word explains itself. I wish to direct the attention of Senator Pearce to the wording of this definition.

"Trade union" means any trade union registered as such under the law of any State—

that is, a registered union—

or any organization or association of workmen or employes registered under any law of the Commonwealth—

That is, a registered association. If we insert the words "or association of unions" between "State" and "or," shall leave it ambiguous as to whether it means a registered association. I see what Senator Pearce means. Would it answer the purpose to use these words?—

Any trade union registered as such under the law of any State or any number of such unions acting together.

Senator PEARCE.—Yes.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—My honorable friend will forgive me for taking advantage of this opportunity to say that it is a mistake to insert these provisions in this Bill. I thoroughly understand his object in desiring to legislate in this way.

saying one word adversely or with regard to the principle he y, but I think that from his point, it is worth consideration e should ask us to insert sions in a Bill relating to entirely distinct matter—trade whether it would not be better separate piece of legislation deal- his particular subject. I know erica—and that is the pattern onorable friend has followed— nents for this purpose have been t it is noticeable that these are enactments. Our Constitution to deal with “trade marks,” and question as to what is meant by I am aware that the question and debated here, and has been determination of the High Court. from that constitutional aspect, k my honorable friend whether orth while to deal with the ques- e union marks in a separate mea- clause 3 of clause 73 provides

o far as otherwise prescribed only this Act shall apply to trade union

s made an exception of the whole e marks. I have given a great sideration to this subject lately connexion; and I throw out the to Senator Pearce, whether his ay not lead to confusion and to questions of law, and as to their the other provisions of the mea- n have to do with trade marks, and legally understood. What earce proposes, is not a trade is a mark, not to indicate that are the goods of A, or are im- selected by B, but that they are le under conditions which my friend pointed out in proposing ment originally, having relation and so on. I merely throw that ggestion, but if he desires to re- causes, the words which I have will meet his view, instead of the ociation.”

PEARCE (Western Australia). the amendment suggested by the general, and will substitute it emendment I have already pro- move—

r the word “State” the words “or of such unions acting together,” be

I do not feel inclined to accept the advice so kindly offered, that I should propose to omit the clauses from the Bill under consideration, and embody them in a separate Bill. I am afraid that the Attorney-General would use just as much eloquence—if not quite so much persuasion—against such a proposal as he now uses against the one now put forward. It is just as well to retain the clauses to which the Committee has agreed, considering that we believe them to be in accordance with the law of trade marks. It may be said that we are extending the meaning of the term “trade mark” in an unwarrantable direction, and to an unwarrantable extent. We are prepared to take the responsibility of that, knowing that if we transgress the Constitution, the High Court will practically nullify what we do.

Amendment agreed to.

Clause, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 93—

Subject to the regulations, the Registrar may permit any agent to do, on behalf of any other person, any act in connexion with the registration of trade marks, or any procedure relating thereto.

Senator CLEMONS (Tasmania).—I have been asked by Senator Best to move an amendment in this clause, and in accordance with his desire, I move—

That the word “agent,” line 2, be left out, with a view to insert in lieu thereof the words “patent attorney or solicitor.”

Senator TURLEY (Queensland).—Will Senator Clemons give the Committee some reason for leaving out the word “agent”? It appears to me that the word enables any competent person to be appointed.

Senator CLEMONS (Tasmania).—The word “agent” is, as Senator Turley says, very wide and all embracing, and I admit that it would cover a patent attorney, and also that there can be no doubt as to whether it would cover a solicitor. If the Committee thinks that it is desirable that the Registrar should grant, on the application of any person interested, permission for a solicitor to attend to his case, I urge that the amendment should be accepted. The object is to insure that the person interested shall have the services of some person competent to appear by reason of his profession. Senator Turley will agree that it is obvious that a patent attorney is a man who would be competent to appear. It has also been urged that if an applicant chose to be represented by a solicitor it should be competent

for him to appoint his solicitor to appear for him. It has to be remembered that an applicant may always appear personally if he chooses.

Senator MCGREGOR (South Australia).—When this Bill was previously being dealt with in Committee every one recognised the valuable services rendered by Senator Best. He expressed to me a desire that this amendment should be made. His reason was that if an applicant employed any person to appear for him, he should be a responsible person. We have all heard of the confidence trick. Many persons might impose upon innocent applicants in respect to the registration of patents. I could give instances where that has been done. It was Senator Best's wish that the word "agent" should be altered to "patent attorney," as that term is already used in the Patents Act. As this measure is practically a corollary to the Patents Act, a patent attorney would be the proper person to appear. Senator Best also wished to provide that if any applicant wished to employ a solicitor to appear for him he should have the privilege of doing so. I entirely agree with that view. It would not hamper the applicant in any way. He could either apply himself or employ a competent person to apply for him.

Senator Sir WILLIAM ZEAL (Victoria).—It seems to me that the wording of the clause as it stands is wider in its application than would be the case if the amendment were agreed to. Why should an applicant be confined to choosing a patent agent to represent him? Would not the word "agent" embrace a solicitor or patent attorney whom an applicant might authorize to appear on his behalf? It would give rise to a large amount of trouble and expense if the designation used in the clause were altered. The word "agent" is a wider term than "patent attorney" or "solicitor." It would embrace both those classes; whereas, if we put in the words "solicitor or patent attorney," they would not embrace an ordinary patent agent. If we limit these functions to a particular class, it seems to me, that we shall defeat the object that we have in view.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—There is, as Senator Zeal has said, very great force in leaving the language of the clause as wide as possible. At present, it is permissive, and it is subject to the regulations. No doubt Senator Best's idea has been to bring the measure into line

with the Patents Act in this respect. The term "patent attorney" is used in the Patents Act. But the whole point will be covered if we insert the words "patent attorney, or solicitor or agent."

Senator O'KEEFE.—That would defeat Senator Best's object; he wishes to confine it to the other two classes.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—There is strong reason for that; because when a person employs an agent, he should have the assurance that he is employing somebody who knows something of the business. But it is worth consideration, whether the power to give permission to appear is left to the registrar, is not sufficient to protect persons in that respect. So far as I am concerned, I should prefer to have the word "agent" retained, because that leaves it to the registrar to say whom he will allow to appear before him. He may insist on having persons who are acquainted with practice in these matters. Is it not sufficient to leave the clause as it stands, to the discretion of the registrar as to who shall appear before him?

Senator CLEMONS (Tasmania).—I want to explain that I have merely brought forward the amendment at the request of Senator Best, but practically, I intend to vote for the clause as it stands. I see a particular reason why we should limit the class of persons who may make these applications to the Registrar, and from that point of view the term "agent" is sufficient. The Attorney-General has suggested we might make the clause read "patent attorney, solicitor, or agent." If we did that we might add the words "or otherwise" because "agent" would cover both patent attorneys and solicitors. If Senator Best's amendment is not to be adopted we had better leave the clause as it stands.

Senator FRASER (Victoria).—I think that the choice should be left to the Registrar, if no particular class is particularly concerned. We are not justified in limiting his choice to one or two particular classes. A solicitor is not shut out by the language used in the clause, and it will be better left as it stands.

Amendment negatived.

Clause agreed to.

Bill read with further amendments.

EVIDENCE BILL.

SECOND READING.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON (South Australia—Attorney-General).—I move

That the Bill be now read a second time.

second reading of this Bill, in it may be advanced a stage, but propose to take it into Committee desire that some of the provisions have additional consideration from an in regard to one or two ver—that require, I will not say but alteration. The object of simply to facilitate the proof in of the Commonwealth of ments, and to bring the law with an Act which we passed with regard to the proof of cer—proceedings. It will certainly useful measure. It provides, for at certain signatures shall be noticed. No one can doubt that be so, and that as far as pos—practice should be extended, so you have to prove the signature, of the Registrar of the High a Judge, or of the President of al Court, or of any tribunal, Arbitration Court, it should not y to call evidence for that pur—signature should be judicially he Bill also provides that evi—regard to—

ation, commission, order, or regu— or made by the Governor-General, er the authority of a Minister,

oved by the production of the *Gazette*, and that that shall s sufficient. Then again, in re—production of public books and they may be proved at present ng the books themselves. But

f importance as public records, ving to be produced in courts y are perhaps liable to be lost

It is provided by this Bill of such books and documents ide by means of examined copies purporting to be signed and true copies by a proper officer.

Commonwealth Gazette itself, provides that its production shall Courts evidence that it is the *alth Gazette*; and where it is hat the printing by the Govern—er should be established, the Bill at if it purports to be so issued be taken to be sufficient. These matters of form, but they some—ve expense, as we who are en—legal practice happen to know, by reason of the technical which are raised, and ght to be dispensed with.

Provision is also made for the proof of acts done by the Governor-General, or Ministers, and, in this connexion, the production of the *Government Gazette* is sufficient. This is a short Bill, but it is a measure the convenience of which is understood by lawyers, and from which suitors will obtain a benefit in diminished expenses.

Senator DAWSON.—Is there no provision for the proof of service of the *Gazette*?

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—That is not necessary; the mere production of the *Gazette* is sufficient proof.

Senator Lt.-Col. GOULD (New South Wales).—After the explanation which has been made by the representative of the Government in connexion with this Bill, it may facilitate matters if, instead of having any extended debate just now, the second reading is allowed to pass, and questions of detail left for Committee. If honorable senators desire an adjournment after the second reading, no doubt that is a matter which can be arranged. I have gone through the Bill, which commends itself to me as one likely to be of very great service in the administration of justice. It will tend materially to save expense now incurred in proving many acts which might well be taken as formal.

Question resolved in the affirmative.

Bill read a second time.

In Committee:

Clause 1 agreed to.

Progress reported.

ADJOURNMENT.

Motion (by Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON) proposed—

That the Senate do now adjourn.

Senator Lt.-Col. NEILD (New South Wales).—I suggest, as the Government business has been postponed, that it would meet general convenience if private members' business were now taken, so as to leave to-morrow free for the Government. Private business might very well be cleared off to-day, and the whole of to-morrow devoted to Government business. I suggest that the Attorney-General withdraw his motion.

Question resolved in the affirmative.

Senate adjourned at 4.15 p.m.

House of Representatives.

Wednesday, 7 September, 1904.

Mr. SPEAKER took the chair at 2.30 p.m., and read prayers.

SUPPLY BILL (No. 3).

Assent reported.

PAPER.

Mr. REID laid upon the table the following paper:—

Report upon opium smoking in Queensland.

MINISTERIAL STATEMENT.

Mr. REID (East Sydney—Minister of External Affairs).—I wish to present, by command of His Excellency the Governor-General, a

Copy of a despatch from the Secretary of State for the Colonies with regard to the question of the adoption of the metric system of weights and measures within the Empire.

I move—

That the document be printed.

I shall take the opportunity afforded by this motion to make a Ministerial statement. In my opinion, the late Prime Minister set an excellent example to his successors by making his Ministerial statement in such a way as would enable, not only the leader of the Opposition, but the House generally, to discuss the programme which he put forward, and the whole state of public affairs. I felt that that course was a perfectly fair and wise one, and I am therefore imitating it. But before I outline the policy which the present Administration proposes to pursue with reference to matters of public business, I should like to say a few words in regard to the circumstances which led up to its formation.

Mr. SPENCE.—Hear hear! It is time that we heard something about that.

Mr. REID.—It will be remembered that the Administration headed by the honorable and learned member for Ballarat which appealed to the electors of the Commonwealth at the last general elections raised for their consideration a question which was embodied in the phrase "fiscal peace," and asked them to pronounce the opinion in reference to the existing Tariff that it should not be interfered with during the life of the approaching Parliament. That appeal to the people

was successful. The electors of Australia, in response to the Ministerial proposal, did, so far as electors can, decide in accordance with the policy of the Government, that Tariff revision should occupy the attention of the new Parliament. The fact that that decision was pronounced by the people was recognised by the leader of the three parties in this House when the new Parliament met. The then Prime Minister, the honorable and learned member for Ballarat, said that the fiscal issue was dead and buried—he, of course, meant the electors—during this Parliament and its events. I have a weakness for interfering in which I hope will not characterize official action, and when the statement which I have just quoted was made I objected—

I recognise that that is the verdict of the electors.

So that at the opening of this Parliament the head of the then Government said that the decision of the electors was what I described it to be, and I immediately recognised in a most public way that that was so.

Mr. CARPENTER.—But the right honorable member's followers differed from

Mr. REID.—The then leader of the Labour Party—the present leader of the Opposition—speaking on the same occasion said—

I share the feeling of gratification which was expressed by the Prime Minister that the last election the issue as between free trade and protection has disappeared for some time to come . . . at any rate so far as the Tariff is concerned.

In another part of the same speech the honorable gentleman referred to the "time at any rate" as the life time of the present Parliament. I have to say that if that state of things had not existed when the recent crisis occurred, it would have been impossible for the honorable members who form the present Administration to have come together, just as I propose it would have been impossible, if the question of Tariff revision had been a matter for this House to deal with, for the honorable friends who formed the Administration to come together. I recognise, as we all did at the time, that the late Prime Minister, in selecting four free traders and four protectionists to form the Government, gave, and desired to give, effect to the decision of the electors. It is obvious that it would have been impossible for men of such strong and oppo-

on the Tariff question, such as the honorable member for West Sydney and the member for Coolgardie, and such protectionists as the honorable member for South Australia and Senator McGregor, to enter on any other understanding. This matter now because I cannot say that if that state of things, as it is now, is not recognised by the leaders of all parties, it would not have existed—

MR. REID.—It was never even considered when selecting a Ministry.

MR. REID.—I do not know the motives of the honorable member's mind which led him to select particular Ministers, but it may be a peculiar coincidence that it was as I have stated it to be. Speaking upon the subject, the position is that if the Tariff had had to be decided at this session, it would have been decided. I believe, for the late Administration was constituted or for the Ministry to be formed to carry out the policy. We stand here as the trustees of the people of Australia, to see that the policy which they arrived at, and which was acknowledged by the leaders of the parties in this House, and which was sanctioned by any honorable member of the House—

MR. REID.—Things have changed.

MR. REID.—Things have become quite different. The question is a possible tortious—

MR. REID.—It is an ironclad.

MR. REID.—Be that as it may, I wish to put our position perfectly clear. So far as the Government benches are concerned, we see that the decision of the House is honorably respected. Passing that matter, I wish to come to the question which occurred over one of the measures still before this House, the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill. The Government of the day chose to take a position with reference to a certain clause of the Bill, and had perfect liberty to do so. An Administration must always stand by itself as to the points it will retract, and the points which it will stand by as vital. On the particular point which I allude to, the then Prime Minister, in a most public way, a consideration before the matter was brought before the House, to be finally dealt with, stated his intention to accept the refusal of the House to reconsider a certain amendment in clause 48 of the Bill—

MR. LYNE.—No.

MR. REID.—I have not concluded what I am going to say, so that a denial is premature.—

MR. POYNTON.—The late Prime Minister did not say that.

MR. REID.—I cannot accept the honorable member as the official interpreter of what the late Prime Minister said. I am going by announcements which I have seen in the public prints of more than one State.

MR. POYNTON.—The right honorable member cannot produce them.

MR. REID.—The honorable member need not make that remark. I hope that at the present rather important stage of a business statement, I shall not be met with interjections and contradictions which can be better dealt with at a later period. I saw reports of an interview with the late Prime Minister in the Sydney newspapers, and I also saw reports of the same interview in the Melbourne newspapers. The reports of that interview appeared on the same day as the reports of an interview with me appeared in the Sydney newspapers. The late Prime Minister, answering what I had said, made the statement—and I am quoting almost his exact words—that if the House would not reconsider its decision, which had been arrived at some time before in Committee, when the Government obtained an adjournment to consider its position, he would take it as an intimation that his services were not required any longer. Those words appeared in both the Melbourne and the Sydney newspapers.

MR. WATSON.—Hear, hear. That is substantially correct.

MR. REID.—My honorable friend, who is a better authority than the honorable member for Grey, admits that those words were used in the interview.

MR. WATSON.—Substantially.

MR. REID.—That being so, I hope that the honorable member for Grey will withdraw the imputation which he levelled against me just now. I can be only substantially correct when quoting what appeared in the newspapers some months back, and I am fortunate in managing to be that. I draw attention to the circumstances for this reason. The crisis was made at the deliberate choice of the Government of the day. It was not a crisis manufactured by the Opposition.

HONORABLE MEMBERS.—Oh!

MR. REID.—Not at that time. Surely the Opposition did not dictate an official

utterance by the Prime Minister. Surely honorable members do not wish to be quite so erratic as to suggest that when the Prime Minister made his statement to the press he was under the inspiration of any member of the Opposition. My honorable friend the late Prime Minister weighs his words, and acknowledges now that they were uttered. I am speaking at present only of the late Prime Minister's own statement. In the most public way he stated that the issue before the House was a vital one; that if the Bill were not altered—I do not say in any particular way at present in respect of that amendment—the Government would take a certain course. Therefore the House did not make the subject of the crisis; but the Government made it, and when the matter came on the House had made up its mind so clearly that it would not recede from the position it had taken up on a particular amendment that it found it unnecessary to take up any time further than that occupied in expressing its refusal to reconsider the clause. That was the shortest possible way for those who had made up their minds not to alter the clause to express their opinion. It is not to be supposed that the Prime Minister, when he attached such significance to the position, was really so sure of winning that it did not matter what he said. I am sure that my honorable friend did not take up any such position at the time that he made the amendment vital. He knew that the result might be what it has actually been. Therefore, the fact must stand that the crisis arose through the deliberate choice of Ministers themselves. There was no snatch division. Every member of the House except the Speaker in the chair expressed his opinion upon a vital issue, the significance of which was fully understood. Thirty-six honorable members voted, or paired, with the Government, and 38 voted, or paired, against the Government, so that the full number of 74 members out of 75 deliberately recorded their opinions. Well, the Government acted consistently with the position taken up by the Prime Minister. After the vote, my honorable friend the Prime Minister considered his position, and tendered certain advice to His Excellency the Governor-General. The decision of His Excellency upon that advice is a matter with which we have nothing to do. In exercising the Royal Prerogative His Excellency is not responsible to us, but to the Sovereign. Having been sent for by His Excellency I was placed in this position:

Mr. Reid.

The Prime Minister having advised dissolution of the House, if I consider the dissolution of the House at that the proper course, and that all opportunities of further usefulness in this House been destroyed, it would have been my duty to refuse to undertake the task of forming an Administration, on the ground that it concurred with the advice conveyed by the Prime Minister, and believed that the House was incapable of further useful work. Rightly or wrongly, however, I took a different view. I remembered that the House had been in existence for eight or nine months. I remembered that the subject upon which this difficulty had arisen was not a great question of national politics, but merely involved a difference in the working of a principle which the House had adopted. It was a matter of principle at all, but a question as to the degree to which a principle which the House had adopted should be carried. Clearly it seemed to me that a useful object would be served by dissolving the House, unless I was satisfied that opportunities for further usefulness had been exhausted. In assuming the task of forming an Administration I took the view that the time had not arrived for a dissolution of this House, and I take the responsibility for the course which I adopted. I was not, of course, ignorant of the fact that the majority which had voted, as it had the right to vote, in accordance with its own convictions, was a small one. I am just as conscious of that fact now as I was then. I admit at once that if the thirty-six honorable members who voted with the Government on that occasion are determined to reduce this House into such a condition that there is no further prospect of useful legislation, they are in a position to do so. I admit that in a Chamber of this kind, a difference between thirty-eight and thirty-six members is such that it would be impossible for any Government to carry out its legislation if a minority so closely proaching equality with the majority made up their minds that the House was unfit to proceed any further with the transaction of public business. I meet this position at once, and I am prepared to stand by it, and I shall be prepared to admit that I was wrong in my expectation if—

Mr. THOMAS.—The right honorable member will have to admit it.

REID.—I am not denying any-
 thing simply stating my own indi-
 vidual opinion. I am prepared to admit that
 a large minority almost approach-
 ingly with the majority are deter-
 mining about the termination of the
 this House they can effect their

LIAM LYNE.—The right honor-
 able cannot dictate to the Gov-
 ernment when he is to dissolve the

REID.—I hope that honorable mem-
 bers excuse me if I have not made my
 point clear. What I mean is that the
 Minister having stated that the Gov-
 ernment is to be dissolved, and having
 a party strong enough to re-
 publican business to such a state
 House will become impotent, surely
 whether on this side of the Cham-
 ber of Opposition, the House being
 so that state, would consider
 should continue to exist.
 A little time we were in a
 at least equality to the late
 Government in point of numbers, but we
 choose to take up the position of
 great strength in order to ob-
 tain business of the country.

OMAS.—That was no fault of
 the honorable gentleman's.

REID.—I should like my honorable
 friend to mention one occasion during the
 existence of the late Government
 when they occupied the Treas-
 ury for so short a time that mem-
 bers were perfect upon the point—upon
 the Opposition obstructed public
 business. A singular complaint, and the
 complaint against us, was of an op-
 erative character—that we arrived at our
 conclusions by too summary methods, that we
 went out that we would not recom-
 mend it, because we did not intend
 that we had done.

OUCH.—The right honorable gen-
 tleman admits that he gave the Govern-
 ment unreliable advice.

REID.—What I am saying is that
 in asking to form an Administration
 the responsibility of endeavouring to
 carry out the public business of this House
 falls on all.

OUCH.—Now the right honorable
 gentleman is whining for mercy.

REID.—The language of my hon-
 orable friend would almost
 compare with the victorious Japanese General. I
 think the honorable and learned member

that, so far from whining for mercy, if I
 may say it with any propriety, my honor-
 able friends opposite will find others quite
 as ready as they are to endeavour to, at
 any rate, face the people of this country.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—They do not like
 that.

Mr. REID.—I do not mind it. This is
 just the preliminary fusillade of a most en-
 joyable campaign. I may say that I hope
 I shall be able to imitate the courteous at-
 titude of my honorable friend, the late
 Prime Minister, on all occasions. I can-
 didly admit that it is highly unlikely that
 I shall succeed, but I shall do my best, at
 any rate—although he is a much younger
 leader than I am—to follow the good ex-
 ample which he has set to all leaders in
 public life. I hope that my honorable
 friend will understand that I feel it my
 duty at present to state fully and
 frankly my view of the circumstances
 which led up to the present change
 in the administration of public affairs. I
 desire to say that this, in my opinion, re-
 presents something more than a mere change
 between the occupants of one set of benches
 and the occupants of another set of benches.
 It represents something more than the mere
 shuffling of the Ministerial cards.

Mr. HIGGINS.—It is a double shuffle.

Mr. REID.—My honorable friend did
 not take much part in the game. I think
 that it was only at the last moment
 of the dying Government's existence
 that my honorable and learned friend be-
 came galvanized into even attendance in the
 House. I do not complain of that, be-
 cause an opponent of his great ability is
 perhaps better away than here.

Mr. HUME COOK.—The right honorable
 gentleman was frequently away himself.

Mr. REID.—Yes, and the honorable
 member ought to thank me for it. When
 I settled down to my task something hap-
 pened. The people of Australia are en-
 titled to a full explanation at the present
 time from both sides of the House, and
 I am anxious, therefore, to deal with one or
 two questions which cannot be decided here,
 but can only be fought out before the elec-
 tors. I wish to point out in an unmis-
 takable way the difference between the two
 parties in this House. I claim that in
 some respects there are points of resem-
 blance. I claim that the coalition which
 sits on this side of the House is just as
 democratic and as liberal as are those
 honorable members who claim the patent.
 I think we can point to honorable members

on this side of the House—I need not select them—whose services in the cause of progressive politics may compare in some respects not unfavorably even with those of my honorable friends opposite. Just as my honorable friends of the Opposition, in forming their political tie, have to some extent to sink individual opinions—and I suppose that no member of the Labour Party will deny that that is one of the obligations of the alliance which has been formed—so in this Coalition Government, and in our Coalition Party, it has been necessary to some extent to sink individual views. In that respect I do not think that this side of the House compares unfavorably with the Opposition. But there are points on which we claim a vital difference between honorable members opposite and those on this side of the House. I speak, I think, in this respect for every member sitting on this side. In the first place, we offer the strongest possible objection to, and shall resist in the strongest possible way, the invasion of parliamentary government by means of a caucus.

Mr. HUTCHISON.—Have the Government abolished their caucus?

Mr. REID.—The gentlemen who sit here have not yet had even one meeting.

Mr. FISHER.—Then the supporters of the Government have no voice at all in their policy?

Mr. REID.—I am happy to say that my honorable friends on this side of the House have not asked the Ministry to meet them in the vaults, and to outline the policy we intend to pursue before we have an opportunity to express it in this Chamber, and to present it to the people of Australia.

Mr. WATSON.—What Government had to do anything of the kind?

Mr. REID.—My honorable friend knows.

Mr. WATSON.—If the insinuation is that that was the position of the late Government it is absolutely incorrect.

Mr. REID.—If my honorable friend means to tell us that the labour caucus meets only to indulge in convivial relaxation, I have nothing more to say.

Mr. WATSON. — The late Government were never asked by their supporters to make any such statement of policy to them as the right honorable member suggests.

Mr. REID. — I accept the honorable member's statement.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—Then the right honorable gentleman should withdraw his assertion.

Mr. REID.—I accept the statement the leader of the Opposition; but my impression is that we have been led to believe that the labour caucus meets at stated intervals to discuss public affairs, and to examine every Bill that is submitted to the House.

Mr. WATSON.—That is absolutely incorrect.

Mr. REID.—I am very glad to hear that. Then I may accept the assurance of my honorable friend that there is no political significance associated with the meetings of the caucus.

Mr. WATSON.—Oh yes, there is.

Mr. REID.—I wish, so far as I can, to restore what has been for many centuries the system of parliamentary government. In parliamentary government every Ministry has a number of supporters, and, so far as I am aware, there is no Government in the British Empire which has lived under such a condition of affairs as existed when my honorable friends opposite were in office.

Mr. WATSON.—But the right honorable gentleman evidently does not know what did exist at that time.

Mr. REID.—I certainly think that there must have been dense secrecy associated with the meetings of the Labour caucus, if one outside it is able to say what has transpired. I can only congratulate my honorable friends of the Opposition upon the successful secrecy with which they conduct their weekly or fortnightly meetings. I have never been connected with a political party which has held meetings at intervals of, perhaps, one or two years, without discovering that substantially everything which transpired at those meetings appeared next day in the press. But now we have to deal with a body of honorable members, thirty or forty strong, with very vigorous powers of expression, who meet a multitude of times, and conduct their political discussions with such absolute secrecy that no one outside their circle really knows what they do at those meetings.

Mr. WATSON.—That shows that nothing important can take place at those meetings.

Mr. REID.—That sort of successful secrecy in the discussion of the public affairs of the Commonwealth is foreign to the spirit of parliamentary institutions.

Mr. WATSON.—It has never occurred.

Mr. REID.—When in the history—

Mr. WATSON.—I rise to a point of order. I have stated on several occasions that

which the right honorable as just made is absolutely in- I think it only right that he t my assurance.

AKER.—There is nothing in g Orders which requires that urance shall be received; but emen a statement of that kind epted, and I am sure that the ble gentleman will follow that

D.—Hear, hear; I desire to ourtesy of my honorable friend. y accepted the statement which nd also the further statement n that the meetings of the La- were devoted not to convivial t to the consideration of poli-

SON.—No question of policy before a caucus of the Labour it had been agreed to by the ven then it was merely men- e meeting.

D.—I am accepting my hon- d's assurance, and I suppose ot do any more. I am accept- f all, the assurance that the s is not a convivial gathering, e assurance that it is a political d thirdly the statement that the s often. I say that a rty or forty members of Par- o often meet to discuss poli- h secrecy that even the city re- ot obtain any information with o their proceedings, is about o body as is known to-day to e people.

D THOMSON. — Is the Prime ving us a declaration of the policy?

D.—My honorable friend with ountenance must remember been led a little astray by the of the Opposition. There is y which we take, and in regard y may also be said that we are ough that is a matter for the decide. We take the view, I there is a despotic power ex- representatives of the people labour leagues such as is wielded e body known to the political alia. We may be wrong—

CHELOR.—The Government are

D. — I know of the pledge r members have to sign. It ened that that pledge is given.

It cannot be denied that no avenue between my honorable friends opposite and the electors is open to them as candidates for the suffrages of the people, unless their application to appear in that capacity be stamped by a Labour League. I know of no such position which is occupied to-day by any other representative of the people in this House.

Mr. WATSON.—The position is the same with the free-trade league.

Mr. REID.—Certainly not.

Mr. WATSON.—What about the honorable member for Lang?

Mr. REID.—Might I refer to a case which happened only the other day in connexion with the State elections in New South Wales? In that instance the local league chose a certain candidate for one of the suburban electorates, and put aside the sitting member, who was an old friend and supporter of my own. But the sitting member was not in such a position that, when the league cast him aside, he was banished from public life, and dare not appear before the electors whom he had represented up to that time. He appeared before them, in spite of the vote given against him by the local league, and throughout the whole of that campaign no word was ever uttered that implied that in taking that line of action he had incurred the indelible disgrace which would attend a representative of the Labour Party who broke his pledges to a political Labour League.

Mr. WATSON.—But the machine beat him.

Mr. REID.—I think that my honorable friend ought to respect the verdict of any body of electors.

Mr. WATSON.—But the machine beat him, although, as the right honorable gentleman knows, he was a loyal man to his party.

Mr. REID.—I suppose that no one will deny that the electors are entitled to select whom they please. I have a further imputation to make, which my honorable friends opposite will doubtless deny. After all, it is something to obtain these denials from them, because by the time that we have had the last of them, we shall find that the Labour Party is not half so solid as has been popularly supposed. I believe that the Government and their supporters are just as honestly in favour, as are honorable members opposite, of using the whole national power to pass measures that will promote the national welfare to the highest possible point. On that point there is no difference of principle between the Op- position and honorable members on this

side of the House. There is another principle, which, I believe, is supported by the Opposition which with us is equally an ideal, but an ideal which the views that prevail among honorable members opposite are calculated to destroy. I place side by side with the ideal of using to the furthest extent the national power to promote the national good, the ideal of leaving every human being in a free country as free in the exercise of his individual rights and in the carrying on of his individual enterprise as is consistent with the legitimate use of the national power for national ends.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—We all agree to that.

Mr. REID.—My honorable friends opposite now say, "We all agree to that." Of course, I attach some significance to the representative character of the newspapers of the labour unions. Will my honorable friends repudiate the organs of their party as being altogether foreign to their sympathies and policy?

An HONORABLE MEMBER.—Yes.

Mr. REID.—Then they would throw over anything. Will those who represent the State Labour Party of Victoria, and who employ a gentleman at a salary of several hundred pounds a year to preach socialistic doctrines, now repudiate him? When a Labour League spends £500 a year to secure the services of a man for preaching purposes only, they must believe in the religion he expounds. The chosen missionary of the Labour Party is paid, and honorably paid, for his services. There is no stigma in the fact that he receives payment for his services; I mention it only as fixing official responsibility on those who employ him. This gentleman is sent all over Australia to preach the doctrines of an extreme Socialism, and the newspapers of the Labour Party preach those doctrines every day.

Mr. TUDOR.—The gentleman in question has been doing good work.

Mr. REID.—My honorable friend knows of the method that was suggested in connexion with the recent May Day celebrations. There is a very distinguished and worthy member of the party opposite who made a speech on that occasion. He said that the time was not ripe to at once carry out to their fullest extent the socialistic ideas which they preached, but he added that there were some plums ripe for picking, and said, "We are going to begin on the tobacco monopoly." There are two cures for monopolies. One is to put them

down, and in the application of that remedy there is no member on this side of the House who will not work as hard as will any honorable member opposite. But there is another method which affords an opportunity to sneak in Socialism, and that is to take up what may seem to be a monopoly, and to make a State industry of it. That was the policy propounded by the late Prime Minister even in his moderate programme. He was going to begin by taking £8,000,000 from the banks, and the manufacture and sale of tobacco-manufacture certainly.

Mr. WATSON.—Where is the right honorable gentleman's Treasurer? I think that right honorable gentleman has said that he is in favour of taking the money from the banks.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—The honorable gentleman never heard me say it.

Mr. REID.—No such thing. I think I am in a position to correct the honorable member for Bland.

Mr. WATSON.—I have it from *Hansard*. If the right honorable gentleman did say it in so many words, he said so effect.

Mr. REID.—I think I am in a position to correct the honorable gentleman. My honorable friends opposite must remember that they are merely the political puppets of men outside this House—in this country only, that if one of them performs most brilliant service for Australia in this House, when the House is dissolved, he goes to the Political Labour League and asks for their nomination, if the members of the league are dissatisfied with him. If he has not given effect to their views, they can efface him from politics in Australia. They can say to him, "You stand down. You shall not even go before your electors to ask them whether they differ from us. You shall stand out of public life, because we do not like you, and do not believe in you."

Mr. HUGHES.—No. "You shall stand under our auspices," that is all. It is just what was done to Mr. Hawtrey as the right honorable gentleman knows.

Mr. REID.—This is beautiful. We are now invited to believe that if a gentleman, who has entered into an obligation to stand down if he is not selected by the Political Labour League, is not selected, refuses to stand down, and goes before his electors, he will not be called a politi-

We know that the man would be by every labour union in Aus-

HES.—I did not mean that.

D.—We know that such a man with a badge of social infamy put to disobey that stern discipline made the Labour Party the thing it is to-day.

HES.—What about Hawthorne and Wales?

D.—I have already mentioned

HUGHES.—What about E. M. D. who was wiped out after prostrating himself under the honorable gentle-

D.—I hope the honorable gentleman will reserve his remarks for another occasion. I am happy that I shall have an opportunity to reply to him this time. I have any further observations on the subject until that more convenient season to emphasize the points upon which honorable members on this side differ from honorable members opposite. I admit that these are not matters which we can fight at the moment. We all have our views, and many of them are pledged to observe, and these are the things which can only be fought out at the polls of the electors of Australia.

CHELOR.—We make no complaint of the right honorable gentleman's

D.—I am sure the honorable gentleman makes no complaint; he has now stated his philosophy. What I desire to say is that these are matters which have been fought out here, and which must be fought out before the electors of Australia. I mentioned them only as points in connection with which honorable members on the right of the Speaker differ from what they believe, from honorable members sitting opposite.

HUME COOK.—Is the right honorable gentleman coming to his policy now?

D.—I desire to deal now with a very inflammable subject. I propose to leave the present state of public business to what the Government propose to do, and refer to it.

HUME COOK.—At last!

D.—I hope the honorable member has not suffered too much from what I

HUME COOK.—I thought the right honorable gentleman was never coming to his policy. It is all.

Mr. REID.—When I have had the experience of the honorable member, I shall endeavour to form a correct model of Ministerial statement. I am now coming to the practical question with reference to the business of the present session. In the first place, I am afraid that we are all too painfully aware that this session has already lasted more than six months. That is a cold fact which no human being can possibly dispute.

Mr. PAGE.—That is the right honorable gentleman's fault.

Mr. REID.—Of course. We met on the 2nd March, and as this is the 7th of September; the House has consequently been in session for six months. I do not mention that as a reason for not doing a great deal of useful work; but only to remind honorable members, and the country, that we begin the practical administration of public affairs in a session that has already lasted six months.

Mr. HUME COOK.—That is because of what the "wreckers" in the right honorable gentleman's party helped to bring about.

Mr. REID.—Every trace of wreckage has now disappeared from the serene face of a smiling ocean.

Mr. McDONALD.—Does not the right honorable gentleman wish it had?

Mr. REID.—Even the cries of anguish have ceased.

Mr. HUME COOK.—And the whining has begun.

Mr. REID.—As I have now to deal with less controversial subjects, I hope I shall be allowed to make a very simple statement as to the course the Government intend to pursue in order to take as full advantage as they can of the remaining opportunities of this session. Before I address myself to those subjects, there is one question upon which I wish to say a word or two. The position which was taken up by the first Government that met this Parliament, and also by the late Government, with reference to the very great and important question of preferential trade is one which the present Government propose to take up. I see from honorable members' smiles that we are now getting into good humour. It is only taken up by the present Government because it happens to have been a sensible policy, and it happens to have been the policy which was submitted by the honorable and learned member for Ballarat, as Prime Minister, to the electors of Australia, and approved by them.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—And opposed as strongly as it could be by the right honorable gentleman.

Mr. REID.—Exactly.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—“Yes-No.”

Mr. REID.—When will this soreness cease? I wish to say that the honorable member for Ballarat, as Prime Minister, announced the policy of waiting until a definite proposal was made by the Imperial Government to the Government of Australia. The late Government announced, very strongly, the policy of waiting until a definite proposal from the Imperial Government was made. I hope that the cause of the bitterest quarrel of my opponents will not be that I have imitated the wisdom of some of their proposals. I adopt that attitude; and my colleagues adopt the same attitude. I wish further to show what a sensible attitude it is. The British Government at the present time, and more than once, has officially declared to both Houses of Parliament that the Imperial Government is absolutely opposed on grounds having reference to the interests of the British people to the establishment of a system of preference within the Empire or to the taxation of the food of the British people. That is not an announcement made by me. That is an announcement made by the Imperial Government.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—That has taken all the laugh out of honorable members opposite.

Mr. REID.—The announcement is one made by the Imperial Government, and whilst a great subject like this may occasionally be snatched at to serve the little purposes of strategy—

HONORABLE MEMBERS.—Hear, Hear!

Mr. REID.—There can be no sort of doubt that until the Government of Great Britain are prepared to consider the question of opening up negotiations; until the British Government have changed their attitude of absolute refusal to do so, no sensible person outside of this House would alter the attitude adopted by the two preceding Governments. I wish to say that personally I have never concealed my opinion that from the British point of view—and I speak entirely from the British point of view—the Imperial Government are pursuing a course which may turn out, from that point of view, to be an absolutely just and statesmanlike policy. That is a matter they have to decide. But so far as this

Government is concerned, whenever the British Government are prepared to approach us with any proposal asking us to consider this matter in any shape or form they will not be met with a refusal. I shall be prepared to take this matter up, the British Government wish us to do so, and to take it up in a perfectly fair and honest spirit. That is all that could be expected at the present time from any Government of the Commonwealth, whatever Government it might be.

Mr. MAUGER.—The New Zealand Government did not wait for the British Government to take action.

Mr. REID.—I wish now to say a word or two on another subject, and the more pleased my honorable friends opposite are of themselves to be, the better satisfied am I. I have my barometer, and it is always the other side. I wish now to deal with the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill, which has been so long before this Chamber.

Mr. ISAACS.—Before the right honorable gentleman passes from the question of preferential trade, I should like to know whether he means to say that he will take up the question unless he receives a request from the British Government?

Mr. REID.—I mean to say that on this matter I take up precisely the same position as that taken up by the two previous Governments, that is all.

Mr. HUME COOK.—Does that mean that the right honorable gentleman will interfere in certain duties to foreigners?

Mr. REID.—Since the honorable learned member for Indi so loyally supported both the previous Governments, I am sure that the honorable and learned gentleman's high sense of political rectitude will incline him to take the same attitude on a national question, even though it should be submitted by a Government constituted as is the present Administration. May I ask my honorable and learned friend—has the arrangement come off?

Mr. MAUGER.—It has; on a sound protectionist basis, too.

Mr. ISAACS.—That is a very important question for the right honorable gentleman.

Mr. REID.—Has my friend the honorable and learned member for West Sydney come round to a sound protectionist line? Have we forgotten that startling transition from the calm, philosophic repose of my distinguished friend, the late Postmaster General, to the mad enthusiasm which prompted him to rush after the honorable members for Parramatta and Dalley

immediate free-trade crusade? I will take the honorable member for Melbourne Ports with them as a matter of good faith. To return to the statement of public business, which I am endeavouring to make, as honorable members know, there is a motion before the House to recommit the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill, for the purpose of introducing a number of amendments. That was moved by the late Prime Minister, one of the clauses to which it was struck out on a vote of the House. The question as it now stands, the Government propose to invite the House to Committee to consider the amendments which have been suggested. I do not at present know, of the twenty amendments suggested by the late Prime Minister, at least seventeen or eighteen will be considered, and adopted by the present Government. Many of those amendments, I believe, are merely formal or consequential. I do not wish it to be thought that there are a large number of vital amendments, because there are not. The majority of the amendments are matters about which there will be no controversy; but when we come to deal with the measure, I shall indicate the position which the Government will take up in regard to them.

MR. PENNELL.—The Government will support the railway men then?

MR. REID.—Which way would the honorable member for Bourke vote on that?

MR. HUMPHREY.—For them, as I did.

MR. REID.—We propose to endeavour to amend the Bill as it stands, with most of the amendments suggested by the late Administration.

MR. REID.—Including clause 48?

MR. REID.—I hope that honorable member will not ask me at this stage to deal with details.

MR. MITCHELL.—Clause 48 is a big amendment. The late Government went out on it.

MR. REID.—We are anxious to send the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill to the House as soon as possible, in order to give it some useful and important work to do with, and we must all regret that we have hitherto been unable to send important measures to that body, so that they have happily not had very much to do. I am glad that that Bill is despatched to the Senate, we shall deal with a matter of

very great importance, which has been delayed, not through any fault of Ministers, but because of the reclassification of the Public Service. As the late Treasurer knows, that work has caused an immense amount of difficulty to the Treasury in the preparation of the Estimates; but the moment that the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill has been sent to the other Chamber, we shall be in a position to introduce the Budget and the Estimates. In the ordinary course of events, the Financial Statement should have been made somewhere towards the end of July, which is the first month of the financial year; but, unfortunately, it cannot be made until probably somewhere near the end of this month. I hope that it will not be made so late as that, but, at any rate, we shall be able to make provision for the annual services of the Commonwealth directly the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill has been despatched to the Senate. A Bill for the creation of the position of High Commissioner is on the notice-paper, and I believe that the late Government proposed to deal with it during the present session. In our view, however, it is utterly impossible to establish the position of High Commissioner until the various States have been consulted, in order that an opportunity may be given to make these changes as productive of economy and co-operation as is possible. We, therefore, do not propose to proceed with that Bill until we have had an opportunity in the recess, with the assistance and co-operation of the Governments of the States, to work out some harmonious system which will be mutually beneficial, and economical. Then there is the question which is so dear to the heart, not only of my right honorable and distinguished friend, the member for Swan, but of some honorable members opposite—the survey of the proposed Transcontinental Railway. We intend to pass a Bill providing for that survey this session.

MR. CROUCH.—What about the honorable member for Gippsland?

MR. REID.—I am happy to say that the honorable member for Gippsland is perfectly agreeable to the survey being made.

MR. HUMPHREY.—The right honorable member will have a harder job with the honorable member for Moira.

MR. REID.—As I have been associated with the work of Federation from the moment it took any practical shape, I wish to say most earnestly that, although there is no written contract in the Constitution

in reference to the Transcontinental Railway, there was a state of feeling, an understanding amongst the Premiers of Australia, which would make the refusal to conduct a survey to ascertain whether the project is reasonably practical, something like a shameless breach of an undertaking. That is my deliberate opinion. I feel very strongly about this matter, because I have been a member of all the conferences of Premiers which have been held from first to last, and I have heard every word that has been spoken between the Ministers. If the House were to refuse the reasonable request for a proper survey, so as to have the proposal thoroughly tested in a practical way, it would be treating the great State of Western Australia in a manner which, I should think, was to be greatly regretted.

Mr. HIGGINS.—Was this a secret caucus of Premiers?

Mr. REID.—No, but we did not admit the honorable member to the Premiers' Conferences. That time will come by-and-by.

Mr. HIGGINS.—The right honorable member takes great objection to caucuses being secret.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—But evidently no greater objection than the honorable and learned member takes.

Mr. REID.—All our deliberations in the Conferences of Premiers were reduced to black and white, and published for the information of the people of Australia.

Mr. HIGGINS.—Where does the understanding of which the right honorable member has spoken appear?

Mr. REID.—If my honorable friends opposite would only issue a weekly gazette containing a report of their conferences in the vaults, we should all be greatly edified and instructed thereby. The late Attorney-General, I am sure, had a more painful struggle in his mind over the question of these labour caucuses than any other public man in Australia has had.

Mr. HIGGINS.—The right honorable gentleman is quite wrong.

Mr. REID.—The honorable and learned member was like a fish which was half in and half out of the water. I hope that, now that he considers our friends opposite as engaged in a holy mission, he will avail himself of the opportunity to go with them.

Mr. HIGGINS.—Who used the words "holy mission"?

Mr. REID.—I am, of course, in the hands of the newspapers. I dared not appear at a meeting which was being

addressed by my honorable and learned friend. I am speaking from the newspaper reports.

Mr. HIGGINS.—Then the right honorable member is wrong.

Mr. REID.—I accept the honorable learned member's withdrawal.

Mr. HIGGINS.—I do not withdraw statement, because I never made it; the right honorable member knows that it is so.

Mr. REID.—How could I know it? I had received the honorable and learned member's assurance? There is no matter which I think honorable member must feel to be in a most unsatisfactory state, and that is the electoral business of the Commonwealth. There is not a man in the Chamber who will say that the work of our Electoral Department is satisfactory. The Minister of Home Affairs, however using his utmost energy to bring about an improved state of affairs, but that probably need some slight amendment of the existing law.

Mr. PAGE.—They have all been trying to bring about an improved state of affairs but the result has been a worse chaos than ever before.

Mr. REID.—Well, we must try the best. I am sure that my honorable friend will give the Minister credit for being a good business man. He will do his utmost to rescue that most important department from the chaos in which it exists. Then there is the Navigation Bill. Long ago I expressed the opinion that the Bill should be referred to a Royal Commission. At the time the proposal was to refer it to a Committee; but the Government very wisely appointed a Commission instead, and we are thorough in favour of that Commission proceeding with its labours. The Minister of Home Affairs, who is a member of the Commission, will remain on it, and will give the best services to it.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—And the Minister of Trade and Customs as well?

Mr. REID.—I am afraid that it will be impossible for two Ministers to devote attention to the work of the Commission because it is a very big piece of business. The Government propose to proceed with the Papua Bill, which is now before the House, and, if possible, to deal with two measures concerning Trade and Customs one of which has been sent by the Government to us, while the other is now being considered by that body. With regard

important measure which was before the change of Government—I refer to the measure for the Seat of Government—the Government of New South Wales have lost no time in communicating the matter, and we intend to do so. I have it finally dealt with. I believe no objection will be raised to which has been made by this Government. Some people in New South Wales have spoken very strongly about the measure, as well as about other matters. I think I may say that the Government of New South Wales will fairly support the choice which has been made by the Government.

ANTER.—Are they going to ask the Parliament to consider the mat-

REID.—It is, of course, a matter on which only the State Parliament can decide. The Government of the State cannot do it without legislation. I am, however, from what I see, and what I know, that there may be a strong objection to the ceding of the land which it is proposed to take; but the Government of Home Affairs, in whose Department the matter more immediately is, will do our very best to carry out the wishes of this Parliament, both as to the land and as to the very important matter of the hon. member's learned friend for India, as to access to the sea. I am very sanguine that some satisfactory arrangement will be arrived at. I wish to speak with reference to the Bill for the Encouragement Bill which is a business-paper. That is a measure, upon which members of the Government hold different opinions. Some are in favour of the Bill, whilst others are opposed to it, and we have made it an open question in the

ABLE MEMBERS.—Oh, oh!

REID.—I am rather amused at the remarks of my honorable friends. If the question was open one in the late Cabinet, why did the Government take up the Bill without it? My honorable friends are tyros in regard to the application of the rules for the conduct of Govern-

WATSON.—We must be tyros in comparison with the right honorable gentle-

REID.—My honorable friends have been tyros if they handed over

a measure of that kind to a private individual, whilst as members of a Government they were united in their determination to support it.

Mr. WATSON.—We have not been making professions about responsible Government such as have emanated from the right honorable gentleman.

Mr. REID.—I would ask my honorable friend whether his Government decided to vote for the Bill? I have read a certain solemn statement, under the hand of a Royal Commission, signed by the late Prime Minister. There were two reports, one signed by the right honorable member for Adelaide, whose illness we all so deeply regret, and the other by the honorable member for Bland. The members of the Royal Commission upon the Manufactures Encouragement Bill were equally divided. The same number of members were on opposite sides upon the important matter which I propose to mention. The Chairman, the right honorable member for Adelaide, by his casting vote, converted his supporters into a majority. He voted in order to make the number on one side six, and his casting vote converted that six into the majority who signed the majority report, whilst the other six members of the Commission, led by the late Prime Minister, brought up a minority report.

Mr. JOHNSON.—The minority report was unanimous, whilst the majority report was not.

Mr. REID.—The late Prime Minister deliberately reported, as a Royal Commissioner, after hearing evidence on oath, that no duty and no bonus was required.

Mr. McCAY.—But for his action, the Bill would have been law now.

Mr. REID.—If the honorable member had voted with the other six, his action as the leader of the Labour Party, would have had very great significance. However, he and that other smiling genius, the honorable and learned member for West Sydney, joined other members of the Commission in presenting a minority report to the effect that no bonus was required. Now, would those honorable members, when they got into office, swallow their principles, and pass through a Bill involving a charge of £250,000 upon the people of Australia which they, as Royal Commissioners, stated should not be imposed? That would be a wonderful position for them, as Royal Commissioners, to place themselves in, and I am sure they would not be guilty of

any such thing. What was the result? The question was left an open one for the Cabinet.

Mr. HUGHES.—Has the right honorable gentleman taken office with the object of restoring responsible Government—that is the question.

Mr. REID.—Certainly. But I never knew of any rule without an occasional exception. What amuses me is that when I take a practical common-sense view of matters, honorable gentlemen want to put me upon a pedestal, even higher than that which they occupy. My weight would not stand the elevation. Since the members of the Cabinet differed honestly in opinion upon the principle of the Bill, there was one of two courses for them to take. Either some of the members of the Cabinet would have to forego their principles in order to allow the Government to adopt a Bill to which some of their number were conscientiously opposed, or Ministers could deal with the matter in the manner we are doing, which happens also to be the method followed by the most pure-minded, fearless, and independent Government that ever lived for three or four months.

Mr. ISAACS.—Will the Manufactures Encouragement Bill be made a Government measure?

Mr. REID.—No. What I wish to say on behalf of the Government is that time is too valuable to waste over any subject that is not a practical issue. If there is any prospect of a practical issue in connexion with the Bill, the Government will give honorable members every reasonable opportunity for dealing with it this session.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—Will the Government afford honorable members an opportunity to vote upon my motion this session?

Mr. REID.—Certainly. It is only fair to the honorable member for Eden-Monaro to say that his motion has been on the notice-paper for some time, and that, if the views of honorable members can be ascertained in some such short way, as by a discussion upon his motion, an opportunity for its consideration might be afforded.

Mr. MAUGER.—Why should we waste time in dealing with a motion, instead of discussing the Bill straight out?

Mr. REID.—All I can say is that, if there is any reasonable prospect of the Bill being dealt with practically and effectually,

we shall afford honorable members an opportunity to dispose of it this session. I have referred to the only matters which the Government can reasonably expect the House to deal during the short time that is left this session. Personally, I wish honorable members to understand that the Government are perfectly willing to give any amount of time, no matter how long the session be, to any matter of urgency that we have a reasonable chance of passing. This is a matter for the convenience of honorable members. There is a use to which I intend to put the recess, which I think will commend itself to the views of honorable members generally. In the first place I propose, and the Government join cordially with me, to make every possible effort to establish cordial and friendly relations between the different Governments of the Australian States and the central Government.

Mr. BAMFORD.—Is that the reason the right honorable gentleman proposes to dump Chinese into Queensland?

Mr. REID.—Surely my honorable friend will permit me without interruption to make a statement with regard to a matter of importance. If my honorable friends have any questions to ask, I assure them they shall be regularly in attendance here to deal with the daily business of the House. What I wish to do, if they will allow me, is to make this statement as briefly and concisely as I can. I regard it as a matter of the first importance—I do not for a moment suggest that other Governments should be taken up any other position, but I am speaking for the only Government which I have a right to speak for—the Commonwealth Government to establish relations of the most cordial and friendly nature with the States Governments.

Mr. PAGE.—Have the relations otherwise?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Is there any action now?

Mr. REID.—I have nothing to do with what has passed. I do not wish to refer to the statements that have been made with reference to these matters in the past. I have no business with them in that respect. If other Governments have done their best—and I do not say we have not—all I say is that I am going to imitate their good example, and to do the best with the same end in view. There are a number of Departments which have yet been taken over; but which ought to

d by the Commonwealth. It is possible to properly assume certain Departments without the fulfilment with the different States, in order that the change may be made gradually, and in a spirit of compromise. Honorable members know the number of questions are still between the States Governments of the Commonwealth. Take, for instance, the question of the transferred property matter of the utmost importance, not yet settled.

LIAM LYNE.—No; but a strong effort has been made to settle it.

D.—I am not questioning that, simply stating that the question has not yet been settled. The basis upon which the change is to be made has not yet been determined. That matter may have to be subject to legal determination. There is a question of the public debts, and the number of subjects in which the States, and of the Commonwealth, are identical, and upon which we are in agreement with the States Governments. I am in recess, in order to bring about a better understanding. Then there are a number of subjects upon which we should have uniform legislation, such as banking, copyright, and quarantine. I mention these and other matters because they do not belong to the business of the present session; but there is a number of highly-important subjects of Commonwealth legislation, which must be dealt with at the first convenient opportunity. I think I have made a perfectly candid statement of the course the Ministers intend to take with reference to public business.

LIAM LYNE.—Before the right honorable gentleman sits down, I wish to ask a question.

BAKER.—The honorable member knows that he cannot ask questions in the evening. He will have an opportunity to-morrow.

WATSON (Bland).—After the speech of the right honorable gentleman about the length of which, I am sure that we of us can complain, because the right honorable gentleman came in so brief, he was commendably brief, I think the Government might very well allow honorable members a little more consideration.

McDONALD.—What, when the leader of the Opposition has a majority of five?

Mr. WATSON.—There is nothing like being magnanimous in these matters.

Mr. McDONALD.—After the insults which the Prime Minister has cast upon members of the Opposition, he is not entitled to any consideration.

Mr. WATSON.—I would ask for an adjournment until to-morrow, in order that some consideration may be given to the statement of the Prime Minister, and I, therefore, move—

That the debate be now adjourned.

Mr. McDONALD (Kennedy).—I am rather amused at the leniency which is being shown by the leader of the Opposition. Under ordinary circumstances, no doubt, it would have been quite right for the leader of the Opposition to allow the Government another day's grace—I might, if I chose to follow the example of the Prime Minister, also add the words, "and allow them to draw another day's pay." I shall not, however, be mean enough to make any reference to such a matter. When the Prime Minister talks about our being mere puppets, I think it is time for us to proceed to extremes. I do not wish to act contrary to the wishes of the leader of the Opposition, but I feel very strongly upon this matter. I think that we, at least, have the right to expect courtesy at the hands of the right honorable gentleman. I feel very much inclined to call for a division, and to defeat the Government on the very first day that they have met this House.

Mr. STORRER (Bass).—I am rather surprised that the leader of the Opposition should move the adjournment of the debate, because the Prime Minister has said nothing new. He has told us that we have been in session for six months, and that we have done little or no business, and yet it is now proposed to waste still further time. The delay which has taken place in carrying out the work of the House has been due to the protracted speeches which have been made when short ones would have sufficed. I have endeavoured to express my views on any subject as concisely as possible. The Prime Minister, in putting the policy of the Government before the House, has not told us of anything that is new, and those who desire to discuss his declaration should at once do so, so that the stigma cast on honorable members that with us "it is all talk and no business" may be removed.

Motion agreed to; debate adjourned.

ADJOURNMENT.

Motion (by Mr. REID) put—
That the House do now adjourn.

The House divided—

Ayes	...	...	...	32
Noes	...	...	...	7
				—
Majority	...	...	...	25

AYES.

Brown, T.
Chapman, A.
Conroy, A. H. B.
Cook, J.
Deakin, A.
Edwards, G. B.
Edwards, R.
Forrest, Sir J.
Fuller, G. W.
Gibb, J.
Harper, R.
Hutchison, J.
Kelly, W. H.
Knox, W.
Lee, H. W.
Liddell, F.
Lonsdale, E.

McCay, J. W.
McLean, A.
Phillips, P.
Quick, Sir J.
Reid, G. H.
Robinson, A.
Salmon, C. C.
Skene, T.
Smith, S.
Thomson, D.
Turner, Sir G.
Willis, H.
Wilson, J. G.

Tellers:

Johnson, W. E.
Wilks, W. H.

NOES.

Bamford, F. W.
Crouch, R. A.
Page, J.
Storrer, D.

Thomson, D. A.
Tellers:
McDonald, C.
Spence, W. G.

Question so resolved in the affirmative.

House adjourned at 4.10 p.m.

Senate.

Thursday, 8 September, 1904.

The PRESIDENT took the chair at 2.30 p.m., and read prayers.

PAPERS.

MINISTERS laid upon the table the following papers:—

Additions to financial and allowance regulations for the Military Forces.

Rules of the High Court, Nos. 49 and 50, of 1904.

ARTILLERY AND WARLIKE STORES.

Senator MATHESON asked the Attorney-General, *upon notice*—

1. Has any valuation been made of the Artillery and Warlike Stores taken over by the Commonwealth from the States in 1901.

2. If so, what valuation has been made?
- (1) On the obsolete material in the forts at Sydney.
- (2) On the obsolete material being converted into other uses.

Senator Sir JOSIAH... valuation has yet been made.

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

The PRESIDENT.—
out that a debate on the Government is as a rule not business is called on. Ministers will now rearrange they have on the notice-table the first order of the head of Government business that will meet the case. acting, I think, in accordance.

SELECT COMMITTEE ON MONOPOLIES.

Motion (by Senator P...
That the Select Committee on Monopoly have leave to bring up the report to this House.

PARLIAMENTARY BILL.

Senator Lt.-Col. NE... Wales).—Do I understand marks, sir, that private bills be taken to-day, in accordance with Standing Orders?

The PRESIDENT.—
was that I believed it was the unanimous wish of the Senate to have the debate on the policy of the Government, and that therefore the members who have charge of the bill and are strictly entitled to bring it up under Standing Orders to meet the position by proposed amendments.

Senator Lt.-Col. NE... I should never dream of business standing in my way. I should not interfere with the pleasure of the majority of members. At the same time, sir, should I make a remark on the subject? The PRESIDENT.—not be strictly in order, honorable senator likes to make a statement he can proceed.

Senator Lt.-Col. NE... leader of the Senate has business with private business, so free for public business. The question met with no response.

that I cannot go on with the
ing of the Parliamentary Evi-
which I deem to be of the
highest importance.

PRESIDENT.—The honorable
not to discuss the Bill now,
to move the postponement of the
day, or allow it to stand on
paper.

Lt.-Col. NEILD.—If it is not
for me to proceed with the
ing of the Bill to-day, I move—
of the Day No. 2, private business,
to the next day on which Orders,
ess, have precedence.

resolved in the affirmative.

COMMITTEE: CASE OF SENATOR NEILD.

by Senator HIGGS) proposed—
Select Committee on the case of
I have leave to extend the time for
the report to this day four weeks.

Lt.-Col. NEILD (New South
submit, sir, that the motion can-
ved at this stage, when we are
y with the postponement of busi-
ordnance with your suggestion.

PRESIDENT.—The order of the
en called on, and the report of
Committee can be brought up.
t is not ready, a member of the
nittee can move for further time
bring it up.

HIGGS.—It ought to have been
to-day, but it is not ready.

Lt.-Col. NEILD.—I suppose,
s open to me to move an amend-

PRESIDENT.—I see no objec-

Lt.-Col. NEILD.—The amend-
re to move is—

proceedings of the Select Committee
until it is in a position to take
oath.

of the amendment, I desire to
while one Select Committee of
has been taking evidence on oath,
ect Committee has been taking
atements without any oath, or
ments without any oath.

PEARCE.—I rise to order. I
the honorable senator is reflect-
Select Committee of the Senate
that it has been taking rambling
without any oath.

Lt.-Col. NEILD.—I corrected
was only a *lapsus linguae*.

Senator PEARCE.—I also desire to ask
whether, under cover of this amendment,
the honorable senator is in order in discus-
sing the credibility of evidence given be-
fore the Select Committee.

The PRESIDENT.—Standing order
70 says that—

After the formal motions and orders have been
disposed of, and before the business of the day
is proceeded with, any senator may move, with-
out notice, that any notice of motion standing
in his name, or order of the day of which he is
in charge on the paper for that day, shall be a
notice of motion, or order of the day, for some
subsequent day. No amendment or debate shall
be allowed on any such motion, but the Senate
may proceed to division thereon as in other
cases.

In this case, the order of the day has been
called on, and a member of the Select Com-
mittee has moved that it have one month's
further time in which to bring up the report.
I do not think that any amendment to that
motion can be moved.

Senator Lt.-Col. GOULD.—May I be per-
mitted to point out to you, sir, that the mo-
tion is not simply that the order of the day
be postponed to a particular day, but that
the Select Committee have leave to bring
up its report at a later date? I submit
that the motion does not come within the
standing order, and that if the motion is
in order, the amendment must also be in
order.

The PRESIDENT.—I think that the
honorable and learned senator is right.

Senator HIGGS (Queensland).—I pro-
pose to put myself in order, by moving—

That Order of the Day, No. 4, private business,
be an Order of the Day for this day four weeks.

The PRESIDENT.—But the honorable
senator has already moved a motion, which
I have put to the Senate.

Senator HIGGS.—I ask leave to with-
draw that motion.

Senator Lt.-Col. NEILD.—May I, sir,
move the postponement of the order of the
day for one week?

Senator HIGGS.—The honorable senator
knows that his further evidence will take at
least seven days.

Senator Lt.-Col. NEILD.—If it is in order
I shall move—

That Order of the Day, No. 4, private business,
be an Order of the Day for this day week.

Senator PEARCE.—I submit, sir, that you
cannot accept that amendment from the
honorable senator, as he is a witness before,
and not a member of the Select Committee

The PRESIDENT.—A motion has been moved, and the mover now asks leave to withdraw it. The question is that Senator Higgs have leave to withdraw his motion.

HONORABLE SENATORS.—Hear, hear.

Motion, by leave, withdrawn.

Senator HIGGS (Queensland). — I move—

That Order of the Day, No. 4, private business, be an Order of the Day for the first Thursday on which Orders, private business, have precedence.

We can bring up the report in a week if it is ready.

Senator MILLEN (New South Wales).—I would suggest to Senator Higgs that it would be more in keeping with the course that has been pursued this afternoon if he were to move the postponement of this order of the day until the next sitting day, on which such business will take precedence. That would prevent debatable questions from being raised now, and would enable the Senate to get on with other business.

The PRESIDENT.—I shall put the motion as moved by Senator Higgs.

Question put. The Senate divided.

Ayes	20
Noes	6

Majority	14
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AYES.

Baker, Sir R. C.
Dawson, A.
de Largie, H.
Dobson, H.
Drake, J. G.
Findley, E.
Guthrie, R. S.
Henderson, G.
Higgs, W. G.
Keating, J. H.
Macfarlane, J.

Matheson, A. P.
McGregor, G.
O'Keefe, D. J.
Pearce, G. F.
Smith, M. S. C.
Styles, J.
Symon, Sir J. H.
Turley, H.

Teller:

Givens, T.

NOES.

Gray, J. P.
Millen, E. D.
Neild, J. C.
Pulsford, E.

Walker, J. T.

Teller:

Gould, A. J.

Question so resolved in the affirmative.

MINISTERIAL STATEMENT.

Debate resumed from 7th September (*vide* page 4335) on motion by Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON—

That the despatch from the Secretary of State for the Colonies, with regard to the adoption of the metric system of weights and measures, within the Empire, be printed.

Senator MCGREGOR (South Australia). —Yesterday afternoon, when I asked for an adjournment of the debate inaugurated

by Senator Symon, I had no intention of putting any member of the Senate to inconvenience. But I recognised that if there was any proceeding that would call the attention of the Australian people to the nouncement of the Government, it was the adjournment of the debate. The motion was foreshadowed by the Attorney-General, who possessed no feature to make it different from the policy of the preceding Government. When we consider it from another point of view, I ask honorable senators what necessity there was for all the trouble and delay that have been caused by the transition from one Government to another? I cannot imagine a reason for it, but the present Government have adopted the very policy which the leader of the late Government characterized at Warragul. He was leader of the Opposition, as a "leading policy." I want to know whether the Attorney-General concurs in that state of his present, half-leader? I call him so because we must all recognise that the gentleman who now occupies the position of—well, I cannot find a term for it. When we speak of sacred things, we are familiar with the term "Trinity." But what does it represent the present condition of the Government in Australia? Should it be described as a "duality"? I am not certain. We may take it to be a sort of Government, just as we speak of screws. We must regard the leaders of the present Government as a pair. One of the pair declared at Warragul that the policy of the late Government was a leading policy. But as soon as he had an opportunity to make a Ministerial statement to the people of Australia, he came forward with the very same policy. Yet it is not exactly the same. The Government have knocked off two or three legs, so that the policy cannot "crawl" any longer. We are also to witness a disturbance of the conditions which have existed in the Senate since its very commencement. Everybody in Australia knows, or imagines that he knows, that when the position of the President of the Executive Council was created, there was a particular intention in view. That was to give a position to a member of the first Federal Ministry, who would be in harmony with the ability and the earnestness of that gentleman. What do we find to-day, in relation to the Vice-Presidency of the Executive Council? If, formerly, I got up to ask a question without notice, I put it to the Vice-President of the Executive Council, and

of instances, he would probably give notice. But to-day and every honorable senator who got to hesitate. They did not know. They did not know whether to address the Vice-President of the Executive Council or the Attorney-General. They could not address the leader of the Government, because we do not know who

Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—I think

McGREGOR.—Why did they

Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—They did. They are doing very well.

McGREGOR.—Then, I must say my perception seems to be getting better. Because I am of opinion that honorable senators did hesitate when they got to the position in the Senate acknowledged as being the ability and the perseverance of the present Attorney-General, when he was asked to conduct. Some of us have been at cross purposes with him. But I could hardly keep from saying yesterday on account of the very manner in which he referred to me. No doubt my temper may have been when I went to the chamber, with respect to the fact that he had turned out of office the Government of which I was a member, in a number of moments I felt myself to be all right.

The manner of the Attorney-General is so unlike—I cannot say what I am accustomed to from him, being an honorable and learned senator was while I was in office. Of course, I know how he would have talked if he had been present, as he was in connexion with the discussions of the day. We know how he could fire his eyes would flash, and how the words would rattle as he railed against some of almost every one but himself. The days. But, it appears, we are a family now! I hope it may be due to be so. But I am a little in the position which I occupied yesterday. I do not like to see the office of the Vice-President of the Executive Council, or the leadership of a legislative body like that in the mud, as it were. Consequently, I may be excused if I feel a little

PULSFORD.—It is very sad!

McGREGOR.—It is very sad. I hope that Senator Pulsford would not have been tonight's illness if his mind were

agitated in the same manner as mine has been in respect to that position, and the way in which it has been treated. But then we could not expect—at least I could not—that such a high and mighty gentleman as the present Attorney-General would subordinate himself to any individual in this Senate, who might be appointed Vice-President of the Executive Council. I could not imagine it. Then the difficulty arose—how could the leader of the Government get some one who would occupy the position of Vice-President, when, as the Right Honorable George Reid would say, it was divested of every feather? Where was he to find a senator who would sit meekly in his place, holding a title without any of the attributes that ought to belong to it? I could hardly believe that there was a single member of the Senate who would take the position under such conditions. But what do we find? I hope there is no honorable senator who will think that I would speak of any individual present with feelings of—I was going to say anger, but why should I be angry? But when we speak from a political point of view there are many things that we may say that ought not to disturb our personal friendships. I intend to say those things to-day, and I hope to be excused for saying them.

Senator DAWSON.—Why ask to be excused?

Senator McGREGOR.—Well, I am not particular whether I am or am not excused.

Senator DOBSON.—Why not leave personalities, and come to policy?

Senator McGREGOR.—I shall come to the policy of the Government, when I can find it. I have been fishing round for the policy of the Government, but I have not found it yet. Senator Dobson, when he is addressing ladies' meetings, has to fish round a long time to find out what public opinion is. The honorable senator introduced a Divorce Bill, but found that public opinion was against him, and changed his tune; and he ought to excuse me if I fish round for a little while in an endeavour to find the policy of the Government.

Senator DOBSON.—Come to the question.

Senator McGREGOR.—I hope the honorable and learned member will not hurry me. I am in an extremely good humour this afternoon, and I hope the honorable and learned senator will not destroy my peace of mind by making any of those silly interjections for which he is famous.

I was referring to the position which members of the present Ministry, as contrasted with members of other Ministries, occupy in this chamber. Is there a single individual senator who would stand up to-day, and say that, under present circumstances, he would fill the position of Vice-President of the Executive Council? But the dear, docile Drake ducks so that the Symon swan may swim serenely and supreme on the sea of office. That is something like the way in which John Norton would put the position; indeed, I do not know that John Norton could put it better, and, at any rate, that is how I feel. Are we to imagine that the present Attorney-General could do any other than he has done? The honorable and learned senator is a patriot who is prepared to sacrifice himself on the altar of his country's good. When there was nothing to be done—when there was only a paltry allowance attached—the honorable and learned senator did not trouble much about his country's good. We must always bear the facts in mind, and I want the people and honorable senators to know those facts, so that they may never allow themselves to be put in the same awkward position. A month's leave of absence was asked for on the ground of urgent private business, and a telegram was sent, stating that a position required to be filled. Then this great patriot jumped at the position, as they say in Scotland, like a cock at a grosset. But can honorable senators see where the patriotism comes in? The position of Vice-President of the Executive Council—the position of leader of the Senate—could only be an honorary position, and, of course, that means a great deal to a gentleman who is so patriotic that he would only attend about eight or nine days out of thirty, until such time as the position was open for him in the Government. That is the real position of affairs. The Attorney-Generalship was offered and accepted, and then the position of Vice-President of the Executive Council had to be filled; and here arose the difficulty. The latter is an honorary position, and Senator Drake was the only man who could be got to fill it—the only man who was prepared to sink his own individuality and duck under so that he could be superseded in a double sense by the Attorney-General of the present day. Look at the difference between the leader of the Senate and the leader in another place. The Right Honorable George Reid has figured in the politics of Australia as prominently as any

Senator McGregor.

man in this country could have done, but he is prepared to sink his individuality and become half free-trader and half protectionist, and occupy a position which declares he shares as equal in all this with a friend of his. I am only endeavouring to point out the true position of the Government occupy in the Senate at the present time. What position of Senator Drake occupy? What does he do? No one ever asks him a question, and he ought to be ashamed of his existence here. I am sure that when he goes back to the people of Queensland, they ask him why he dragged the reputation of his State in the mire, he will have no answer to give, except—"Well, I was afraid you would not elect me at that time, and I thought I would do the best I could for myself at the present time. Nothing of that kind could ever be done by a single individual belonging to the Labour Party, which is so contemptuously spoken of. Not a single word of that description could be uttered with respect to a member of any of the preceding Governments. I ask honorable senators whether they can have the same faith in the administration of the business of the country when it is in the hands of those who, in one instance, are prepared to sacrifice their individuality, and, in another instance, are compelled by their over-weening vanity to grab both positions in the Senate, leaving a poor fellow-member in the mean and degraded position which the Vice-President of the Executive Council occupies to-day.

Senator PULSFORD.—What humbug!

Senator MCGREGOR.—I dare say Senator Pulsford might have filled the position, but he is a free-trader, and, of course, could not be offered to him. Besides, the honorable senator represents New South Wales, and there were too many representatives of New South Wales in the Ministry already. The result was that he did not get a chance.

Senator HIGGS.—Senator Pulsford might be very unhappy, in view of fiscal peace.

Senator MCGREGOR.—That may be, but I shall deal with that matter by-and-by. This is a "sinking" Government, that is all I do not know when it is going to sink.

Senator Lt.-Col. GOULD.—It is a sinking Government.

Senator MCGREGOR.—The Government have sunk the fiscal question, and also the electoral boundaries question, in connection with which the half-leader made a fool

elf by going to the country, though to not hear a word of that matter to-

The present Government will sink ing—they launch their catamaran, and their sails flying in the breeze will anything.

nator HIGGS.—They will sink themselves some day.

nator MCGREGOR.—That is a con- cency which will arise, and so far as the perity of Australia is concerned, the er the better. At present, however, we discussing the policy which the Govern- have put forward, though we have a ect right to discuss the position in which find ourselves. We have to ask why present position has arisen. I am go- this afternoon to say distinctly that the object which the members of the pre- Government could have had in bringing it a change was to displace the Labour y—this socialistic party—or it was for purpose merely of getting into office. heir object was to displace the Labour ty—the socialistic party—they have been king a long while to do it; but they t bear in mind that they are a long way, t the present, from shifting the social- : party.

enator MILLEN.—Then the honorable ator admits that his party is the social- : party?

enator MCGREGOR.—Did I ever deny

I am going to tell the honorable sena- how much of a Socialist I am; and I not think that he will follow the ex- ple of his leader in another place, and liberately make a statement over and r again when he has been repeatedly ormed as to its falsity.

Senator HIGGS.—Senator Millen was ce a delegate to a Labour Party's con- ss.

Senator MCGREGOR.—It is for that son that I say the honorable senator will t repeat a statement when he is informed t it is false. I want to compare the licy of this socialistic party with the licy of that heterogeneous conglomeration : find in another place.

Senator MILLEN.—The Isaacs-Watson- m-Lyne conglomeration.

Senator MCGREGOR.—The free-trade liberals, the free-trade Conservatives, and otectonist Conservatives are all jumbled gether; and a fine lot they will be by- d-by when they begin to quarrel over the nes.

Senator WALKER.—What about the so- alistic Tory party we see there.

Senator MCGREGOR.—The honorable senator would not hurt any party very much by his presence, and consequently we can be merciful with him. I desire to enlighten members, because some seem to require a great deal of enlightenment as to the so- cialistic proclivities of the Labour Party. We have it continually thrown in our face:—"You have your labour journals all over Australia launching forth anarchy and Socialism; you have your paid leaders and advocates going all over the country telling people what you believe in, and you are bound to take the statements they make as statements of your views." We are, and always have been, prepared to take those statements when they correctly describe our views, but we are not going to take the biased versions of those state- ments which very often appear in a pre- judiced press. I want to-day to show the policy of the Labour Party and contrast it—

Senator DAWSON.—Do not do that or the other side will steal it.

Senator MCGREGOR.—Well, they are welcome to the policy, because it will be good for them.

Senator PULSFORD.—The honorable senator has said that the other side has al- ready stolen the Labour Party's policy.

Senator MCGREGOR.—And if the other side party sit on that policy long enough, they may hatch something good. The other side have never had a policy of their own. I defy any one to find out any policy on their part, except that of being against any- thing of a progressive character.

Senator MILLEN.—What particular plat- form are you giving us?

Senator MCGREGOR.—I am giving you the Labour Party's platform. The plat- form and the policy of this new alliance have been published in the newspapers.

Senator MILLEN.—The honorable senator told us not to accept newspaper reports.

Senator MCGREGOR.—But when the newspapers publish an official statement you may take it as correct, but if it is inter- mingled with the opinions of a prejudiced newspaper you do not know what you are getting. It may be Epsom salts with vinegar.

Senator CLEMONS.—Have you an official paper whose statements we can accept?

Senator DAWSON.—Read the *Queensland Worker*.

Senator MCGREGOR.—I am giving you the labour platform now. My statements are correct, but if I make a mistake an-

honorable senator is at liberty to contradict me. I am not so high and mighty that I would not brook reproof. The first plank of our platform is the maintenance of a White Australia. Is there one honorable senator who objects to it? Only a few months ago certain of the members of the present Government were travelling about Australia howling over the *Petriana* myth, the Stelling case, the six hatters incident, and other matters of that kind, but not a word is now uttered as to the repeal of the provisions on the statute-book.

Senator DE LARGIE.—Senator Pulsford has a motion on the notice-paper.

Senator MCGREGOR.—Yes; but he is not the Government, and he will be gagged, as will also many members of the House of Representatives.

Senator PULSFORD.—No, he will not.

Senator MCGREGOR.—It would be better for Senator Pulsford if he did not say much now, for he does not know what will happen. The honorable senator may be hobbled or gagged by those with whom he is now associated. They have done that sort of thing before, and they will do it again. The Government have accepted the White Australia policy, in spite of all the opposition they offered to it in the past. At any rate, in their statement of policy, there is not a word about the repeal of any of the White Australia provisions. They are going to sit down and touch nothing. The probability is that they will carry out the policy in the way indicated by the Prime Minister when he declared that it did not matter what legislation was passed in regard to immigration restriction, or anything else of that kind, so long as he had the administration of it. They may work in underground tunnels, out of sight, and nothing may be made public. They may sit down, and, by their inaction, try to defeat the White Australia policy. If that is their intention the sooner we know it the better.

Senator DE LARGIE.—That is in accord with the "crawling" policy.

Senator MCGREGOR.—Yes; the White Australia policy will be crawled over, if they ever get a chance. That is the first item in the labour platform. Is there anything so socialistic in it that any one can object to? Is it objected to by any honorable senator, with the exception of Senators Pulsford and Gray, who, in this connexion, are not to be considered.

Senator GRAY.—Give us a trial.

Senator MCGREGOR.—The honorable senator has been tried. All he wants is convicting. The next item in the Labour platform is compulsory conciliation and arbitration, and we have the Government declaring that they are going to take up Conciliation and Arbitration Bill, even preference to unionists in it. What Senator Fraser say to that?

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—Is the honorable senator content with the Bill as it stands?

Senator MCGREGOR.—No. The honorable senator will find that out when the Bill comes here. We are not going to be frightened by the statements of the Government that if we try to remodel the Bill we find ourselves in a difficult position—we may get no Bill at all. We would rather have no Bill at all than have a mangled out of shape by those that are opposed to it. What is the use of the Government or any honorable senator talking to me this way? We have had to face many difficulties in our time, and have won in the long run. We may have to wait six months or two years—it will be all the same to members of the "socialistic" party, as they are called—but in the end we will get a better Bill than the present Government prepared to give us. But what I was going to say was that they have accepted the Bill as it stands. They have accepted it in the provision relating to the railway servants and other provisions in it that they have declared themselves opposed to.

Senator PULSFORD.—But with a deal knocked out of it.

Senator MCGREGOR.—The honorable senator was opposed to it in every shape and form, as were also other honorable senators on the opposite side.

Senator WALKER.—I shall vote against making it compulsory.

Senator MCGREGOR.—The very thing that these gentlemen are now prepared to accept it as it stands, is the clearest proof that any intelligent man or woman, that it is not less, so far as the objects it is intended to effect are concerned. They know that, and that is why they are prepared to accept it, even with the clause providing for preference to unionists. These are the items of so-called socialistic legislation that the Government have agreed to. They will swallow more; and they are capable of more than they will be able to swallow. However, I am being led off the track. The next item in the labour platform is old pensions. Is that socialistic?

Wales has an Old-age Pensions Act, and so has Victoria. I know of instances in which the administration of the Pensions Act has been a disgrace. Respectable men and women, who have lived industrious, honest, and decent lives, have been deprived of the benefits of the Act because they have had, perhaps, a worthless son or daughter roaming over some portion of Western Australia, or South Australia. Respectable men and women who have established a claim to pensions by what they have done in the past in the development of the resources of this country—who are aged and unable to work—have had them withheld, whilst persons who have been prepared to crawl and creep and to resort to the practices referred to by Mr. G. H. Reid at Warragul, have been able to get pensions. I say the old-age pension instituted by the Commonwealth should be one that every man and woman who has earned it should be able to claim as a right, and not as a dole or a bone thrown to a dog. The only qualification should be old age and residence in Australia. There is nothing socialistic in that, and I hope honorable senators will be prepared to assist in carrying the measure when it comes before the House. How many are against it I would not know. Very few; but these few are going to do all they possibly can to defeat it. The object of this "socialistic" programme is the nationalization of monopolies. We have carried resolutions in this Senate affirming the principle.

Senator DE LARCIE.—Two in one afternoon.

Senator MCGREGOR.—We have no intention of interfering with the industries that are being carried on by individuals. We have no intention of laying violent hands on the farmers. Even that has been suggested by the other side. They find fault with the Labour Party, and would bind them down to everything said by Mr. Tom Mann. On the same principle, we should have to judge them by the statements of Walpole, Bewickright, and Hogarth.

Senator MILLEN.—Do you repudiate Tom Mann's doctrines?

Senator MCGREGOR.—Certainly not. He is right in a good many things, but he has had very little fair play. Our friends opposite are all afraid of Tom Mann. It is due to the work of Tom Mann that the Labour Party have an increased representation in the Victorian Parliament to-day. A few men like him are needed, and we have

them. We are seeing the results of their efforts, not only in Victoria, but also in South Australia, Queensland, and Western Australia. They do their work in daylight, and tell the people the truth. There is no "crawling policy" about their methods. Now, with respect to the nationalization of monopolies, if any business has become a monopoly to the detriment of the rest of the people of the Commonwealth, then it should be crushed, and the only way to crush it is to nationalize it. That is a statement which every patriot will, I think, accept. What we contend for has been done in other countries, and it will be done again.

Senator MILLEN.—Where is the iron industry nationalized?

Senator MCGREGOR.—The iron industry, like the Reid-McLean-Turner-Thomson-Symon-Drake Government policy, is not in existence yet.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—Why has the honorable senator omitted the Minister of Defence? He has named all the rest. Why does he omit him?

Senator MCGREGOR.—I do not like to include every one at all times; but so far as the iron industry is concerned, every one knows its possibilities. It is not yet a monopoly, because the manufacture of iron from the ore is not an established industry. But we know what has happened elsewhere, and we should take precautions to prevent the same thing occurring here. I want to refer now to the statements made by the Prime Minister and others who go about the city declaiming against Socialism. They take their big dogs and tigers with them at all times. The Labour Party has never had an idea of dragging things down to that uniform level. Its members recognise that in the carrying on of a monopoly of that description the Deputy Postmaster-General is just as necessary as the boy who delivers the telegrams. We all know that the Deputy Postmaster-General receives higher remuneration than a telegraph boy or a postmaster. And we all recognise that the Deputy Postmaster-General is entitled to higher remuneration, not only by reason of the position which he occupies, but also by reason of the ability which he displays. What the Labour Party desire is not to drag the position of the Deputy Postmaster-General down to that of the postmaster, but to make it possible that a telegraph boy shall have an equal opportunity with every other telegraph boy of rising to the position of Deputy Postmaster-General. And as it

is in that Department, so we wish it to be in the case of every other monopoly which may be taken over by the State. I have heard Senator Walker say in his place that our policy is to bring everything down to one dead level, and I have heard others express the same idea.

Senator GUTHRIE.—He knows different.

Senator MCGREGOR.—The honorable senator has been told different, and he ought to believe the statements of those who are advocating the policy of the Labour Party, and who, of course, know more about it than he does. We are also told by the Prime Minister that we are the puppets of somebody outside, that we have no independence, that we are bound by the decision of a caucus which sits in a cellar, or some place of that description. I wish to disabuse the mind of any man or woman in Australia of any such idea as that. The members of the Labour Party are the most independent persons in the Commonwealth. It is really those who are under the domination of the individualists who are not independent. Does any honorable senator think that there is a labour man who would sit at the table and occupy the position which Senator Drake fills?

Senator MILLEN.—The honorable senator did.

Senator MCGREGOR.—Yes, but I occupied the position honorably.

Senator CLEMONS.—Honorably?

Senator MCGREGOR.—I occupied the position as leader of the Senate.

Senator CLEMONS.—Why, the honorable senator is the man who was offering his party for sale in this chamber.

Senator MCGREGOR.—I intend to deal with that fiction.

Senator CLEMONS.—I heard the honorable senator say that he was for sale.

Senator MCGREGOR.—No.

Senator WALKER.—The honorable and learned senator heard Senator McGregor say that the Labour Party were for sale.

Senator MCGREGOR.—I shall tell Senator Clemons what I said, and he has only to look in *Hansard* to find my statement. I did not correct the report of my speech, like some honorable senators who cut out what they did say.

Senator CLEMONS.—Then the honorable senator is not for sale?

Senator MCGREGOR.—I shall repeat exactly what I did say. But with respect to this caucus-bound party and this machine which is going to ruin the country,

the only grievance which honorable senators have is that they cannot get a machine of ours.

Senator MILLEN.—The Labour Party is a machine then?

Senator MCGREGOR.—Honorable senators on the other side cannot get a party. What are they doing at the present time? Poor unfortunate Mr. Deakin is like a rag, he is so miserable on account of contemptible action which he took quite recently.

Senator DOBSON.—The honorable act

Senator MCGREGOR.—Why. Deakin is the most miserable individual in Australia.

Senator DRAKE.—The honorable senator did not say that at the last elections.

Senator MCGREGOR.—I did not say that.

Senator DRAKE.—No; because many of the honorable senator's friends came to Parliament on his back.

Senator MCGREGOR.—I am sure I never got into Parliament on the back of Mr. Deakin, or anybody else.

Senator DRAKE.—The honorable senator did not get into Parliament on his back at the last elections, but a great many of his friends did.

Senator MCGREGOR.—Not a single one of them did.

Senator O'KEEFE.—What about the friends of Mr. Deakin and Senator Drake? They got into Parliament through not being opposed by labour men.

Senator MCGREGOR.—I do not think that in the future many candidates will get into Parliament on his back.

Senator DRAKE.—The labour candidates will not get a chance.

Senator MCGREGOR.—I do not think they will. Mr. Deakin never did anything for the Labour Party, but they did a great deal for him. They kept him in a deal along with the honorable and learned senator.

Senator DRAKE.—We did too much for them.

Senator MCGREGOR.—The Labour Party kept Mr. Deakin in office along with Senator Drake for nearly three years. There was no talk at that time about Chinese politics, or caucus rule, or anything of that kind. No; we were fine fellows so long as they followed their lead. We thought in Mr. Deakin we were following a man who was going for the principles we were advocating. But when we find that he has

notized, or deluded, or turned in some from the correct path, we can only advise him. And I despise the man who another House said that Mr. Higgins the only member of the late Government for whom he could express any respect.

Deakin made that remark, and then apologized to some of the other members. He has a right to apologize to me, because I never asked him for anything; I never asked him for anything, nor do I intend to do so. It was he who put up to Ballarat, and like Senator Clemons, declared that I said that the Labour Party was for sale, although he had been repeatedly told how that remark was to be made. How was it made? From my place here, I characterized the leader of the Government, the leader of the Opposition, who, at that time was, I think, Senator Gould—Senator Ewing, Senator Neild, and others, were present, and they were all leaders—persons round whom no planets revolved. I distinctly remember using those words. It was in that sense that I declared that the Labour Party was up for sale to the highest bidder. I spoke in a jocular sense, as those honorable senators knew. They have known all along that the Labour Party was never up for sale on any dishonorable sense.

Senator CLEMONS.—What, that you had never been sold dishonorably?

Senator MCGREGOR.—I cannot be sold dishonorably. I wish to give honorable senators a correct idea of this machine to see if they can copy it, as they are trying to get all the farmers' associations, property-owners' associations, and ladies' national associations to unite, and present a solid front to the socialistic party. Is it not that what they are trying to do? They are trying to create a machine which will knock out our machine, and their only regret is that they cannot do it. That is exactly the position.

Senator MILLEN.—The honorable senator admits that the machine of the Labour Party is different from ours.

Senator MCGREGOR.—I am going to tell the honorable senator what our machine is.

Senator HENDERSON.—It is better than his.

Senator MCGREGOR.—Yes, it is a more perfect machine. It possesses the latest improvements.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—It is more rigid.

Senator HENDERSON.—It is the one on which Senator Millen tried to get into public life.

Senator MILLEN.—That is absolutely false.

The PRESIDENT.—Order. I must ask honorable senators not to hold conversations across the chamber.

Senator DE LARGIE.—I rise to order. Senator Millen has just stated that an observation made from this side of the Senate is absolutely false.

Senator MILLEN.—And I repeat it.

The PRESIDENT.—That observation ought not to have been made. No observation ought to be made except by the speaker.

Senator DE LARGIE.—It was made in reply to a statement by Senator Henderson.

The PRESIDENT.—Senator Henderson had no right to make the statement.

Senator HENDERSON.—I made no statement.

The PRESIDENT.—Senator McGregor is in possession of the Chair, and no one else has a right to say anything.

Senator DE LARGIE.—Do I understand you, sir, to say that an interjection of that kind—that a statement is utterly false—is in order?

The PRESIDENT.—No. What I say is that if honorable senators make interjections when somebody else is speaking they must take the consequences of their action. They are out of order in making such interjections. Senator Henderson had no right to interject, nor had Senator Millen any right to answer the interjection. I must ask honorable senators to allow the speaker to address the Chair, not to interject, and especially not to hold conversations as they are doing across the chamber.

Senator MCGREGOR.—I propose to indicate to honorable senators who are envious of the Labour Party's machine how they can avail themselves of it, and make use of it, if they only care to turn from their evil ways in a political sense, and get into the straight path, and abide by the principles by which every honest politician ought to abide. Any honorable senator can become a member of a trade union if he works at any calling, and then no one will call him a non-unionist, or a black-leg, or any name of that kind. He can then join a democratic association affiliated with the

Labour Party, or any district committee connected with the Labour Party, by paying a shilling per week and get his ticket. That will give him the privilege of having a say in the formulation of the platform. The policy is not formulated by a Mr. Reid or a Mr. Deakin, and then presented to be swallowed by the people, but the people through their representatives agree to their policy. Every member of the Labour Party has, therefore, a say in the formulation of the labour platform. He has also as a member of the Labour Party, a right to be nominated as a candidate. If he accepts the nomination, and goes to the plebiscite, he has to sign a pledge. I am going to tell honorable senators what that pledge means, and ask if none of them has signed a similar pledge. Every candidate is asked to sign a pledge that he will abide by the platform of the Labour Party which he assisted to formulate, and to which he agreed, and if he is not chosen by his fellow labourites to run as a candidate at the election, he is not to contest a district which is contested by an accredited labour man. Is there anything dishonorable in signing that pledge? Has no honorable senator on the other side ever been asked to sign a pledge of that description? Has Senator Pulsford never received a circular from a blue ribbon association, and signed it, and returned it? Is there anything dishonorable in doing that? If the Free-trade Association ever sent a circular to any honorable senators, and asked them to sign it, and they did, was there anything dishonorable in that? No; but the dishonour would lie in their departing from the pledge afterwards. That is exactly the position which every member of the Labour Party occupies. Again, it is said, "Oh, but you have this obnoxious caucus. You are ruled by the caucus. You cannot do anything which the caucus does not indicate to you. If a majority of the caucus say that you are to go into the House and vote in a certain direction, you are bound to do it, whether you like it or not."

Senator GRAY.—Hear, hear.

Senator MCGREGOR.—I wish to tell the honorable senator that that is not correct.

Senator GRAY.—I am very glad to hear it.

Senator MCGREGOR.—I have already enumerated four of the planks of the Labour Party's platform, and there are only three others left for me to deal with.

Outside of those seven planks, no labour man is bound to anything in the caucus.

Senator GIVENS.—There is no caucus that can bind him.

Senator MCGREGOR.—No. Is it not right that the members of the Labour Party should be bound by the seven planks which they circulated by the thousand among the people at the elections, and for which they made themselves responsible? And that is all that the caucus can bind them to. Senator Pearce, Senator Henderson, or any other member of our party, can tell the Senate that when any question outside the party's programme is brought up for discussion in caucus, if any member objects to that discussion, he can stop it. If, for purposes of enlightening each other, the discussion is carried on, and if it is thought necessary to go to a vote, no such vote will bind any member of the party in the caucus on that question. Is it surprising to honorable senators opposite to hear that statement? Yet, it is the absolute truth. No member of the party is bound with respect to any question outside the platform of the party, and no member is asked to bind himself on any such question. I believe, however, that in New South Wales it has been the custom in the past, where the fate of a Government was involved, for a caucus decision to be binding on the whole of the party.

Senator GRAY.—And with respect to other questions.

Senator MCGREGOR.—No; only with respect to their platform. Outside the platform, I repeat, the only question on which a decision of the majority was binding, was a question affecting the fate of a Government.

Senator MILLEN.—Is not the honorable senator slightly incorrect? Was it not within the power of a parliamentary leader of the Labour Party to call a caucus at any time he chose, in order to consider the attitude of the party?

Senator MCGREGOR.—No.

Senator MILLEN.—I think the honorable senator is incorrect.

Senator MCGREGOR.—That may have been the case in the New South Wales Labour Party, but, such a rule does not exist in connexion with the Federal Labour Party. I am stating things as they really are. Those members of Parliament who go into the country—whether they be Senator Dobson, or Mr. George Reid, or Mr. Alfred Deakin—and say anything to the

contrary, are misrepresenting the Labour Party; and when they are told what I have told them, and continue to make those statements, they are knowingly misrepresenting the Labour Party. My testimony can be borne out by every member of our party who is present. I have shown that none of the calamities predicted by Senator Walker or Senator Dobson, with respect to bringing down society to a dead-level of mediocrity, are well-founded. That term is often used with respect to the policy of the Labour Party. If one looks at both sides in either House of the Federal Parliament, or any other Australian Parliament, and considers where the mediocrity is to be found, he will be satisfied that the policy of the Labour Party has not a tendency in that direction. The next plank in the platform of the Labour Party that is condemned as being so socialistic that no body can follow it, and with respect to which some persons are trying to frighten the country, is that of a Citizen Defence Force. But to that policy we in the Senate have all agreed. I am not going to argue it. The present Government agreed to it, and consequently they are in just the same boat as we are. The next plank is the prevention of borrowing. Is there any one who is prepared to encourage the policy of borrowing? Senator Drake, who was a member of the first Federal Government, and Mr. Deakin, went up to Ballarat, and tried to make the people there believe that the Deakin and Barton Governments were opposed to borrowing. They made that statement deliberately. But is it not a well-known fact that a Bill was introduced by the Barton Government for the purpose of borrowing £500,000, and was it not in consequence of the action of the Labour Party and other Liberal members that that was prevented? The prevention of borrowing, therefore, is also a plank of the platform of the Labour Party that is approved by both Houses of Parliament, and which is recognised as right by nearly every man and woman in Australia. The next plank is navigation and shipping. The present Government have accepted the Royal Commission that was appointed by the late Government to inquire into that subject. That is the policy of the Labour Party from beginning to end.

Senator Lt.-Col. GOULD.—In New South Wales they were the party which ran the country into debt.

Senator MCGREGOR.—Good gracious! I am explaining the policy of the Federal

Labour Party. That is my whole intention. I ask the Senate and the country whether there is anything unduly socialistic in that policy? Is there anything in it that would not be agreed to by a majority of honorable senators, and by a majority of representatives in another place? If that be so, what is all the noise about? Why is it necessary to bring in another Government? I have now explained the whole policy of the Labour Party, and have offered several criticisms of my own, which have arisen out of interjections. I will now proceed to deal with some of the anomalies in the policy of the present Government, which has adopted, or pillaged, or acquired—whichever term may be used—the policy of the late Government.

Senator DAWSON.—“Commandeered” is the term.

Senator MCGREGOR.—That, no doubt, is what Senator Walker would call it. I shall deal with one or two items to show the anomalous position which some of the members of the Government occupy. In the Senate yesterday the Attorney-General referred, in that sinking manner which he adopted—because he was sinking everything yesterday; I hope he will rouse himself; he does more credit to himself when he is fighting than when he is whining—to the question of preferential trade. Much has been said lately with regard to preferential trade. We have heard Senator Symon express patriotic sentiments with respect to the old country. But, in the name of heaven, what preference can he or Mr. George Reid give to the old country if they remain consistent to the programme and platform which they have advocated for years past? For twenty years or more Senator Symon has declared that every country should be placed on the same footing with respect to our trade, and that the productions of every country should be admitted free.

Senator WALKER.—Hear, hear.

Senator MCGREGOR.—Then what right have honorable senators opposite to talk of preferential trade?

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—Is that the fiscal policy of the honorable senator's party?

Senator MCGREGOR.—What is the fiscal policy of the present Government?

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—What is fiscal policy of the alliance?

Senator GIVENS.—Their policy is to “chuck” the Reid Government out.

Senator MCGREGOR.—The fiscal policy of the alliance—

Senator CLEMONS.—Is fiscal humbug.

Senator MCGREGOR.—Will be made public as soon as there is any necessity for it.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—It is public.

Senator MCGREGOR.—Oh, no.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—Does the honorable senator repudiate this agreement?

Senator MCGREGOR.—I am not discussing the agreement.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—He is rather ashamed of it now.

Senator MCGREGOR.—No; we have no reason to be ashamed of it. But honorable senators opposite are afraid of it. The supporters of the Government looked rather sheepish yesterday when they learnt that the agreement had been arrived at. Some of them, I hear, nearly had convulsions.

Senator WALKER.—Of laughter!

Senator MCGREGOR.—The question of preferential trade, in the mouth of Senator Symon or Senator Pulsford, or the Right Honorable George Reid, is mockery. They cannot give any preference to anybody, unless they are going to be submerged or merged, or swallowed by McLean-Turner, and Co., or unless they are going to swallow their own principles and adopt some differential or preferential system of dealing with imports from the old country, and other countries. Mr. Reid, Senator Symon, and their free-trade supporters, can offer to Great Britain nothing but their loyalty, and that is not worth very much. It has never been worth much to Great Britain. But when the time comes, and there is a necessity for it, I have no doubt that the Labour Party will prove, as it has always proved in the past, and always will prove, that it can give expression not only to loyal sentiments, but to loyal performances as far as the old country is concerned.

Senator WALKER.—Who were the pro-Boer party?

Senator GIVENS.—Who were the pro-Chow party?

Senator MCGREGOR.—We do not intend to be misled as honorable senators opposite were when they agreed to help the Jews in South Africa, and sacrificed the blood and the wealth of the people of Australia to put money into the pockets of the Rand Lords at the expense of this country.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—Do not go back to that subject.

Senator MCGREGOR.—Perhaps the honorable and learned senator does not like to hear it?

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—The honorable senator should talk about Manchuria or something recent.

Senator MCGREGOR.—If the leader of the Senate would endeavour to induce his "submerged tenth" to control themselves, and not to make interjections which take me off the track, I should not refer to such questions as the South African scandals. But we as a party are prepared, as I have already said, when the proper time comes, to give due and earnest consideration to anything respecting our trade relationships with the old country. But it is a mockery for Senator Symon or any of the free-traders opposite to talk of preferential trade.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—Why? Let the honorable senator give us a reason.

Senator MCGREGOR.—Is Senator Symon prepared to denounce his fiscal faith? Has this coalition had such an effect already upon him that he is to denounce the belief which he has held for so many years?

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—Why cannot we give a preference to Great Britain?

Senator GIVENS.—Because the honorable and learned senator does not believe in duties on any goods.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—We have duties now; why cannot we reduce, or remit some of them?

Senator MCGREGOR.—It is of no use to talk to some of these gentlemen. One could not nail them down with flooring brads! Now I am coming to another little anomaly. I do not know why this matter of policy was taken over by the Government when we consider the attitude of honorable senators opposite towards the preceding Government in relation to it. I refer to the survey of the Western Australian railway.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—Was that part of the honorable senator's policy?

Senator MCGREGOR.—They called it the "desert" railway, and many other hard names.

Senator CLEMONS.—Was the honorable Senator's Government going to support it?

Senator MCGREGOR.—Certainly. I always declared that I was in favour of it. During my election campaign I was not afraid to refer to the subject, and I did so in every portion of my State. But the gentlemen who went against it, and who were so cowardly in relation to it, went down.

Senator PULSFORD.—What about Senator Styles?

Senator MCGREGOR. — Senator Styles was in Victoria. I am referring to South Australia. I shall have a word or two more to say about South Australia before I finish. I want to ask the leader of the Senate whether he meant me yesterday to understand that Mr. McLean, as a member of the present Government, has a free hand on this question.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—No, the honorable senator is not to understand that.

Senator MCGREGOR.—I am very sorry, because I thought that that was what the honorable and learned senator said.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—The honorable senator must take my words as they were uttered.

Senator MCGREGOR.—What the honorable and learned senator said was in reply to an interjection by Senator Styles respecting Mr. McLean, who has always been a bitter opponent of this Western Australia railway scheme. And the Attorney-General himself has always been opposed to this railway.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—That is not the case.

Senator MCGREGOR.—I hope we are not going to have a "Yes-No" policy in both Houses, because Australia would hardly be able to bear such a load. The honorable and learned senator said yesterday that although the Government were prepared to spend £20,000 on a survey, they were not going to be pledged to afterwards carry out the work.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—I did not say that.

Senator MCGREGOR.—Oh dear! I am afraid I shall have to be examined by a medical man in order to ascertain whether I am not a fit subject for a lunatic asylum, or some other institution where worn-out politicians can find rest when their memories are beginning to go. I distinctly understood the honorable and learned senator to say—

Senator PULSFORD.—Ah!

Senator MCGREGOR.—Well, will the honorable and learned senator give me a reply now? Is the leader of the Senate prepared to commit the Commonwealth to an expense of £20,000 for a survey, and then to refuse to afterwards support the construction of the railway.

Senator MILLEN.—Let us hear what the result of the survey is.

Senator MCGREGOR.—Why should not a Royal Commission be appointed?

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—The Royal Commission is intended for the Tariff.

Senator MCGREGOR.—It seems impossible to pin the Government down to anything. "Yes-No" has been so ingrafted in the political constitution of every one of the Ministry that they cannot get rid of its influence. Am I to understand that the present Government are willing to spend £20,000 on a survey, while having perfectly open minds as to the necessity of the construction of the line afterwards? What would Sir John Forrest say to a position of that character?

Senator CLEMONS.—Surely the honorable senator would not build a railway without having a survey?

Senator MCGREGOR.—Certainly not.

Senator CLEMONS.—Then why object to a survey?

Senator MCGREGOR.—I do not object to a survey. We know that a survey is quite a different matter from an inquiry. Senator Styles, who knows something about railways, will agree with me that a survey is one of the processes of construction. In such matters the first process is a preliminary or flying survey, and then a survey is made with the intention of constructing the line, the cost of the survey being generally considered as part of the cost of construction.

Senator STYLES.—Hear, hear!

Senator MCGREGOR.—I know that Senator Styles will agree with me in that, whether he favours or does not favour the construction of the line. Senator Styles does not agree that there ought to be a survey made, but that is because he does not agree with the construction of the line, whereas I do favour the survey, because I have always advocated this transcontinental railway. Will the Attorney-General be honest enough to say that the Government will spend £20,000 on a survey, and then advocate the construction of the line? We know that the Attorney-General will say "Yes" as to a survey, but he desires to have a loophole in the near future, so as to be able to say "No" as to the construction, thus carrying the "Yes-No" policy to its legitimate issue. There are a great many other points which might be considered in connexion with the alleged policy of the Government, but, as I have already pointed out, the present Administration are willing to sink everything—the

fiscal question, the electoral boundaries question, and the transcontinental railway question. They take up the latter question tentatively only to gain support from a few Western Australian members. I urge the Western Australian members, not only in the Senate, but in another place, to beware of men who are prepared to say "Yes-No" in the way which has been manifested to us during the past few days. The Attorney-General will not give me a decided answer; but I contend that if we spend £20,000 on a survey we should be prepared to go on with the construction of the line. If we are not prepared to construct the line, let us save this £20,000 to the people of Australia, though I know that the line must ultimately be provided, and will be for the benefit of the Commonwealth. The policy of the present Government is exactly that advocated by the Ministry to which I belonged; the only difference is that the policy is not now advocated with the same earnestness or honesty. In my opinion Senator Symon yesterday showed to greater disadvantage than he has on any other occasion. Honorable senators, I have no doubt, could bear testimony that the Attorney-General, I was going to say, conducted himself in a manner that hardly did credit to his ability, and the position he occupies in the legal profession. However that may be, we have had the policy of the Government delivered, and that policy will be carried into effect if the Government can possibly do it. Up to the present, however, the only object which the Government have made manifest to the people of Australia is either that they want to "knock out" the Labour Party, or merely want to get into office themselves. They may contend that the Labour Party have been conducting themselves in a manner injurious to the country; but I contend that the party to which I belong have proved their ability to carry on the government of the country just as effectively as has any other section of Parliament. Indeed, the great danger to the other side was that if the Labour Party were allowed to remain in office for long the people of Australia would begin to realize that they were a proper people to govern. To-day the official organ of the Government, the *Argus*, threatens the Labour Party with a dissolution. We are told that if the Opposition do not allow the business of the country to be carried on in an expeditious man-

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ner the result will be a dissolution. But how, in the name of heaven, can the fear of a dissolution be charged against any member of the Labour Party, either here or in another place? The Labour Party have already desired a dissolution, so that it is difficult to see how they can be afraid of such a contingency.

Senator DAWSON.—We have to remember the Queensland elections.

Senator MCGREGOR.—The Queensland elections have put the fear of death into a great many people, but I am afraid there will have to be many similar exhibitions of the power of the Labour Party before those who differ from us cease annoying a section of the community, whose only aspiration and object is the welfare of the country. The Labour Party have no selfish motive to serve. They have no other business to occupy them—there is nothing to induce them to stay away from the work of Parliament. They come here and do their duty, with nothing to distract their attention; and the same cannot be said of every other section of Parliament. It is surely time the people of Australia realized the fact that if they want the country governed well, the government must be carried on by men whose best interests are bound up in the welfare of the country. We have a member of another place by name of Grat-tan Wilson, who, speaking in the southern portion of Victoria, expressed the opinion that those we want in Parliament are men who have given evidence of their ability to carry on their own business—men who have made names for themselves in the commercial world. It almost makes me shiver when my memory turns over the history of Victoria. The late Robert Reid was a commercial magnate, and other business men in the public life of Victoria are Mr. McKenzie, Mr. Taverner, Sir Alexander Peacock, and Mr. Webb, the last-mentioned of whom gave evidence before the Butter Commission the other day. These were commercial men of high standing. Do we want a few more Webbs, Taverners, McKenzies, Woods, Dunns, Bartarms, and Hopes in our public life? The people of Australia are sick of such men, and are getting more disgusted every day, and the result is that the Labour Party will have more successes in Queensland, Western Australia, and other portions of the Commonwealth. The people are filled with disgust at the dishonesty practised by the commercialists we hear so much about.

When they send their Walpoles, Sievwrights and Hogarths, round the country—

Senator PEARCE.—Do not forget Senator Dobson.

Senator MCGREGOR. — I do not put Senator Dobson in the same category ; those men are listened to, while Senator Dobson is laughed at. In a very short time, however, the eyes of the people of Australia will be opened, and these men will be no longer listened to. It will be the Tom Manns and gentlemen of that description who go out with the gospel of truth, who will gain the ear of the people. And when people's minds are enlightend, and they come to realize the position they occupy with regard to the governing classes, they will send to Parliament men in whom they have confidence ; and I am sure the result will be beneficial to the whole community.

Senator WALKER (New South Wales). —I am sure that we have all listened to Senator McGregor with a great deal of pleasure and amusement. I must thank him for his courteous references to myself. I have already said that I am an independent supporter of the present Government. I have heard Senator McGregor say that none of us are prepared to oppose the compulsory provisions of the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill. It is my intention to oppose them.

Senator GIVENS.—Will you support the Government ?

Senator WALKER.—I will support them as far as I agree with them. I am pleased that the Government intend to work as far as possible in harmony with the States. I have already said in this chamber that if we have an Old Age Pensions scheme it should be a scheme for the whole Commonwealth. Under the New South Wales Act, deserving persons who have been over twenty years in Australia, but yet have not been continuously resident in New South Wales, have been refused pensions. That was an injustice, but such cases could only be met by a Commonwealth measure. Therefore, an Old-age Pensions scheme to be satisfactory must cover the whole of the Commonwealth, and not be applicable only to particular States.

Senator GIVENS.—Do you believe there ought to be old-age pensions ?

Senator WALKER.—I am inclined to think there should be.

Senator HIGGS.—But are you aware that the scheme will reduce the bank dividends ?

Senator WALKER. — The honorable senator seems to know a great deal more about some things than the rest of us.

Senator DAWSON.—Is the honorable senator aware that that is one of the planks in the platform of the new union ?

Senator WALKER.—I am aware that those of us who are not unionists have greater freedom than our friends who are.

Senator GIVENS.—Are not the free-traders in union with the protectionists ?

Senator WALKER.—No ; we have sunk the fiscal issue. Some reference has been made to immigration. We have no control over land legislation ; but there is a vast area available for settlement in the Northern Territory of South Australia, and I hope that some system of assisted immigration will be adopted. That Northern Territory has never had justice done to it, and I am told by Senator Playford that it is capable of supporting a very large number of agriculturists. But they will require to have inducements to settle in the country. With regard to fiscal matters, we must try to remember that it has been said on very high authority, "Blessed are the peacemakers." We wish to see peace prevail, that the country may progress and prosper. I cannot understand my free-trade friends opposite entering into coalition with the so-called Liberal-Protectionists.

Senator O'KEEFE.—Can you understand the other coalition ?

Senator WALKER.—Our party sink the fiscal issue. With respect to the High Commissioner the proposal of the Government is highly commendable. They intend to confer with the States, and to consult their interests. In that way it is hoped that a large expense will be saved. And in this connexion I am glad to notice that the Premier of New South Wales is agreeable that the High Commissioner shall take up as many as possible of the duties which now devolve upon the Agents-General.

Senator DAWSON.—Do you mean that the Agent-General for each State should be abolished ?

Senator WALKER.—I think that all communications might go through the High Commissioner. He would practically be a joint Agent-General. The States might have their own commercial representatives.

Senator PEARCE.—What do you think of Mr. Taverner's idea of raising money by means of half-guinea tickets, admitting invited guests to an entertainment.

Senator WALKER.—I certainly think that my friend Senator Pearce would be much better here supporting the Coalition Government than where he is. Senator McGregor has referred to Mr. McLean and to Mr. Reid as the "twin" Premiers.

Senator DAWSON.—It is very seldom that twins live.

Senator WALKER.—I happen to have twin sons of twenty-three years of age, who are both alive. I think Senator McGregor was too severe on the Vice-President of the Executive Council. The first duty of the Minister is to act as Vice-President of the Executive Council, and I am certainly very pleased to see Senator Drake in so honorable a position. He is a man of modest habits. He is one of those who believe that "Blessed are the meek," and he has exhibited that quality.

Senator MCGREGOR.—Do not hurt his feelings more.

Senator WALKER.—I think it is a virtue. I wish we had more of it. I look on my honorable friends opposite as the Australian Tory Party. They are a socialistic party, and their Socialism is of the very essence of Toryism. We have had it abundantly exemplified by Mr. Tom Mann.

Senator FINDLEY.—He is doing immense good.

Senator WALKER.—He is a demagogue; and if there is a dissolution the Labour Party will come back very much weakened. I have heard that the Labour Party supported both the Barton and the Deakin Governments, not from any admiration of them as individuals, but for what they could get out of them. That was sheer selfishness. Now, with regard to the Western Australian railway, I have always been an advocate of it. I spoke of it in days gone by. I thought then that we should have a railway running from one end of the continent to the other, and I even took the view that it might be paid for by land grants.

Senator FINDLEY.—Or land taxes.

Senator WALKER.—I recently read in a Sydney paper that some wiseacre in Victoria had discovered a remarkable resemblance between Mr. Reid and Svengali, and had represented Mr. Deakin as Trilby. There may be truth in that; but I have a

copy of a letter in my hand from a gentleman who has discovered that we have here a modern adaptation of the play of Othello.

Senator MCGREGOR.—Who is Desdemona?

Senator WALKER.—This gentleman finds that Mr. Deakin is Othello, that Sir William Lyne is Iago, and that Mr. Reid is the gentle Desdemona. So that on one side we have Mr. Reid compared to Svengali, while on the other side he is likened to the gentle Desdemona. That is a "Yes-No" position, if you like. I shall not further occupy the time of the Senate. I have not departed from my free-trade principles, and have no intention of doing so. I shall oppose compulsory arbitration, and I think honorable senators will find me consistent in the votes I give.

Senator MILLEN (New South Wales).—I do not propose to take up much of the time of the Senate, but I should like to make a few observations on the remarks of the leader of the Opposition. In doing so I shall endeavour to avoid the extremely regrettable tone he adopted. With the previous speaker, I deplore his references to the Vice-President of the Executive Council. There is no rule, either in the Federal or the States Parliaments, which would necessarily make the Vice-President of the Executive Council the leader of the Upper House. There is no honorable gentleman who would not be proud to serve under the leadership of Senator Symon, and there was no other position which Senator Drake could take.

Senator MCGREGOR.—Could he not have been Attorney-General, as he was before?

Senator MILLEN.—The honorable senator forces me to institute a personal comparison, which I did not desire to do. He has admitted that the natural leader was Senator Symon, under whom any honorable senator would be proud to serve. I wish to pass on to the observation of Senator McGregor dealing with the policy of the Government. I was struck in listening to his wholesale denunciations, by the strange mixture of questionable sincerity and extravagant modesty which marked them. If this is the programme of the two last Governments, the charge must reflect on his own party. He says that the Government have stolen their policy.

Senator MCGREGOR.—They are not sincere.

Senator MILLEN.—I resent the arrogance of the members of the Labour Party, who, on the public platform, and in every public discussion, claim that they alone possess the virtues of truth and rectitude. I am going to test them. But I must go back. I was referring to the contradiction in the attitude of honorable senators opposite to the programme of the Government. His criticisms on the coalition came rather strangely from a gentleman who is a member of a party which has entered into an alliance of another kind. I hardly know what name to give it. I can only describe it as the Isaacs-Watson-Lyne-Mauger combination. But there it is, and it points to the fact that two other sections in politics have found it necessary, in order to serve purposes they have in common, to agree to joint action.

Senator GIVENS.—We have not been diametrically opposed to each other.

Senator MILLEN.—Has not Senator Pearce been diametrically opposed to Mr. Mauger.

Senator PEARCE.—Only on one question. Are Senator Drake and the honorable senator in agreement on the kanaka question, now?

Senator MILLEN.—Is the honorable senator in agreement with Sir William Lyne on every question now?

Senator PEARCE.—I am in agreement with him on that question, at any rate.

Senator MILLEN.—I understand that the honorable senator is in agreement with Sir William Lyne on certain questions, and I submit that every honorable senator who supports the Government is equally in agreement with the principles which they are prepared to support. I am not swallowing the whole of the programme of this Government. I do not suppose that the Government would insult me by telling me that they expect me to accept the whole programme, but I hold that every man in public life—either here or in the other House—is called upon to take the programmes of the two parties, and the two different lines of administration, not in detail, but in the whole, and say which of them represents most clearly that line of public conduct which he thinks he ought to support.

Senator PEARCE.—I do not object to the coalition; I am rather pleased that it has been brought about.

Senator MILLEN.—The honorable senator takes a strange way to show his pleasure. I am also glad that these scattered remnants have come together, because I think that the sooner we get to a straight-out fight, not only in the Parliament, but before the constituencies, between the Socialistic Party and the party which stands for a measure of individual liberty, the better it will be for the purification of public life.

Senator GIVENS.—The liberty which the honorable senator is in favour of is the liberty to starve.

Senator MILLEN.—I have no time to answer an interjection of that character. It is utterly absurd to say that any one here wishes any person to starve. But may I ask how the honorable senator proposes to feed the people? Is it by a fiscal law? And, if it is, will Senator Pearce agree with that view? However, I do not wish to be drawn off in that way. I desire to ask the Labour Party if Senator McGregor has stated the whole of their programme?

Senator MCGREGOR.—Yes, every bit of it.

Senator MILLEN.—Is the final goal of the Labour Party—its ideals and aspirations—summed up in that milk-and-water programme which the honorable senator has outlined this afternoon?

Senator MCGREGOR. — No; that is our programme for this Parliament.

Senator MILLEN.—I take that reply to mean that once the Labour Party is placed in a position of power, and has carried out the legislation which is now offered to us, it has in reserve a larger instalment of what its leader here is pleased to call progressive measures? I am not quarrelling with the members of the Labour Party for entertaining these views, but I wish to see clearly before me exactly what road I am asked to travel. I think that honorable senators who come here with this modest innocently phrased programme ought in all fairness to tell, not only me but every elector in the Commonwealth, exactly where they intend to go, what their ultimate goal is. Have they done so to-day?

Senator MCGREGOR.—That is right. We know no more at present.

Senator MILLEN.—From his public utterances and those of his colleagues, I can tell the honorable senator where he is going. There is one member of the Labour Party here who has never refrained, by

interjection and otherwise, from stating with the utmost candour what his aspirations are, and that is Senator FINDLEY.

Senator FINDLEY.—Hear, hear. We are on the road to Beulah!

Senator MILLEN.—So far as I am aware, the honorable senator has never minced his words in stating what his aspirations are. What I understand as really the aspiration of the Labour Party is the control of collective industry by the State. Is there a line in this modest programme to suggest that if power be placed in their hands they ultimately intend to lead us into a state in which not a few monopolies, but all the industries are to be controlled by the Government? So far as the programme outlined by the late Government is concerned, it contained very little to which I think any honorable senator would object. But when I know, as honorable senators cannot deny, that their intention, if they once acquire permanent power, is to hurry us not merely from this little instalment of legislation, but to a condition in which all industry is to be controlled by the State, then I submit that it is time for me, as far as I can, by my individual vote, to prevent them from getting into a position which would enable them to give effect to that policy.

Senator HIGGS.—But the honorable senator knows that they would have to ask the people first, and that they would appeal to them.

Senator MILLEN.—Of course they would appeal to the people, but does the honorable senator think that I am so innocent of political ways as not to know that the longer they were in power the more they would strengthen their position? For that very reason I am not going to place those who hold views, which I regard as injurious to the country, in a position to give greater effect to them. What battle, political, or otherwise, could be fought in that way?

Senator PEARCE.—None.

Senator MILLEN.—That reply is a complete answer to the interjection.

Senator PEARCE.—We could only do it with the good will of the people.

Senator MILLEN.—From the interjections which have been made during my speech, I think I am justified in affirming that the programme now put forward by the Labour Party is a two-faced one—the face presented to us is this modest programme, but the other face held up to members of labour leagues and to unions,

to the great mass of those who support the Labour Party is a long line of socialistic measures, which are promised if only they can obtain power.

Senator PEARCE.—No; we were elected on those seven planks.

Senator MILLEN.—Yes; but the honorable senator admits that that is not the final goal of the Labour Party. Does not every issue of their journal, does not every utterance of their public men, point to the fact that their aspiration is Socialism? And if that is so, why do they deny it?

Senator PEARCE.—We do not deny it.

Senator MILLEN.—That is a candid and honest statement. The honorable senator does not deny that the ultimate aspiration of the Labour Party is Socialism. I should regard a socialistic State, in which enterprise, industry, and production are to be under the control of the Government, as not only a disaster in itself, but as bound to end in national ruin.

Senator FINDLEY.—It does not do that in New South Wales, where the Government run clothing factories, railways, and other things.

Senator MILLEN.—That being so, I cannot understand why the Labour Party should get angry when it is suggested that they are a socialistic party.

Senator DE LARGIE.—Not at all.

Senator MILLEN.—When I make this affirmation they fall back on the seven planks. I ask them again whether those seven planks represent the cause of the being of the Labour Party, or whether, as has been admitted by one of them, their ultimate object is Socialism.

Senator PEARCE.—For this Parliament the seven planks.

Senator MILLEN.—And when the time is opportune, Socialism.

Senator DAWSON.—Cannot the honorable senator understand that there are two programmes?

Senator MILLEN.—I have just said that there are two programmes—one for the Senate, and one for the people.

Senator DAWSON.—No. One is immediate, and the other is ultimate. We have taken the public into our confidence about the ultimate goal of the party.

Senator MILLEN.—I think that the honorable senator is not doing himself full justice. I believe that the Labour Party took the people further into their confidence than that, and that they obtained a very large number of votes on a promise

that when they secured power they would bring in a larger instalment of socialistic legislation than is contained in this programme.

Senator DAWSON.—The honorable senator has no warrant for that statement.

Senator GIVENS.—The people approved of our policy.

Senator MILLEN.—If the people approved of it, there is nothing more to be said, but it is not contained in this programme. It is my duty to oppose a policy which I consider would be disastrous.

Senator PEARCE.—We are not misleading the people.

Senator MILLEN.—No, but the Labour Party are trying to mislead us.

Senator PEARCE.—The honorable senator said that we are keeping one face away from the people.

Senator MILLEN.—I wish to point out one or two differences between the programme of the present Government and that of the last Ministry. Senator McGregor spoke about the Immigration Restriction Act, and said that, notwithstanding all the denunciations with reference to the Stelling case, there was no word of repealing that legislation. That is quite true, but, so far as I am concerned, the denunciations with reference to that case had nothing to do with the Act, but with the administration of its provisions. If, under this or any other Government, a similar public scandal happened, I should take up an exactly similar attitude. The man was set at liberty, and nothing more was done with him. No stronger proof that a wrong had been done could be had than the fact that the prison doors were thrown open before the sentence was served, and the man was allowed to go free. That is the only remark I desire to make on that point.

Senator PEARCE.—How about the six hatters? Has the honorable senator parted with them?

Senator MILLEN.—No. Surely the honorable senator does not want me to deal with all these public scandals. I do not wish to discuss now the case of the six hatters, or the way in which labour members got hold of their papers.

Senator DAWSON.—I rise to order. The honorable senator has made a suggestion about the way in which members of the Labour Party got hold of certain papers, and I wish to know if the insinuation is in order.

The PRESIDENT.—I do not understand what the insinuation is.

Senator MILLEN.—I may set the matter at rest by saying that I did not refer to members of the Labour Party, but to members of labour organizations.

Senator DAWSON.—Will the honorable senator give the names?

Senator MILLEN.—The honorable senator knows perfectly well the names of the men who got possession of the papers and communicated with the public office.

Senator DAWSON.—I do not, and the honorable senator has no right to make an insinuation of that sort.

Senator MILLEN.—It is not an insinuation, but an affirmation.

Senator DAWSON.—Will the honorable senator name the persons whom he accuses of doing this thing?

Senator MILLEN.—Not even to oblige the honorable senator, who knows perfectly well that the papers were obtained and held by some officials of the union.

Senator DAWSON.—I do not know anything of the kind.

Senator MILLEN.—The honorable senator is less informed than I thought he was. Senator McGregor would have us believe that, inasmuch as the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill of the late Government has been adopted by the present Government, there is no difference of programme in that regard. But the fact that the late Government went out on an amendment which was moved to that Bill shows at once that there is a vital difference in programme between the two parties. The late Government made that difference between the two parties vital; they accepted it as their battle ground.

Senator PEARCE.—They did not accept the question of recommitment as their battle ground.

Senator MILLEN.—The honorable senator knows that that was done in order to have only one fight instead of two. Having made the question of preference to unionists vital, the members of the late Government cannot turn round now, and say that there is no difference between their measure and that of the present Government. The nationalization of monopolies is another plank in the platform of the Labour Party. I should like to know what it means. I should have been better pleased if Senator McGregor, instead of affirming that no honorable senator would object to the nationalization of a monopoly had stated in detail what it is that his party wants. Honorable senators are well aware that the Senate has been invited and

has carried resolutions affirming the desirability of having a national tobacco monopoly. I am utterly opposed to the proposal, for I can conceive of no monopoly in an industry of that kind. Then we have had the nationalization of the iron industry advocated.

Senator PEARCE.—Does not the honorable senator think that there is a monopoly in the tobacco industry?

Senator MILLEN.—If there is, I do not think that the Labour Party will improve matters by handing over the industry to the Government.

Senator FINDLEY.—It has been done in France.

Senator MILLEN.—If the honorable senator were there he would give up smoking for the rest of his life.

Senator FINDLEY.—The French people do not give up smoking.

Senator MILLEN.—This innocent-looking phrase—nationalization of monopolies—covers the chief objection which I have to the policy of my honorable friends opposite. They stand for collective effort—for Socialism, for State control—while I stand for individual liberty. That marks a broad line of cleavage between us.

Senator PEARCE.—The honorable senator stands for the butter agents, whereas we stand for Government action.

Senator MILLEN.—The honorable senator does not believe that for a moment; but if he does believe it, let me give an instance of absolute waste and corruption under Government management. Take the state of things existing in Russia. There we have something near to Socialism in the sense that in Russia the State does nearly everything.

Senator FINDLEY.—I thought that was despotism.

Senator MILLEN.—But you may have a despotic state of Socialism as well as a democratic state of Socialism. Honorable senators opposite surely do not mean to say that it is impossible to have a condition of corruption under Socialism. Corruption does not depend upon whether a State is individualistic or socialistic, but upon whether the administration of the Government is pure. I was about to draw attention to a remarkable omission from the programme of the Labour Party, as laid down by Senator McGregor, and which marks another point of difference between myself and his party. It is strange that in explaining that programme the honorable senator made no allusion to

the plank which has reference to the Banking Bill. That is another point upon which I fall out with honorable senators opposite. I decline to support any legislation that is in the nature of an enforced loan from private individuals. I expected that the late Vice-President of the Executive Council would explain the attitude of his party towards that portion of their policy, but he dropped it out of sight, probably finding it most convenient to do so. The honorable senator glanced away from another point in the programme of his party when he spoke of the Navigation Bill. He tried to make it appear that because the present Government have approved of the Royal Commission that has been appointed, therefore the policy of the late Government and that of the present Government were in common in that respect. I do not know that the present Government has made a declaration of policy regarding the Navigation Bill; but the fact that they have not adopted the policy which I know to have been espoused by members of the Labour Party furnishes me with another reason why, until the present Government have declared their policy on that subject, I am bound to take my place on this side of the chamber.

Senator DAWSON.—Does the honorable senator mean to say that the present Government has no policy on the Navigation Bill?

Senator MILLEN.—So far as I am aware, the only declaration of policy which has been made by the Government is that they will await the result of the Royal Commission before dealing with the subject. But that statement cannot be interpreted as meaning an acceptance by the Government of the policy of its predecessors.

Senator DAWSON.—Surely that is an adoption of the method of the last Government?

Senator MILLEN.—The present Government is pursuing the inquiry that the late Government inaugurated, but has not announced its policy. The late Government announced its policy with regard to certain clauses of the Bill, but the present Government has not done so.

Senator DAWSON.—Because they have no policy.

Senator MILLEN.—Probably the report of the Royal Commission may help them to frame one. I now come to the ques-

tion of the caucus. Senator McGregor has affirmed that really there is no difference between the caucus—the name by which the meetings of the Labour Party are known—and the ordinary meetings of any other political party in this country. I admit at once that he made out a very good case from his point of view. But he spoilt it by another remark. While affirming that there was no difference between the caucus of the Labour Party and the ordinary meetings of any other political party, he also said, “The only thing that is troubling other parties is that they cannot imitate it.” If we have the same system as his party has, we need not be troubled because we cannot imitate it. If it be true that we are troubled because we cannot imitate the caucus of the Labour Party, Senator McGregor showed at once that there is a marked difference between our methods and the methods which we cannot imitate. There is another point. There is a difference—let honorable members opposite deny it as much as they will—between the methods of the Labour Party and the methods of other parties at their ordinary meetings.

Senator MCGREGOR.—The other parties are trying to imitate our methods, and cannot.

Senator MILLEN.—I sincerely hope that the party to which I belong, if it does make an effort to introduce into this country machine politics, will absolutely fail. From what we know of the machine, as it exists in America, I trust that no other party will succeed in introducing it.

Senator GUTHRIE.—Is not the machine in America controlled by a one-man boss?

Senator MILLEN.—Yes; and the honorable member's party is rapidly leading to that position. I do not blame the man who controls the machine, when, having a fibrous intellect, he comes along and makes himself master of his party. It is the system that I find fault with. That is what has always happened in political affairs when the machine has been established. I have spoken longer than I intended to do, led on by a fire of interjections. I desire to say only a word or two in conclusion. Senator McGregor has contended that there is virtually no difference between the policy of his party and that of the present Government. I have risen to show as far as I can what to my mind makes the broad difference between honorable members on the one side and on the other. That difference is that on the one side there is a distinct desire to advance

steadily in a direction the goal of which must be Socialism; whereas, on the side upon which I take my stand there is a belief that only by means of reasonable measures can we expect to obtain improvements and to promote a state of prosperity that will become permanent.

Senator PEARCE (Western Australia).

—I think we can say that whilst Senator Millen in his usual vigorous style has attacked the party to which I belong he has refrained from personalities; and I hope that in any remarks which I may have to make in following him I may also achieve that end. I think that we can differ with respect to the policies of the various parties that are represented in this Parliament without indulging in personalities towards those who represent opposing parties. I wish to say in reference to Senator Millen's defence of the position of the Vice-President of the Executive Council in this chamber that the only thing that struck me forcibly in his remarks was this: I wondered that Senator Millen did not on this occasion give voice to the very vigorous protest which he has expressed on other occasions with regard to the fact that the present Government have again followed the pernicious example of other Governments in appointing only two Ministers in the Senate.

Senator DRAKE.—That example was also followed by the late Government.

Senator PEARCE.—Yes, and Senator Millen vigorously denounced them for having appointed only two Ministers in the Senate.

Senator DRAKE.—The late Government helped to stereotype the rule.

Senator PEARCE.—But I am surprised to find that on the present occasion Senator Millen has said nothing on the subject. That is only another proof of the party loyalty which affects honorable senators opposite, and the absolute way in which their leaders compel them to keep silence where they would like to voice their dissatisfaction.

Senator DRAKE.—The honorable senator spoke against the Deakin Government on that point.

Senator PEARCE.—I also expressed the same opinion in regard to the late Government. I said that I thought they had made a mistake. It seems to me that the only way effectively to protest in this matter is that when, as is now the case, there is a powerful Opposition in the Senate, that Opposition should use its power in such a way as to induce the Government

to realize that it is necessary to appoint another Minister in the Senate. That is the only way to make our protests effectual. I do not complain or cavil that a Coalition Government has been formed. I am rather pleased to see it. I certainly cavil at the nature of the actions which led to the formation of the coalition. But that is the only part of the business to be ashamed of. Every earnest student of reform should rejoice to see that a Coalition Government has been formed, because it brings into Federal politics a new line of cleavage—a line differing altogether from that which has existed in our States Parliaments, and in the Commonwealth Parliament, in the past. It gets rid of the old line of cleavage between free-trade and protection. We now have a clear line between those who favour collective effort in the public interest, and those who are in favour of individual effort for individual self-aggrandizement. The Labour Party ought to be the last of all parties to object to that new line of demarcation. The sooner that line is accentuated, the better for us. The recent new movements in Federal politics have accentuated that line of demarcation, and have emphasized the fact that the real issue is between the respective parties which I have mentioned. In the past, in my opinion, the importance of the question of free-trade and protection was very much exaggerated. It was time that it was relegated to the back-ground. Senator Millen, in criticising the Opposition, wanted to know whether we deny that our programme is in a socialistic direction. No member of the Labour Party will deny that. We admit that our programme is in a socialistic direction. But because that is so, we do not admit that it naturally commits us to immediate Socialism. It is just as unreasonable for Senator Millen to say that the policy of the Labour Party commits us to immediate Socialism, because some Socialists are extreme in their opinions, as it would be for me to say that because Senator Millen is supporting a reactionary Government, therefore he is in favour of a complete reaction to barbarism. There are those who sit alongside Senator Millen who are opposed to practically all measures which are introduced into the Federal Parliament. Those people would, if they could, push our progress back a few years. But it would not, therefore, be fair to say of Senator Millen and his associates, that the majority of them are in favour of pushing our poli-

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tics back to a state of barbarism. While Socialism may be our ultimate goal, I think that a good deal of misapprehension is created in the minds of people, and, perhaps, also, in the minds of politicians in regard to it; though I am not one of those who believe that politicians are usually led astray in reference to these matters. It must be remembered that we are all more or less Socialists nowadays. To a greater or lesser degree there is scarcely a business man or a member of the Employers' Federation who is not to some extent a believer in Socialism, or who is not prepared in some degree to regard the State as a socialistic entity, to increase or to advantage his particular interests. Wherever that can be done he is quite prepared to enter into socialistic schemes. It ill becomes these gentlemen to condemn all forms of Socialism, when they are prepared to take advantage of them when it suits their own interests. The attitude of the Labour Party is that, where any industry becomes a monopoly, which, to the injury of the community, is being used to the advantage of a few, we should make it an industry owned and controlled by the people. That is the interpretation which we put upon our programme in this respect. We have not attempted to deceive the people. We have plainly told them what our opinions are. We did not reach the Treasury benches or attain to our present strength by any subterfuge or any deceit, but by the goodwill and the votes of the people of Australia. Therefore, it is idle to object to our presence here unless it can be shown that it is likely to lead to some injury.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—I did not understand Senator Millen to raise that objection.

Senator PEARCE. — The tone of his speech to my mind indicated that objection. The honorable senator also said that the late Government, of which Senator McGregor was a member, made the preference clause of the Arbitration Bill vital. The late Government were prepared to do that, but the members of the present Government did not give them an opportunity to do so, and took the business of the country out of the hands of the late Government, who, having some respect for their political consciences, resigned. I wish to say, as an intimation to the present Government, that so far as I am concerned, I believe that the

preference clause, without the amendment which was moved by a member of the present Ministry, is absolutely vital—that without such a clause we might as well be without an Arbitration Act. If the Government believe in arbitration—unless they are going to bring in a Bill which will take away from the workers of Australia the right to strike, or the right to take their cases to an impartial tribunal—they must insert a preference clause without the so-called McCay amendment. I only hope that when the Bill is introduced here we shall see that when it leaves the chamber it is a measure just to the trades unions of Australia. I was surprised to hear Senator Millen refer to what he called the enforced loans which Mr. Watson foreshadowed when referring to the Banking Bill. I do not think that the term “enforced loans” is a proper one to use, but in any case I should like to ask whether Senator Millen was not a member of the Legislative Council of New South Wales at the time when the private enterprise banks of Australia took a forced loan from the people who had in good faith deposited money in those institutions? The banks at that time took a forced loan on which they never paid any interest, and, in some instances, have not yet repaid the principal. Senator Millen objects to the Government taking what he calls a forced loan, though it ought to be remembered that the Government would pay both interest and principal, and safeguard the credit of the banks. Why did not Senator Millen, in 1893, endeavour to bring about such legislation in New South Wales as would prevent the spoliation of private individuals by the private enterprise banks? Then we find Senator Millen objecting to the political machine. Just fancy a member of the free-trade delegation from New South Wales objecting to machine politics! Why, if there was any example of the working of a machine in Federal politics in Australia, it was the return of the free-trade senators from that State.

Senator GRAY.—Absolutely, no.

Senator PEARCE.—It was absolutely the most perfect example of machine politics in Australia.

Senator GRAY.—In what respect?

Senator PEARCE.—The election was run on a ticket not chosen by an organization, but chosen by a newspaper editor and the leader of the free-trade party. That ticket was placed before the people of New South Wales, by the two party newspapers,

and the free-trade senators were elected without cavil or question. The men who were fortunate enough to get on the ticket knew that they did not need to address a single meeting or issue a single manifesto. They knew perfectly well that the machine, though small numerically, and as an organization very little representative of the people, was powerful enough to elect them in spite of all opposition. I should like to draw Senator Millen's attention to the difference between that kind of machine and the machine which was indicated by Senator McGregor. The latter is not a machine of two men or two newspaper editors, but of thousands and thousands of electors. The organization is open to every man and woman in the Commonwealth, who may not merely become automata members pulled by the strings of a newspaper office, but who may have an equal and effective voice in its control. If we have to make a choice as to which is the best machine in the interests of the people, surely we ought to adopt the one which is controlled by and composed of the people rather than a machine controlled by, and composed of two individuals or two newspaper prints. As to the programme which has been placed before us by the Government, we can, at any rate, say that the present Ministry do not mean to work us in such a way that we shall have much overtime during the present session. The programme put before us is more noticeable for what is left out than for what appears. However, I congratulate the Attorney-General on the fact that the Government have recognised that two Bills on the notice-paper are non-party, and are very useful measures. It would have been very unfair, even if one of those measures, though it may contain some party or contentious matter, had been thrown under the table. I desire to give the Government every credit for recognising that the two measures to which I refer will be very useful to the trading community of Australia, and tend to the protection of the people, and for taking those measures up just as they were left, fully prepared to send them on to the other Chamber to be dealt with. We are all pleased to hear that the Government are negotiating in order to carry into effect the Seat of Government Act. I trust that the full spirit of that Act will be recognised. While there may be some room for negotiation as to area, I trust the Government will recognise that both Houses

have distinctly provided that the area acquired must be ample. We must have an area sufficient for the growth of a considerable city—we must have so much that we shall know that whatever value is created shall be retained by the Federal authorities, and not be given to the State, simply owing to the small area acquired. I trust that some of the parochial statements which have appeared in New South Wales will, on further consideration, give place to a broader and more Australian sentiment. I trust that we shall have no more of that spirit of hostility which has been displayed by some of the public men of New South Wales, but that they will meet the Federal Parliament and settle this question in an Australian spirit. In regard to the Arbitration Bill, and the decision of the Government to proceed with it as it stands, I venture to say that when it comes before us we shall be able to take such action as will make it more in accord with what is required in a workable measure of the kind. I am rather surprised at the proposal of the Government, that the High Commissioner Bill shall be held over till next session. I notice that the Government state that they intend to call a conference of State Premiers on this matter. While it might very well be said that on some questions the Federal Government have every right to consult with the States Premiers, still I, as one who am jealous of the rights of this Senate, urge that we, more effectively than any States Premiers, represent the States. The High Commissioner Bill might well have been introduced to this House and passed, and the States then given an invitation to arrange their State agencies, so as to fit in with the Bill. It seems to me that the Government, in going first to the State Premiers and asking whether they are agreeable to change their arrangements, are placing this Chamber in a secondary position. I understand there are various questions on which it is proposed to take the opinion of the States Premiers; but I think the Government might first take the opinion of the Commonwealth Parliament. We find that, on the question of old-age pensions, the States Premiers are to be consulted, which simply means that we are going to ask the Premiers to make proposals as to finances of the Commonwealth. What can be the reason for consulting the States Premiers? Is it not that the Government contemplate that if a proposal for old-age pensions is made, we shall have to interfere with the amount of money now returned to

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the various States Treasurers? We are, therefore, to go cap in hand to the States Treasurers, and ask them if they will be willing to spare that amount of money—whether they will make a noise if we reduce the amount now returned. It is most certain that the States Treasurers will object, and we shall then be told that old-age pensions are not practicable, because, it may be, Mr. Butler, of South Australia, or some other Treasurer, finds that he cannot spare the money. If the Government believe in old-age pensions, they ought to bring a proposal before the Commonwealth Parliament, and make the necessary financial arrangements, leaving the State Treasurers to do their duty and make their arrangements for the revenue they require. If the people of Australia believe in old-age pensions, they are prepared to make the necessary sacrifice. The people do not vote for old-age pensions without knowing that they will have to provide the money, and they will be quite willing to make up any deficiency which may result in the revenue. This is one of the questions which the Government should refer to the Federal Parliament rather than to a conference of States Premiers. If the Government continue in office I shall, of course, be a critic, though a fair critic; and I hope that the measures which are passed will be for the benefit of the people of Australia.

Senator STYLES (Victoria).—There does not seem to be very much interest taken in this debate, seeing that there is barely a quorum present. I was rather surprised that the Government did not put up a Minister who had not spoken, to reply to the leader of the Opposition, unless, of course, Senator Walker happens to be an honorary Minister. It would have been the course usually followed in such cases, and it was a compliment due, I think, to Senator McGregor. There are one or two faults I have to find with the present Ministry, and I shall deal not so much with their policy as with their personnel. Up to the present time in the Federal Parliament, each Chamber has been led by a protectionist, but now each is led by a free-trader. That causes me to look with some little suspicion on the present Administration. It would be idle for myself or any one to say that the leader of a House has no more power than any other honorable member; as a fact, he does not count only one, but very often counts a good many, and on that ground alone I take exception to the constitution of the Govern-

ment as in itself an objection in a protectionist Commonwealth. Another objection I have is as to the alleged equality in all things. Mr. Reid and Mr. McLean are said to be "equal in all things." The very first step that Mr. Reid took when he became Prime Minister was to issue a manifesto addressed to the people of Australia, but his other half did not even know that such was Mr. Reid's intention until the manifesto was published in the newspapers. It seems to me rather a bad start for one-half of this double-barrelled Ministry to go off when the other was not even loaded. If they are co-equal, as we are assured on the highest authority—Mr. Reid—I wonder what would happen if Mr. McLean were to resign. Would his resignation involve the retirement of the Government, and would it be sent to the Prime Minister or to the Governor-General? It is absolute nonsense to talk about Mr. Reid and Mr. McLean being on a footing of equality. I propose to make some remarks about Mr. Reid, the politician, and not Mr. Reid, the private citizen. No one can accuse me of having any personal feeling in this matter, for I have no recollection of ever having spoken to Mr. Reid, except to wish him good day. It is generally admitted that he is probably the best platform speaker in Australia. He cracks his jokes on the platform with the same easy facility that he cracks his alleged political principles off the platform. Australians do not mind jokes, but they expect something better from the man whom they place at the head of affairs in the Commonwealth. From the man who holds the highest position in their gift, they require consistency. The nation has fixed a very high standard for the man who is at the head of public affairs. They do not want an opportunist with a political past, but a high-minded man to whom they can all look up. Mr. Reid, as we all know, slanders, abuses, and sneers at a man one day—

Senator PULSFORD.—Is the honorable senator in order, sir, in charging a member of the other House—the Prime Minister of the Commonwealth—with slandering persons?

The PRESIDENT.—I think it would be better if the honorable senator were to moderate his remarks, but I am not prepared to rule that it is out of order for him to say that a man slanders people.

Senator STYLES.—I am speaking of Mr. Reid, not as a private citizen, but as a politician, and I intend to prove

before I sit down that he does these things. On one day he will slander and abuse people, and on the next day he will cringe and crawl to them if it suits his political views. He is merely an opportunist, and in my opinion he is quite unfitted to hold the high position to which he has been called. When a vessel is steered from the steerage we do not expect a very exalted standard of political or other morality, but when the good ship Commonwealth is steered from the saloon we do expect her crew to be good men, and above all, we expect the captain to be a high-minded, honorable politician, and not a man who will truckle to every person who comes along. I expect that my statements will be questioned, and at the risk of boring the Senate, I shall quote Mr. Reid's exact words. I do not wish to put my construction on his words, but to allow honorable senators and the public generally to see the kind of man who is at the head of the affairs of this great nation. When he was face to face with the Labour Party in the other House, he said—

I do not want to flatter the honorable member for Bland as the leader of the Labour Party, but, speaking as one man to another, I wish to recognise the services which he, being a protectionist, and acting on his principles, has rendered by his efforts to preserve the revenue as far as possible. The honorable member, and others of his party, have helped us in a manner that I here wish to recognise.

Coming from a man like Mr. Reid, this is very high praise for the Labour Party. But when he is away from the Labour Party—at Warracknabeal—he calls them everything that a man could possibly do, as honorable senators will see if they refer to the Warracknabeal *Herald* of the 15th July, 1902. Speaking of the Barton Government, at Bowral, on the 18th of August, 1903, Mr. Reid said—

If one thing had marked the Government more than another it was the subservient and crawling way in which it had always kept one eye on the labour members. The line of honorable alliance between the two parties had been crossed, and the line of discreditable subservency and cowardice had been reached. He charged the Government with being a dishonorable tool in the hands of the Labour Party.

That is stronger than the language I was challenged for using just now, and it was used about a man whom we must all respect, whatever we may think of his politics. I refer to the Right Honorable Sir Edmund Barton. Speaking at Prahran, only two or three weeks ago, Mr. Reid referred to the same gentleman as, "That

great man, Sir Edmund Barton." I should like to know when Sir Edmund Barton became great. It must have been during the time when he was a public man, for he has done nothing very great that I am aware of since he became a Judge of the High Court.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—I would not say that.

Senator STYLES.—I do not think that Sir Edmund Barton would claim to have done anything very great since he has been a Judge.

Senator DOBSON.—If the honorable senator had been at the Federal Convention he would know that Sir Edmund Barton did something great.

Senator STYLES.—He is a great man, no doubt.

Senator DOBSON.—Is any good to be gained by be-littling our public men hour after hour?

Senator STYLES.—I am repeating what the Prime Minister said about a greater man than himself.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—He was speaking of Sir Edmund Barton as a politician.

Senator STYLES.—I recognise that. I wish to point out the inconsistency of the opportunist at the head of the Government. When the leader of the Senate was speaking yesterday, I interjected, "There is no 'Yes-No' about Senator Symon. We generally know what he means, but we never know what his leader means." That is the distinction between the two men.

Senator FINDLEY.—We know that he does not always mean what he says.

Senator STYLES.—No; very often he means a great deal more than he says. When Mr. Reid was addressing the Farmers, Property Owners, and Producers' Association, in Collins-street, only last week, he said—

I was Premier for five years in New South Wales, during which the Labour Party had me in the hollow of their hand, but what was the result? I got my free-trade policy passed by protectionist labour men.

I shall point out how misleading that statement was to his audience. According to his own showing, he did a five years' grovel. He was under no compulsion to remain in the hollow of the hand of the Labour Party; he was crawling and subservient then. He charged Sir Edmund Barton with being crawling and subservient to the Labour Party; and yet he gets up and tells the public, when it suits himself, that he was in the hollow of the hand of the Labour Party for five years. The line of discreditable subserviency and cowardice must have been

passed scores of times during that period, and his Government must have been a dishonorable tool in the hands of the Labour Party, as I intend to show. He said, at Bowral, that the Barton Government kept one eye on the Labour Party. It will be seen directly that Mr. Reid kept both eyes on the Labour Party for very many years. The inference which he wished his listeners in Collins-street the other day to draw from his remark was that he made use of the protectionist-labour members and other protectionists in order to get his free-trade policy placed on the statute-book, but the greater portion of the crawling and subserviency took place after his Tariff was assented to by the Governor on the 12th of December, 1895. I propose to show that he is a prohibitionist as well as an opportunist. In 1896, tenders were invited by the Government of New South Wales for the construction of a bridge over the Murrumbidgee River at Gundagai. A Victorian firm, named McKenzie and Sons, sent in the lowest tender, but it was put aside by Mr. Reid's Government, although there was no restriction placed in the advertisement on the location of the tenderers, and the contract was given to a New South Wales contractor. McKenzie and Sons were well known as contractors in Victoria and New Zealand. They purchased plans and specifications from the State Government, and their good cash was accepted, but the contract was refused to them. A transaction of that kind in private life would be called by a very ugly name. If this firm and other contractors had been notified that it would be of no use to tender for the work because they were not resident in New South Wales, they would not have bothered to send in a tender. There was nothing against this firm, and yet the contract, I repeat, was given to a local man by the Reid Government.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—Is this local politics?

Senator STYLES.—I do not believe in Mr. Reid as the Prime Minister of the Commonwealth, and I propose to show that he is an opportunist, that when it suits his purpose he scatters his alleged political principles to the four winds of heaven.

Senator PULSFORD.—Has the honorable senator got the amounts of the tenders?

Senator STYLES.—Yes. I have taken from the New South Wales *Hansard* what Mr. Reid did say.

Senator GRAY.—Would it not be the head of the Department rather than Mr. Reid, who would have to do with this contract?

Senator STYLES.—No, because it was made a Cabinet question. The Tender Board of New South Wales recommended that the tender of McKenzie and Sons should be accepted. When it was not accepted Mr. McKenzie went over and wished to see Mr. Young, the Minister for Works, who declined to give him an interview.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—Does not the honorable senator think that this is ancient history?

Senator STYLES.—No.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—So many things have happened since then.

Senator STYLES.—If it was an act which Mr. Reid, as a State Premier, ought not to have stooped to, he is unfitted to be Prime Minister of the Commonwealth. Having failed to see Mr. Young, Mr. McKenzie was taken by Mr. Chanter, a member of the State Parliament, to Mr. Reid, and his reply to Mr. McKenzie was stated in the Legislative Assembly to have been given in these words—

I do not see why my colleague should not have given you an answer to your question. I will give it to you. The reason why your tender was not accepted was because you are a Victorian.

That was a nice answer for Mr. Reid to give to the lowest tenderer. Mr. McGregor, the firm's engineer, came to me at the time, and said, "We have spent over £300 in tendering for works in New South Wales at various times. This is the first time that our tender was the lowest, and it is not accepted, because we are Victorians." If it had not been made a Cabinet question, I could well believe that that course might have been taken by the Minister of Works behind the back of the Premier.

Senator GRAY.—The honorable senator does not really believe that that was the reason why their tender was not accepted.

Senator STYLES.—I am quoting Mr. Reid's own statement. I believe very little of what he says on political matters.

Senator PULSFORD.—Does the honorable senator believe that the statement he is quoting is Mr. Reid's?

Senator STYLES.—That is what Mr. Reid told Mr. McKenzie in the presence of Mr. Chanter. I spoke to Mr. Chanter on the subject to-day, and he said that when he gave that account of the interview in the Legislative Assembly, Mr. Reid did not deny its accuracy. There could not be any reason why the contract

should not be given to the lowest tenderer. This firm, which was well known in Victoria and New Zealand, was carrying out public works here at the time. When a man tells me that he is a free-trader, and keeps the door open to all people, and then slams it in the face of a contractor in that way, I think that we should not take the slightest notice of what he says. He not only took the firm's money for the plans and specifications, but he deprived them of their profit, which might have amounted to thousands of pounds. I only mention this incident to show how utterly unreliable Mr. Reid's statements are when he declares that he is a free-trader. In the same year tenders were called by the Reid Government for supplies for the Government Departments, and on the 14th of July Mr. Chanter moved in the Legislative Assembly—

That in the opinion of this House all supplies for the Government service should be, as far as practicable, the products or manufactures of New South Wales.

Mr. Reid said on that occasion —

I thoroughly agree with the spirit of the resolution.

The head of the Free-trade Party sought to lead his audience in Collins-street the other day to believe that all these things were done so as to keep the Labour Party and the protectionists under his thumb in that House until he got his Tariff passed, but they happened to be done in the year after it was enacted. He talks about keeping an open door. We continually hear that expression rolled out by him in a very nice way, but he slammed the open door right in the face of the other Colonies in 1896. They were not to supply any goods or materials which could be furnished by New South Wales.

Senator GRAY.—New South Wales always kept her markets open to Victoria, but Victoria did not reciprocate.

Senator STYLES.—New South Wales did not open her markets on that occasion to Victoria. I could understand a Premier in a protectionist State adopting the policy which is embodied in that resolution, but I cannot understand the head of the free-traders of Australia heartily concurring in that resolution, and at the same time telling the people that he took a great pride in keeping the door open to the other Colonies. It seems to me that this was not very good free-trade, but it was excellent prohibition, both in the case of Mr. McKenzie and

in the other case which I have just mentioned. This gentleman, Mr. Reid, who will not now take up the Iron Bonus Bill, says that he will allow every member of his Government to vote as he pleases with regard to the proposition contained in that measure. Yet this is the same gentleman who offered an advantage of 15 per cent. to those who would start iron works in New South Wales, to turn out 150,000 tons of steel rails. That, again, was excellent protection, but it was very bad free-trade. It shows that Mr. Reid is prepared to throw his principles to the four winds of heaven whenever it suits himself. After he had passed his free-trade Tariff in New South Wales, the Labour Party there compelled him to pass other legislation which was in their interests. They held him in the hollow of their hand. In 1896 he passed the Mines Acts Amendments Acts. In 1896 he passed the Coal Mines Regulation Act. In the same year he passed the Factories Act. In 1896, and again in 1898, he passed the Elections Acts. In 1898 he passed an Act for the exclusion of inferior races. I am quoting these instances from a pamphlet written by Mr. Black, who claims, and with apparently good reason, that the Labour Party in New South Wales were able to force these measures from Mr. Reid's Government. Was not that cringing and crawling to the Labour Party in order that he might remain in office? He could not have been doing it for any other purpose. It is really very funny! Four years ago Mr. Reid came to Melbourne and delivered a speech in the Town Hall. He there stated—and it is to be remembered that Federation was then about to be consummated—that if he came into office he would throw the protected industries of Victoria into the water and let them sink or swim as they might. He expressed the opinion that if an industry after having been established for thirty years could not carry on without protection it was not worth protecting. This was his dry-dog threat! But it was very cheap politics. In the same way, Senator Symon might come over to Melbourne, and threaten all sorts of things, knowing that he had no voters to face on this side of the border.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—The people at that meeting all applauded.

Senator STYLES.—Yes, but it was an audience of importers and free-traders. Admission was by ticket.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—Was it really?

Senator O'KEEFE.—It was not a public meeting, then?

Senator STYLES.—No; one had to get a ticket in order to gain admittance, just as though it were a soup kitchen! Having passed his Tariff in 1895, Mr. Reid did not place upon the free list several articles which were manufactured in New South Wales. My honorable friend, Senator Pulsford, who is a complete encyclopædia on this subject, will know that that is the case. He will recollect that Mr. Reid stated that he intended to wipe out the protectionist Tariff. And he did it to a certain extent. But he retained some items. He retained preserved and canned fruits, biscuits, confectionery, sugar, and certain other similar articles. In fact, at the end of 1898, three years after his Tariff came into force, Mr. Reid himself brought in a Bill to repeal some portions of his own Tariff, in order that the duties might continue to operate. The duty at that time on sugar was £4 per ton refined, and £3 per ton raw. Mr. Reid imposed a duty of £1 more per ton on refined than on raw sugar in order that the raw sugar might be refined in New South Wales factories by New South Wales workmen. This again was very excellent protection, but it was very bad free-trade. I am pointing out how subservient he was to the protectionists and to the Labour Party. But that is not all. He threatened, as I have said, that he would throw every Victorian industry into the water, because he considered that an industry ought to be able to swim after thirty years of protection. But sugar cannot have been grown in New South Wales for over thirty years. It was grown there before we had a single protectionist industry in Victoria. At the time Mr. Reid came into power there were over 30,000 acres under crop in New South Wales. But he did not attempt to throw that dog into the water. There were many thousands of votes behind the dog! The Colonial Sugar Refining Company was behind it also. That meant many votes in the Legislative Assembly. Therefore Mr. Reid determined to keep his hands off that dog. He now fawns upon the farming industry—the country producers. He talks of the “great producing industries of Australia,” and they cheer him to the echo. But that is not what he said at the Melbourne Town Hall in the speech to which I have previously referred.

He was then speaking to free-trade importers, and he said—

That door which was open in the mother colony always was going to be open in all Australia. With all these barriers down, the stock fatteners and wheat farmers would feel the cold southerly wind of a world's competition.

That was the same gentleman who is now continually telling the farmers that they cannot be protected. He then talked of exposing them to the cold southerly wind of the world's competition. The importers cheered him to the echo. He did not make a similar statement when he was speaking to the producers the other day.

Senator O'KEEFE.—The other leader of the Government is in favour of a stock tax.

Senator STYLES.—Yes. We have heard a great deal of fiscal peace and of fiscal truce. This is how Mr. Reid expressed his views on fiscal peace just before the election—

Some people say, "Let the tariff alone for two or three years." I do not believe that would be in the interests of the community.

Twelve months ago he did not believe that fiscal peace would be in the interests of the electors. Now he believes in letting the Tariff alone.

Senator GRAY.—He distinctly stated that if the vote of the people went against him he would allow the fiscal issue to lie.

Senator STYLES.—Is that really what Mr. Reid said? He went to New South Wales, and he made the following statement:—

He believed he would be more successful if he consented to sink the fiscal issue, but he could not in honour do that.

Was there anything about sinking the fiscal issue there? He also said—

His party had agreed to resist any further development of protective taxation; and, with only a few exceptions, is prepared to reduce the existing tariff to a revenue tariff level.

Why does he not do it? The leader of the Government claims to be a free-trader. I believe that in most things he is, in practice, a sound protectionist. But he does not own it, and does not like to admit that it is so. For my own part, I believe that if Mr. Reid were a Victorian he would be a protectionist to-morrow. That is my firm impression. I am saying these things in order to show why I think that Mr. Reid is not—to use the phrase that is employed at election times—a "fit and proper person" to fill the high office which has been conferred upon him, and which I hope he will not hold very long. Something has been said about pre-

ferential trade. Let me state what is Mr. Reid's opinion on the subject. He said—

If we can get the tariff down to a revenue tariff standard then we will dispose of England's grievance in a very satisfactory way.

Senator GRAY.—Hear, hear.

Senator STYLES.—I am glad to hear that cheer. Mr. Reid's idea of preferential trade is to wipe out all protectionist duties, and to allow Germany and other countries to bring their goods in on equal terms with Great Britain.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—He never said that.

Senator STYLES.—But he did say that if he could get the Tariff down to a revenue standard he would soon dispose of England's grievance in a very satisfactory way. What did that mean? It meant that foreign countries would have an equal right to dump their goods in Australia as the United Kingdom would have.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—When did he say that?

Senator STYLES.—I have read the passage in which Mr. Reid said that if he could get the Tariff down to a revenue standard he would dispose of England's grievance in a very satisfactory way. That is to say, that if he could get it down to a revenue standard the effect would be to shut up the protectionist factories in Victoria, and Great Britain would, therefore, have no serious competitors in the country. But he said that if he failed in that respect he and his party would devote their strength to granting a substantial preference to the mother country by making reductions in the present schedule of duties. He said—

If we fail, then we will have to devote the whole of our strength to granting a substantial preference to the mother country by making adequate reductions in the present schedule of duties wherever necessary.

That is exactly what he was going to do—give to Great Britain the same terms as other countries. Yet he complains of the Barton Government.

They brought down a high tariff which shut out Great Britain just as much as other old world countries. Now they are striving, by means of a spurious preferential trade cry, to get their tariff up . . . and let the rates as they stand . . . remain in force against the mother country, while they will raise them against foreign nations.

Let me now quote a passage from one of the leading journals of this State.

Senator GRAY.—Which paper?

Senator STYLES.—Probably the honorable senator will be able to guess the

source of the quotation from the nature of it. It is as follows:—

Twenty-five years ago nothing would have seemed more unlikely than that the twentieth century would open with a scarcely veiled antagonism between Great Britain and Germany, and a rapidly growing conviction among Englishmen throughout the world, that the Germans are their enemies, the nation with whom they will have to reckon in the near future. It would have seemed incredible that in a few years they would develop national ambitions inconsistent with the continued existence of the British Empire, and would look forward eagerly to the time when they would be strong enough to challenge its naval supremacy. Yet this is exactly what has happened. It is as though a veil had been suddenly rent asunder, and we are able to see clearly what was before hidden from us, that a people whom we regarded as our best friends are really our bitterest rivals. The hostility of Germany to England is the dominant factor in the international politics to-day, and marks the opening of a new chapter in English history. We are again face to face with a power that, so far as present appearances go, will be satisfied with nothing less than our downfall. . . . They have made no secret of their longing to break up the British Empire, and appropriate its most valuable portions, such as South Africa and Australasia.

That extract is from the *Argus*, which supports Mr. Reid. I was staggered when I read that article, but I believe it to be absolutely and literally correct. No one will accuse the *Argus* of being an alarmist in that direction. Yet free-traders, with Mr. Reid, the Prime Minister, at their head, would open our ports freely to that power, which would, if it were able, break up the British Empire to-morrow.

Senator GRAY.—England opens her ports to us.

Senator STYLES.—England ought to open her ports freely to us, seeing that she opens them to Germany. What a difference there is between the leader in this chamber and the leader in another place! The latter would admit German goods and any person who cared to come to this country, whereas the Attorney-General would confine immigration to the British races.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—I did not say so.

Senator STYLES.—Senator Symon himself declared that this country was intended for the British race.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—I spoke of the Anglo-Saxon race.

Senator STYLES.—Senator Symon said that he would like to see every one excluded, even the white races, other than British.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—Nonsense! The honorable senator is drawing on his imagination.

Senator STYLES.—What the honorable and learned senator said was that we did a great deal too much trade with foreigners. When I was speaking on this subject about two and a half years ago, the honorable and learned senator began to laugh, and I said—

It is quite right to laugh when, as is the case with Senator Symon, perhaps, one does not know how very large this trade is.

To that Senator Symon said—

I know that it is much too large.

That is reported in the *Commonwealth Hansard*, of 22nd January, 1902.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—And that is my opinion.

Senator STYLES.—And the honorable and learned senator also said that German and other white races should be excluded. According to *Hansard*, published on the 30th of November, 1901, the honorable and learned senator said that all white races, except Britishers, should be excluded. That was when we were discussing the Pacific Island Labourers Bill, and the honorable and learned senator stated there, very impressively—

We are nearly all of us agreed that Australia is peculiarly fitted to be the home of the British race. Speaking generally, we are agreed that, if it is possible, we should make Australia the resort and the home of ourselves, of our children, and of all of the same blood who choose to come here—especially, I would say, of all of the same blood. I do not extend it even to the other white races. I am, and always have been, an advocate of keeping Australia—I would not limit it to Australians only—for those of British blood, so far as we possibly can.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—Hear, hear!

Senator STYLES.—The honorable and learned senator is now allied with a man who would open our ports to-morrow for the admission of all sorts and conditions of men.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—The honorable senator is changing his ground with every sentence. What he said was that I stated I would exclude the white races.

Senator STYLES.—And that is exactly what the honorable and learned member did say, according to the quotation I have read. There is more that I could read, but I thought that enough to convince Senator Symon that he is a very liberal-minded man according to my views, seeing that he would restrict immigration to people from England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales,

not even excluding Scotland. I am quite sure the honorable and learned member will agree with me as to the employment of coloured labour on mail boats. Mr. Reid, on the other hand, likes coloured labour on mail boats, but I am going to point out what greater authorities than the Prime Minister, or any one here, have to say on the question. There was a leaflet issued last year by what is known as the Navy League. I desire to remind honorable senators that the recruiting ground of the British Navy is the British Mercantile Marine; that has always been so, and I hope it will always be so. The leaflet reads—

Our reserve is insufficient to replace casualties and maintain a supply of seamen during hostilities. It is desirable therefore that the reserve should be largely increased, utilizing all the resources of the Empire.

One of the resources of the Empire is the exclusion of all aliens from mail boats and the employment of our own people. I do not say for a moment that those who own the boats should be deprived of any of their profits. When they are interfered with, and compelled to use more expensive labour, the circumstances ought to be taken into consideration; that I should regard as part of the insurance for the safety of the Empire. The report of the Naval Reserve Committee states—

One of the objects of a strong navy is to enable our merchants' ships to keep the sea in time of war, and this object would be defeated if too many seamen and firemen were suddenly withdrawn from the mercantile marine.

Here is another extract—

Since 1859, the requirements of the Navy have out-grown the power of the mercantile marine to supply them. The former have increased; the number of British seamen employed on the latter have decreased.

Honorable senators have noticed that a shipping inspector, giving evidence in the case of the wreck of the *Australia*, told the Court that sixty out of every 100 men employed on British mercantile ships which trade here are aliens.

Senator GUTHRIE.—The Board of Trade returns show that the proportion of foreign seamen is 68 per cent.

Senator STYLES.—I presume that the shipping inspector knew what he was talking about, or he would not have made the statement. In this connexion, I should like to read a short extract from the report of a Postal Conference, held some eight or nine years ago.

Senator FRASER.—That is too far back.

Senator STYLES.—I do not think so, although I know it must be very unpleasant to have those matters raked up.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—They are very stale.

Senator STYLES.—The right-about-face of the Prime Minister is quite new. I have here some extracts from the report of delegates at the Post and Telegraph Conference held in Sydney in 1896. The Honorable Joseph Cook, now a member of the House of Representatives, and then Postmaster-General in the Reid Government of New South Wales, was president. In the report of that Conference we read—

The Conference, having considered the reply of the London office to the stipulation of the Hobart Conference with regard to the manning of the mail boats by white instead of coloured labour, recognises fully the force of the reason given by the Imperial Government against insisting on the exclusion of coloured labour, viz.—the necessity of discriminating between various classes of British subjects; but in reply, would respectfully point out that by some steamship companies, the labour of the contributing Colonies is excluded from employment, and an invidious preference given to the labour of countries which do not contribute to the maintenance of the service. No injustice would thus be done by the stipulation that the labour of the countries subsidizing the service only should be employed. And, therefore, this Conference is of opinion that the mails to and from Australia and Great Britain should be carried by ships manned with white crews only.

I have here a telegram sent by the president of the Conference after the reply had been received from the Home authorities—

Much regret you decline to do anything re coloured labour. We are not in position to call for tenders on our own account, and are therefore compelled accede to your proposal.

That telegram was sent from Sydney in the beginning of 1896, after the New South Wales Tariff was passed, and it was sent, as I say, by Mr. Cook, who was Postmaster-General in the Reid Government. It would be idle to say that Mr. Cook, as Postmaster-General, would take such action without the knowledge of the State Cabinet. It was such an important alteration that was proposed, that there can be no question that Mr. Reid and the other members of the Government would be fully aware of what was being done. It seems, however, that Mr. Reid must take a very different view now, when he says that if he had the opportunity, he would exclude the coloured races. Here are a few expressive sentences from a newspaper of the 26th of last month:—

The Russo-Japanese war has shown what damage may be done to the shipping trade by

the action of a few cruisers in exercising the right of search, and sinking or capturing merchant steamers. British and American commerce with the Far East has been virtually extinguished for the time being.

Let me point out that we are not at war, and yet our traffic with the Far East has been "virtually extinguished." What position should we be in if we were at war with a big naval power? The newspaper article goes on to say:—

This is an aspect of the question that appeals especially to Australia, which is so largely dependent for prosperity on her import and export trade—a trade that would suffer seriously in the event of war between England and any considerable naval power.

I notice that Senator Gray does not ask me from what newspaper that extract was taken, but I may tell him that it is from the Melbourne *Argus*, one of the last papers that we should expect to express such sentiments. With those sentiments, however, I most heartily concur, and I wish to impress on the Government that they should not attempt to disturb the White Ocean policy, which I look upon as much more important than the policy of a White Australia. The latter deals with only a corner of the British Empire, and a White Ocean is the initial step to what must ultimately become an Empire question.

Senator DOBSON.—Does the honorable senator think that we can retain India, and yet keep our Indian subjects out of the stoke-hold?

Senator STYLES.—What I think will happen if Great Britain gets into a naval war is that the whole of the aliens would leave our merchant service.

Senator DOBSON.—Then, we should want the black fellows all the more.

Senator STYLES.—The black fellows would go back to their own land of curry and rice. They would say that the Britishers had paid them about one-fourth of what was paid to the white men, and that their accommodation had been very inferior, and under the circumstances they would not think it good enough to be shot at, and would go to their homes. But the greater danger would be with the white foreigners, and in my opinion every man on a British ship ought to be made to take the oath of allegiance. We train foreigners to be hardy, competent sailors, and there is no doubt that very naturally, and rightly, they would, in the event of war, go to their own homes, and turn their country's guns against British ships. Here is an ex-

tract from a speech by Mr. Reid, at Swan Hill, last year—

The policy of a White Australia was going too far in seeking to break up a mail service because there were some lascars in the stoke-holds. If he got sufficient power he would repeal such a provision.

I only hope to goodness that Mr. Reid may never have the power. The interjection by Senator Dobson as to the stoke-hold is just an echo of Mr. Reid; and if these gentlemen know anything about the matter at all, they know that the ships are manned by lascars—that lascars are not only in the stoke-hold, but all over the decks.

Senator DOBSON.—I asked the question whether we could expect to keep India, and yet deny these men the right to live as they have been living for generations.

Senator STYLES.—We do not regard these men as equals, nor treat them as equals, and with their lack of parliamentary representation, they are, in our estimation, little better than serfs. Those men would certainly leave us in the lurch if any crisis arose, and I think the Government would do well not to interfere with the White Ocean policy. During the railway strike, I went to Adelaide by the Orient steamer *Orotava*, and I asked one of the officers to show me the lascars' quarters. He informed me that there were no lascars on the ship; and, as a fact, it is only within the last three or four years that coloured men have been employed on Orient boats.

Senator DOBSON.—Why? Because it was said that it was impossible to get them.

Senator STYLES.—The men were employed because they were cheap. It would be unfair to deprive the ship-owners of part of their profits. If, in carrying out any national policy, loss should be incurred, it should be made good to them in the same way as Germany makes good a similar loss to her ship-owners. We are told that the Britisher cannot go into the stoke-hold in the Red Sea. How do the Germans work their vessels? If a labour man were to go down to a German ship tomorrow, and offer to work for nothing, he would not be given a job. France does not object to lascars being employed along the coast, but she objects to foreign ships engaging in the coastal trade. Neither in France nor in America can a foreign ship trade from port to port along the coast.

Senator GRAY.—Does the honorable senator say that they are doing wrong?

Senator STYLES.—No, I think that we ought to take a leaf out of their book.

They do a number of things which we might well copy. We might deal with our mail boats in the same way as they do. Their vessels are subsidized, because they cannot compete with our vessels, manned with black labour. There is no doubt that the Empire will have to adopt that policy. I do not object to French vessels coming here and trading on our coast if they pay the Australian rate of wages. We allow a Frenchman to engage in our coastal trade on his own terms, but he pays nothing towards the upkeep of the British Navy. We shall have to protect ourselves against the French in the case of a fight, but if an Australian vessel desired to trade from port to port along the coast of France she would soon be stopped.

Senator DOBSON.—Does the honorable senator recollect that the British Empire has 51 per cent. of the shipping of the world, and therefore cannot get enough English sailors?

Senator STYLES.—I wonder if the honorable senator knows how many men are employed in the British mercantile marine?

Senator DOBSON.—I have read all the reports, and I know that it is simply impossible to get men.

Senator STYLES.—There are 250,000 men employed in the British mercantile marine.

Senator DOBSON. — And 37,000 black men.

Senator STYLES.—The House of Commons has begun to look into this question. At the end of 1900 it directed that an inquiry should be made into the condition of the aliens in the British mercantile marine. An inquiry was held, and a report was laid before both Houses of the British Parliament in August, 1901, showing that during the fifteen years ending with 1900 the British mercantile marine had so increased that it employed 43,000 more men at the end of that period than it did at the beginning, that this number included 19,000 coloured aliens, 12,000 white aliens, and 12,000 boys of the bulldog breed, or a little over one in four. I should like to make a few more remarks—

Senator DOBSON.—On the policy of the Government, I hope.

Senator STYLES.—No; on the policy of the Prime Minister in the past.

Senator DOBSON.—We have had enough of the past.

Senator STYLES.—I have reserved the best part of my speech for the last, and I am sure that Senator Dobson, who has such

a great admiration for the Prime Minister, will be delighted by the time I have finished. At the time when it occurred, I considered, and I believe that a large number of others considered, that Mr. Reid was rather badly treated when he was not offered the opportunity of becoming the first Prime Minister of Australia.

The PRESIDENT.—Does the honorable senator think that has anything to do with the policy of the present Government?

Senator STYLES.—I intend to show that his political past unfits Mr. Reid for the position he is in. That has been the whole object of my speech.

Senator GRAY.—He has got there.

Senator STYLES.—Yes; and I am going to show that it would be right to put him out as rapidly as possible, as he is an unsafe man to be there. I propose now to trace his career in another direction. I, in common with, I think, the great bulk of the people, believed that when the first Governor-General, after Sir William Lyne had failed to form a Ministry, gave a commission to Mr. Barton, a private citizen, Mr. Reid was rather badly treated. But I have gone more fully into the matter lately, and I now think that Lord Hopetoun acted rightly. He was well posted in Australian politics, and in my opinion now he could not have done anything else than he did.

Senator DOBSON.—Does the honorable senator propose to try to prove that Lord Hopetoun did not send for Mr. Reid on account of his political career?

Senator STYLES.—Yes, as I shall prove.

Senator DOBSON.—I think the honorable senator ought to leave it alone.

The PRESIDENT.—I would point out that all these interjections greatly lengthen the speech.

Senator DOBSON.—Is it relevant to the question before the Chair, sir, for the honorable senator to try to show what was Lord Hopetoun's reason for not sending for a certain gentleman three or four years ago to form a Government?

The PRESIDENT.—I asked Senator Styles if he thought it was relevant to the policy of the Ministry to discuss the reasons why Mr. Reid ought to have been the first Prime Minister, and he said that he was going to connect his remarks with the public acts of Mr. Reid, in order to show that he is not a proper person to be the

Prime Minister of the Commonwealth. If that is so, I cannot say that he is out of order.

Senator DOBSON.—I admit, sir, that Senator Styles may criticise Mr. Reid's public career, and attempt to show that he is unfit to be Prime Minister; but he is now seeking to show that Lord Hopetoun, from a large knowledge of public affairs, regarded Mr. Reid as an unfit person to send for to form a Government, and I submit that is out of order on the ground of irrelevancy.

The PRESIDENT.—I really cannot see what connexion it has with the question before the Chair, but I understand that Senator Styles intends to connect his remarks therewith.

Senator STYLES.—I was going to show why I at one time thought Mr. Reid was not well treated. The Commonwealth would not have been in existence now if it had not been for his action. He called a Conference of Premiers, to meet in Hobart in January, 1895. It agreed to a draft Enabling Bill, which the Parliament of each Colony was to be asked to pass for the purpose of calling into existence a Federal Convention, to frame a Constitution. Mr. Reid took the first step in that direction. His Bill, when it was introduced, contained no provision for a minimum affirmative vote.

Senator DOBSON.—This seems to me to be absolutely irrelevant.

Senator STYLES.—The honorable and learned senator knows what is coming perfectly well.

Senator DOBSON.—I have not the faintest idea.

Senator STYLES.—The honorable and learned senator is a well read man, and knows that what I am about to mention is not very creditable to the Prime Minister as a politician. Mr. Reid was forced into the position of adopting a provision for a minimum affirmative vote, and he was willing to accept a vote of 38,000. Subsequently an amendment was moved by Mr. Hughes to fix the number at 50,000 votes, and Mr. Reid adopted that view. That was all perfectly straight. He then attended the meeting of the Convention in Adelaide, and when he was bidding his fellow-delegates good-bye, on the 21st April, 1897, he said—

I may be allowed before I go . . . to express to the public of Australia my profoundest satisfaction, as one of those who helped to bring this Convention into existence, at the conciliatory and patriotic spirit which has been shown

throughout the whole of the transactions by the various delegations from the Australian colonies. I confess I came here with misgivings; but I am glad now to be able to state that our proceedings have been of such a character that I feel more confident than ever that we are really at last on the brink of that glorious transformation which will enable us, and all the people of Australia, to rise to the true dignity of the destiny which lies before us.

One would think from that speech that he was well satisfied with the Convention Bill, which I may say was completed two days afterwards. Fourteen days afterwards he laid the draft Bill before the local Parliament. And four weeks later one of his supporters introduced a Bill to amend the Enabling Act, by increasing the minimum affirmative vote from 50,000 to 80,000. Any gentleman who had the appointment of a Prime Minister would look at an act of that kind two or three times before he selected Mr. Reid. The Convention Bill of 1898, it will be remembered, was wrecked because of that increase. Only 72,000 votes were polled, that is about 40 per cent. more than the original number required. In Victoria we framed our Enabling Bill on the lines of the New South Wales Enabling Act. We copied verbatim the provision for the 50,000 affirmative vote.

The PRESIDENT.—Does the honorable senator think that that has anything to do with the policy of the Government?

Senator STYLES.—I wish to make it quite clear to those who have not followed his history that Mr. Reid is not to be trusted, that he has broken faith with the other States.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—Does the honorable senator think that Mr. Isaacs is to be trusted?

Senator STYLES.—I do.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—Does the honorable senator know that Mr. Isaacs was anti-Federal at one time?

Senator STYLES.—And so were a good many others. I should like to quote Mr. Reid's own words, in order to show the value which he places upon a solemn compact entered into between himself and his Parliament and the other States of the Commonwealth. I wish to show how easily responsibility sits upon the shoulders of the present Prime Minister. He said—

I do not for a moment wish to raise a serious issue in this matter, even now, so long as we keep some kind of faith with the other Colonies; but if a proposition is carried, which seems to me to involve a breach of faith of this country with

the other Colonies, then I must frankly say to the House that a very serious question must arise.

He did not say that it was not a serious breach of faith. He said—

I do not object to an alteration of a reasonable character. . . . To require an absolute majority is really asking too much.

The proposal was that 135,000 affirmative votes should be the minimum. That was one-half of 270,000 electors. The *Hansard* report goes on—

AN HONORABLE MEMBER.—100,000 is quite enough.

MR. REID.—50,000 is too low.

It must be remembered that Mr. Reid introduced the Enabling Bill in the first instance without any minimum vote provision. Of course he did the dignified thing, as Premiers do sometimes, when he stated—

I represent this Parliament in reference to the other Colonies in a peculiar sense, and it is with reference to the faith which this House has to keep with the other Colonies that I have to address myself to this matter. When a people enter into bargains, or pass Acts of Parliament on the faith of which other people, other communities, pass important Acts of Parliament, then I think we have to pause before we seriously disturb the compact upon which the movement is based. I appeal to my honorable friends to meet me to the extent of 75,000 or 80,000 votes.

AN HONORABLE MEMBER.—No, 100,000.

MR. REID.—All I can say is that 100,000 makes me an utter opponent of the whole proposal right through, from start to finish, because I think that 100,000 would amount to too serious a breach of the compact with the other Colonies.

He agreed to 80,000. That introduced, as honorable senators will see at once, an advance of 60 per cent. upon the original 50,000. Mr. Reid had a curious idea of what was a serious breach of faith in raising the minimum in this way from 50,000 to 80,000 after all the trouble which the people of Australia had gone to. When Mr. Reid was driven from office, one of the newspapers had a leading article upon the situation. I will quote a passage from it. It said—

With respect to the Federation movement, Mr. Reid was most unhappily an opportunist. Nobody expected Mr. Reid would assume a yes-no attitude in the first referendum. This halting policy was partly a concession to the anti-Federal section of his supporters in Sydney, and partly personal jealousy of the Convention leader, Mr. Barton. The game of an opportunist is a game of calculation, and Mr. Reid miscalculated. Had he decided to run a straight course when he returned from the Convention, his personal advocacy would have secured the statutory majority at the first referendum, the Commonwealth would now be in existence, and Mr. Reid now be Prime Minister of the Commonwealth.

That was written fifteen months before Federation was consummated. It was urged that if Mr. Reid had run a straight course he might have been Prime Minister of the Commonwealth. It was the *Argus*, a supporter of Mr. Reid's, which said that. Not knowing many of these things, I thought that Mr. Reid had been dealt with hardly, seeing that the Governor-General selected Sir William Lyne as the first Prime Minister, and asked him to form a Ministry. It will be remembered that Sir William Lyne failed. If it were necessary that a member of the New South Wales Parliament, holding a prominent position, should be sent, for by the Governor-General, it seemed to me at the time that the fair and proper course, seeing that the Premier of the State had failed to form a Ministry, was to send for the leader of the Opposition, who at the time was Mr. Reid. I held the opinion that at that time Mr. Reid had done more for Federation than any other man in Australia. But Sir William Lyne having failed, the Governor-General passed over Mr. Reid and asked a private citizen, Sir Edmund Barton, to undertake the formation of the first Federal Ministry. It is true that that private citizen had been leader of the Federal Convention. But the Bill which that Convention prepared had been defeated by the people of his own State. So that Sir Edmund Barton, to my mind, was really out of the running. The Bill that was accepted by the people of New South Wales was based upon the Bill which the Convention framed, but it had been revised and amended in vital points by the Premiers' Conference. Mr. Reid called that Conference together. He was its moving spirit. The Bill which issued from it became our present Constitution, and not the Bill framed by the Convention. These, it seemed to me, were strong reasons why Mr. Reid should be sent for, and commissioned to form the first Federal Ministry, failing the Premier of New South Wales; it being admitted on all sides that the parent State had a kind of right to have one of its own citizens chosen to be the first Prime Minister.

Senator HIGGS.—I think that Australia recognised that Sir Edmund Barton was the man to be sent for.

Senator STYLES.—Australia, perhaps, did not know the whole of the circumstances. I did not know them. I must say that, if Mr. Reid's political record had

been as clean as Sir Edmund Barton's was, he would have been badly treated.

Senator HIGGS.—Does the honorable senator mean to suggest that the Governor-General knew him?

Senator STYLES.—My own fixed conviction is that the Governor-General knew all the circumstances which I have related. Lord Hopetoun was a man who was quite abreast of Australian politics. He had been here before, and being a man of mark, we may rely upon it that he kept himself abreast of Australian affairs.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—Did it not strike the honorable senator then, that the Governor-General should not have sent for Sir William Lyne, who was the strongest anti-Federalist in New South Wales?

Senator STYLES.—Lord Hopetoun sent for Sir William Lyne, because he was the Premier of the State. But my point is that, failing him, the leader of the Opposition in that State should have been called upon.

Senator DOBSON.—Certainly not; the leader of the Convention.

Senator STYLES.—Seeing that since 1895 Mr. Reid had done more for Australian union than any other half-dozen men in Australia, I thought he ought to have been sent for.

Senator DOBSON.—The honorable senator is the only man whom I have ever heard say so.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—Certainly, Mr. Reid did a great deal for Federation.

Senator STYLES.—Was it not through him that the Conference of Premiers was held? These facts led me strongly to the opinion that there must have been good reasons why Lord Hopetoun did not send for him, and commission him to form the first Ministry.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—The voice of Australia pointed to Sir Edmund Barton.

Senator STYLES.—Who took notice of the voice of Australia? Did the Governor-General do so when he sent for Sir William Lyne? I have a high opinion of Lord Hopetoun's powers, and I believe now that he saw clearly what ought to be done.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—Federalists thought—wrongly perhaps—that he made a blunder.

Senator STYLES.—He knew perfectly well what he was doing. He selected Sir William Lyne, notwithstanding that he was the greatest anti-Billite in New South

Wales—I do not say the strongest anti-Federalist—because he was Premier of that State. Failing Sir William Lyne, I think that there were good reasons for sending for Mr. Reid, and that if he had had a clean political record he would have been sent for.

Senator DE LARGIE.—Another Scotchman found him out.

Senator STYLES.—Yes. One Scotchman found out another one.

Senator DOBSON.—It is a very unfair thing to impute motives of that sort to the Governor-General on such grounds.

Senator STYLES.—I have a perfect right to my own opinion.

Senator DOBSON.—It is grossly unfair.

Senator STYLES.—That may be the honorable and learned senator's opinion, but if Senator Dobson knows his own opinion on any matter he is the only man in this chamber who does know it at any time. I intend to touch upon another aspect, and then I shall have done with Mr. Reid. I have no doubt that honorable senators have heard of the Neild episode in Mr. Reid's career. Mr. J. C. Neild was a member of Parliament in New South Wales. I mention this because I think that a gentleman holding such a high position as that of Prime Minister of Australia is fairly open to criticism.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—Did he not expiate that by being turned out of office?

Senator STYLES.—I thought that question would come. But let me ask Senator Symon whether, if he had an accountant who had committed a breach of trust, and was punished for it, he would take him back into his service again? I am quite sure that the honorable and learned senator knows too much of the world to take a man back into his employment in a position of trust, who had done what he ought not to do in such a connexion.

Senator GRAY.—What he did was a grand thing.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—Why should we go into the no-confidence debates of New South Wales?

Senator STYLES.—I have a right to show that the political career of the Prime Minister is of such a character that he ought not to be intrusted with the highest place in the service of the people of Australia. That is the position I take up.

Senator DOBSON.—Do not hit below the belt.

Senator STYLES.—I do not intend to do so.

Senator PULSFORD.—The honorable senator has been doing so all along.

Senator STYLES.—These remarks come from honorable senators who are so accustomed to doing what they complain of, that they attribute the same conduct to others. Do they not remember how Mr. Reid hit below the belt in criticising Sir Edmund Barton and others? Let me recall these facts to the minds of honorable senators. Early in 1897, Mr. J. C. Neild, then member for Paddington, New South Wales, went to England. When he was just about leaving, the following question was asked in the New South Wales Parliament, Mr. Reid then being Premier—

Senator HIGGS.—Is the honorable senator referring to the poet or the politician?

Senator STYLES.—I am referring to Mr. J. C. Neild, the politician, now the honorable Senator Lt.-Col. J. C. Neild. The question to which I allude was as follows:—

I have been requested to ask the Premier: Is it a fact that he has given a roving commission to the honorable member for Paddington to inquire into the system of old-age pensions in Europe; and, if so, is it to be distinctly understood that no expense is to be incurred by the State?

Mr Reid replied—

I desire to say that the honorable member for Paddington, who is about to visit England, has been empowered by the Government to make such inquiry; but he has consented to do so without the slightest remuneration, either in the way of allowance for expenses, or otherwise. He will do so without the slightest expense to the Government.

The last paragraph in the Neild Report, which was written by Senator Neild himself, reads as follows:—

I have now completed my arduous task, which I undertook at my own charge, and without hope of reward, save that which comes from useful work honestly done in the interests of humanity.

There we have the two parties to what was subsequently a bargain, positively declaring that there was no understanding that a payment of public money should be made from one to the other. But a year afterwards, another question was asked in the New South Wales Parliament to the following effect:—

Has any report been received in respect to old-age pensions from Mr. J. C. Neild, M.P.?

The Chief Secretary replied as follows:—

Mr. Neild has prepared one . . . and the work is now being printed at the Government Printing Office.

Then the question was asked—

What cost has been incurred in procuring the report?

and the Chief Secretary replied—

None.

On the 30th August of the following year, a motion of no-confidence was tabled, and came on for discussion. Just before it was debated a question was raised in the New South Wales Parliament, which in the report is headed—

Privilege.—Mr. J. C. Neild.

The report goes on—

Mr. LEVIEN.—I wish to ask the Colonial Treasurer a question, without notice. I wish to know whether the money which has been paid to the honorable member for Paddington has been paid back into the Treasury by him? The Colonial Treasurer will know whether that is so or not.

The answer was as follows:—

Mr. CARRUTHERS.—I may say that the amount has been paid into the Treasury by Mr. Neild.

To an outsider it must seem to have been curious that the money should have been repaid if it were due to Mr. Neild. If it were not due to him, why should it have been paid to him; and why should Mr. Reid have declared that he was doing this work at his own cost? Speaking on the no-confidence motion, Mr. Reid himself said—to show that it was not his Government, but himself, who authorized the payment of this money—

I voluntarily said to Neild, "Now, Neild, we will pay you your expenses in connexion with this work, and I will add £250 for your personal trouble."

All this came out when the no-confidence debate was on. Sir William Lyne had moved—

That the present Government does not possess the confidence of this House.

But the House was not satisfied with carrying that motion. It was satisfied that Mr. Reid, personally, and not his Government, was responsible. Consequently, the House resolved—

That the present Government does not possess the confidence of this House, and deserves censure for having made payments of public money to Mr. J. C. Neild, member for Paddington, without asking Parliament, and contrary to the assurance given by the right honorable the Premier.

There were 125 members of the House, of whom 118 voted, seventy-eight in favour of the motion of censure, and forty against, whilst six paired.

Senator GRAY.—Does the honorable senator know that Mr. McGowan, the leader of the Labour Party, stated that that was not the real reason for the motion?

Senator STYLES.—I do not know what Mr. McGowan said, but I can tell him what was said by the *Daily Telegraph*, one of the largest newspapers in Australia. The *Daily Telegraph* said:—

When Mr. Reid allowed himself to be enticed into devious political paths, he placed a strain on the loyalty of his followers which could not be endured. In the midst of it, came the disclosures connected with the Neild case, which made it necessary that Parliament should take decisive action to prevent the under-mining of that safeguard which, whether effective or not, is the only one by which the purity of public life can be guaranteed. There was nothing, therefore, but to bring the errant Government before the bar of constitutional justice, and at any cost pass the inevitable judgment upon them. Any attempt on Mr. Reid's part to escape the penalty which the House has apportioned to the breach of Ministerial faith involved in the transaction for which the Government was censured, would simply be a step from bad to worse.

I think that is one of the strongest condemnations I ever read. Neither of the extracts which I have read is from the *Melbourne Age*.

Senator WALKER.—Wonderful!

Senator STYLES.—It is not wonderful at all. I knew that, no matter how accurate the extracts might be, if they were from the *Age*, I should be told the statements were biased, and so I went to the free-trade bible and prayer-book.

Senator GRAY.—How much did poor Neild get out of it?

Senator STYLES.—Nothing; he returned the money. I do not know any more of the case than what I have read in *Hansard* and the public press. I was twitted a little while ago, when I expressed the opinion that Lord Hopetoun might have been influenced by all this business. That is still my opinion, because I cannot see any reason why Lord Hopetoun should have ignored this particular man.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—The honorable senator has no right to say that.

Senator STYLES.—I have a perfect right to express my opinion, so long as I do so respectfully.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—Why express an opinion of that kind in regard to Lord Hopetoun?

Senator STYLES.—There must have been some reason why Lord Hopetoun deliberately ignored this man, and there cannot be found in any of the newspapers which supported Mr. Reid, any protest against his being passed over at the time.

Senator DOBSON.—He was not passed over.

Senator STYLES.—He was passed over by Lord Hopetoun. I could have understood if Lord Hopetoun had said that, as he believed Sir Edmund Barton would be the choice of Australia, he would ask that gentleman to form a Government.

Senator WALKER.—That was the reason.

Senator STYLES.—Lord Hopetoun asked an anti-Billite to form a Government because that anti-Billite was the Premier of a State. But it was Mr. Reid's Bill that was being dealt with in the form of a Constitution Act, and not the Bill of a Convention at all.

Senator GRAY.—Mr. Barton was the recognised leader of the Federal movement.

Senator STYLES.—Can it be said that Sir Edmund Barton did as much as Mr. Reid did for the Federal movement? Mr. Barton may have made as many speeches as Mr. Reid did, but it was the latter who brought the Federal movement to a practical issue.

The PRESIDENT.—I cannot see the relevancy of these remarks to the question before the Senate.

Senator STYLES.—I am only trying to show why I have no confidence in the present Prime Minister. I believe him to be an opportunist in politics, who trims his sails to catch every favouring breeze—a man who will cling to office as long as possible, and will need a locomotive to drag him from the Treasury benches. I am thankful to honorable senators for having listened so patiently to me while, rather ruggedly, I am afraid, I have placed my views before them. There can be no personal feeling on my part, because I have never spoken to Mr. Reid, but when I read of such things I begin to wonder whether, if he was not good enough to be Prime Minister in the first case, he has so improved as to be good enough now.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—He was good enough then, but there was another man before him.

Senator STYLES.—At all events, Mr. Reid is in double harness with Mr. McLean, and I only hope they will not go too fast. I must confess that I am astonished that certain members should have joined this Government. All I have said this evening is in regard to the Prime Minister; I have found no great fault with any of the other Ministers, though I should have liked to see any one of several members as Prime Minister in preference to the gentleman now at the head of the Government.

Senator GRAY (New South Wales).—As a new member, I feel it may be deemed an impertinence on my part to criticise the manner in which the debates in this Chamber are conducted. I feel, however, that during the two last debates, the tone has deteriorated in comparison with the tone previously observed. On the two last occasions we have been treated to biographical sketches of the past careers of members of this Parliament, without any reference whatever to the larger questions which we are here to consider. I do not think that the speech of Senator Styles, or, to a certain extent, the speech of Senator McGregor, will cause the people of the Commonwealth to think that they are represented with that dignity which is their due. I feel it my duty to endeavour to fairly and equitably defend my leader from the criticism which Senator Styles has seen fit to apply. Senator Styles is too old a parliamentarian to be influenced by any personal feelings in a matter of this kind; but outrageous personalities in connexion with the political careers of members of the present Government had much better be omitted from our discussion, or, at any rate, left to those honorable senators who have knowledge and experience of the public men of the mother State. I venture to say that throughout Australia there is no gentleman, who, according to his lights, has carried on his political career more in the interests of his State and the Commonwealth than has the present Prime Minister, and I speak of him with many years experience as a close personal acquaintance. It is not necessary to go into details in order to defend Mr. Reid. A gentleman who has had the good will of his fellow citizens and has held the proud position of Premier for many years, should, at all events, be credited with good faith. When an honorable senator undertakes to give reasons why Mr. Reid is not a fit person to become Prime Minister, he should make himself absolutely certain as to the particulars he wishes to prove. Senator Neild did not only go to England, but travelled throughout France, Germany, and other European countries, and produced a report which is regarded by experts as one of the most valuable ever produced on the question which he investigated, namely, old-age pensions. When Senator Neild first undertook the commission it was not thought that he would take the immense trouble he did, or that his report would be of such a valuable character. Senator

Neild is not a rich man, and in view of the great work which he had done, Mr. Reid volunteered to pay the expense absolutely incurred in getting the information together. That money Mr. Reid, in his good nature, advanced; and I may tell honorable senators what I suppose they know, that if the State Parliament had declined to authorize the expenditure Mr. Reid would have been personally responsible. There is no truth whatever in the insinuation that this money was paid with any intention of concealing the fact from Parliament.

Senator STYLES.—Is the motion of censure an insinuation?

Senator GRAY.—It has been stated over and over again by the leader of the Labour Party in New South Wales that the actual reason for the motion of censure was that Mr. Reid would not consent to introduce an early closing proposal with arbitrary conditions in regard to small shops. There was not a single member of the New South Wales Parliament at the time who really believed in the principle of the motion for which he voted. I also believe there was scarcely a member of the House who did not justify Mr. Reid in advancing this money. The remarkable thing is that a subsequent Government, which for four years was dominated by the Labour Party—the party which voted for the expulsion of Mr. Reid from office—have since then spent thousands upon thousands of pounds without putting the proposals through the routine of the House in the usual constitutional course.

Senator DAWSON.—Why use the word “dominated”?

Senator GRAY.—I used the term because at any moment the Labour Party lifted their fingers they could have sent the Government right-about-face, and everything was done under the domination of the Labour Party, who were just as much responsible as the Government.

Senator DAWSON.—Could the honorable senator not use the word “assisted”?

Senator GRAY.—I do not know that I could justly use the word “assisted,” because I believe a good deal of the money would not have been spent but for the craving of the Labour Party. I left Mr. Reid's guidance, and went over to Sir Edmund Barton, because Mr. Reid would not give his adhesion to the first Constitution Bill brought forward, though since then I rather feel that I was wrong, and Mr. Reid was right. We should have had

no Federation to-day, but for the fact that Mr. Reid gave his adherence to the Federal movement after the second Convention. When he did so, there was a shout of exultation from all Federalists, because they knew that Federation was an accomplished fact, so far as New South Wales was concerned. It must not be forgotten, however, that Sir Edmund Barton had for years been acknowledged as the leader of the Federal movement, and he had certainly given much time and labour to his advocacy. Mr. Reid had the same feeling as that to which Senator Styles has given expression, and considered, so far as I know from indirect information, that he ought to have been "sent for." There were, however, others who, after Sir William Lyne had formerly been offered the position, thought it only right that Sir Edmund Barton should be called upon, as the leader of the movement, to form the first Federal Government. The insinuation that Lord Hopetoun formed such an opinion of Mr. Reid that His Excellency did not feel disposed to commission that gentleman to form a Government is beneath contempt. When I hear these strong fanatical views of different parties, and leaders, expressed. I am reminded of a conversation I once heard in Yorkshire between two gentlemen. One of them said, "If I had my way I should drown Gladstone," while the other said, "I would hang Disraeli as high as I could if I had my way." That was how the leaders of two distinct parties in the old country were regarded by two educated gentlemen. The speech of Senator Styles, with its narrow provincialism, was not of a character to foster the Federal spirit. On the contrary, it could only serve to keep alive the provincialist feeling, and to emphasize the fact that one man is from New South Wales, and another is from Victoria.

Senator STYLES.—I made no reference to that.

Senator GRAY.—No; but I formed an opinion from the circumstances which were placed before me. I believe that much of the ill-feeling which has been generated in connexion with Mr. Reid, is due to the fact that he is regarded as the most powerful factor in the political atmosphere of New South Wales. I believe that there is no man who will do so much as the Right Honorable G. H. Reid, to bring about the brotherhood of the people of the States, as I believe that, if he is given the opportunity,

he will show the people of the Commonwealth at large that he is not only a representative of New South Wales, but a representative of the Commonwealth, and will do his best to promote the happiness and welfare of the people.

Senator HIGGS.—And he commences to show that feeling by denying to the smaller States a representation in his Government.

Senator GRAY.—I do not know that he ever denied that.

Senator HIGGS.—His is a Victorian and New South Wales Ministry.

Senator GRAY.—I wish to say a few words on the labour caucus. The statement has been made here that the decision of the labour caucus is only binding so far as it refers to the programme which has been laid down, and that no question outside that programme can be dealt with by the caucus. I desire to give an illustration which I think is not in keeping with that statement. When the pastoral industry of New South Wales was in that condition that no one knew whether it was going to be relieved or to be ruined; when a condition of affairs existed in that State such as has never occurred in any other State in the Commonwealth, it was felt by some gentlemen that the State or the Commonwealth Parliament ought to come to the relief of the brave, struggling settlers on the land. A deputation waited upon the Prime Minister, Mr. Deakin, in Melbourne, and he gave us very strong sympathy. The deputation also waited upon the Premier of New South Wales, and we got strong sympathy there, too, but nothing else. It was then thought that we might be able to do something with the Labour Party, because it was known that many labour members deplored as much as we did the condition of the country. Some of these gentlemen were approached, and a meeting of the Labour Party was held. The caucus sat for over three hours, but the vote was against anything being done to assist the struggling settlers. I know that many members came away from the meeting with heavy hearts. They felt that in some measure they ought to do all they could to relieve the pastoral industry. But in the State Parliament the members of the Labour Party would not move their fingers to assist any one to bring forward a motion, or to support a motion when it was brought forward, simply because those who were in favour of granting relief were dominated by the caucus vote.

Senator DAWSON.—Is the honorable senator referring now to the suspension of the fodder duties?

Senator GRAY.—We were asking the Commonwealth Government to suspend the fodder duties, and the State Government to assist in purchasing fodder for the starving stock.

Senator DAWSON.—What had the New South Wales Labour Party to do with the suspension of the fodder duties?

Senator GRAY.—Does the honorable senator mean to tell me that the condition of country districts in which men were struggling and being ruined, and millions of money were being spent, was a matter of no concern to a labour member? Take, for instance, Mr. Holman, who represented a part of the State which was suffering terribly from the drought. His constituents were doing all they could in order to get him to obtain some relief. I know that in the caucus he did his best to achieve their object.

Senator DAWSON.—Take Senator Drake, who was a member of the Federal Cabinet. He would not agree to suspend the fodder duties.

Senator GRAY.—I am not talking about Senator Drake, but pointing out that there have been cases outside the platform in which the caucus has bound labour members to act as it dictated.

Senator FINDLEY.—What is the honorable senator's authority for making that statement with regard to the Labour Party of New South Wales?

Senator GRAY.—My authority is the labour men themselves.

Senator FINDLEY.—Binding on every one of them?

Senator GRAY.—The result of the holding of that meeting was that nothing was done in the State Parliament to help the settlers to tide over the period of suffering.

Senator O'KEEFE.—Of how many men did the Labour Party consist at that time?

Senator GRAY.—Twenty-six or twenty-eight.

Senator O'KEEFE.—And how many members did the Legislative Assembly comprise?

Senator GRAY.—It comprised 125.

Senator O'KEEFE.—How could twenty-six labour members carry a vote against the rest?

Senator GRAY.—But the Labour Party held the balance of power in the House.

Senator O'KEEFE.—The honorable senator admits that the other parties were equally wrong.

Senator GRAY.—I admit that the Premier, Sir John See, was absolutely wrong in not providing some relief for the settlers. Two of his colleagues attended a meeting at the Hotel Australia, and strongly urged the Government to do what we asked. Mr. Crick, the Minister for Lands, made one of the strongest speeches I heard in favour of our request.

Senator DAWSON.—Was it not the Barton Cabinet which absolutely objected to suspend the fodder duties at that time?

Senator GRAY.—The Barton Government simply said that they did not think that they were in a position to suspend the fodder duties, but Mr. Deakin stated afterwards that the Parliament of New South Wales could grant the desired relief if it chose.

Senator DAWSON.—But the State Parliament could not deal with a Commonwealth matter.

Senator GRAY.—The State Parliament, if it had felt disposed, could have voted the equivalent of the fodder duties. If it had met with the approval of the caucus there is no doubt that the desired relief would have been granted.

Senator DAWSON.—But the honorable senator has asserted that it was the members of the Labour Party who were against the suspension of the fodder duties.

Senator GRAY.—No. I said that some labour members did their best to bring about what we desired by causing a meeting of the caucus party to be held. The blame for the want of sympathy shown to the struggling settlers at that time must be attributed in a large measure to those labour members who formed the majority at the caucus.

Senator PEARCE.—Can the honorable senator give the name of one labour member who was prevented by the caucus from voting for the grant of that relief?

Senator GRAY.—The proof is that the caucus assembled, and that in consequence of its decision no relief was granted.

Senator PEARCE.—Who told the honorable senator what was done in the caucus?

Senator GRAY.—I am sure that the honorable senator would not deem me worthy of being a member of the Senate if I were to detail a private conversation.

Senator PEARCE.—The honorable senator has detailed a private conversation but suppressed the names.

Senator GRAY.—No; I have stated as a broad principle that the Labour Party in caucus did consider the question as to

whether they should do anything to force the hands of the Government in that direction. They came to an adverse decision, and not a single labour member ever did anything in the State Parliament to bring about the granting of any relief.

Senator GIVENS.—Did they do anything to prevent the settlers getting relief voted?

Senator GRAY.—I do not know that any member of the Labour Party did anything of that kind.

Senator PEARCE.—The honorable senator has utterly failed to show where a single member of the Labour Party was interfered with by the caucus.

Senator GRAY.—If I have failed to convince the honorable senator it cannot be helped.

Senator FINDLEY.—Assuming it to be true, what has it to do with the caucus meetings of the Federal Labour Party?

Senator GRAY.—The statement has been made that the caucus never interferes with the vote of a labour member in respect of any matter outside the platform.

Senator DAWSON.—And that is absolutely correct.

Senator GRAY.—I am in favour of a good deal in the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill. I am sorry to say, however, that I am gradually weakening in the opinions which I have held. If the measure as it stands would be a means of settling industrial disputes it would be a great factor in promoting the happiness and prosperity of the people of Australia. If I had that belief I should be courageous enough to do the utmost in my power to secure its passage. But in our treatment of the Bill we must be guided by practical experience. We must be guided by the knowledge we have gained from those countries which have had an experience of an Arbitration Act during the last few years. Mr. McGregor was, if not the pioneer, one of the pioneers, who, with Mr. Reeves, brought the Arbitration Act of New Zealand into existence.

Senator PEARCE.—Mr. Reeves has never mentioned his name.

Senator GRAY.—I am only repeating a statement which has been published in the newspapers of New Zealand, as well as in a pamphlet written by Mr. McGregor, who is a member of the Legislative Council of that Colony.

Senator PEARCE.—It is a strange thing that in his history of the Arbitration Act Mr. Reeves has not mentioned the name of Mr. McGregor.

Senator GRAY.—Mr. McGregor mentioned the fact in his own pamphlet and it has been confirmed by four correspondents to whom I wrote, in Invercargill, Dunedin, Wellington, and Napier. In the pamphlet Mr. McGregor goes into details. He shows how terribly disappointing in effects the Arbitration Act has been, and that, instead of proving a blessing, as we had hoped, it has proved to be a very great injury to New Zealand.

Senator FINDLEY.—And that is why it is so prosperous.

Senator GRAY.—New Zealand would have been prosperous under almost any kind of political maladministration. It is the garden of Australia. It has a sea-board which no other country in these seas possesses, and I suppose that it contains the richest land in the world.

Senator FINDLEY.—Had not New Zealand all these advantages before Mr. Findley came into power?

Senator GRAY.—The prosperous conditions of New Zealand have been increased by reason of the droughts prevailing in Australia, and also by reason of the increase of the export trade to South Africa. It may by legislation retard a country's progress, but you can hardly kill it. I do not say that the arbitration laws of New Zealand have in any sense killed the prosperity of that country, or that they have retarded it, but the opinion of these gentlemen is the effect that those laws have been an injury rather than otherwise to the progress of their country.

Senator FINDLEY.—The opinion of New Zealand, as a whole, is infinitely preferable to the opinion of one or two of its citizens.

Senator GRAY.—Even in this event the *Herald* there is a cablegram, which is pertinent to the point which I am making, reports that—

Mr. Ben. Tillett, secretary of the London Dockers' Union, submitted an important resolution to the thirty-seventh annual Congress of the Trades' Unions, now sitting at Leeds. He proposed the appointment of a Minister of Industry and the establishment of an Advisory Board of Conciliation and Arbitration, with a provision that it should be optional for unions and employers to register under compulsory or voluntary arbitration sections. Mr. Tillett, in the course of his speech quoted the satisfactory working of Arbitration Acts in New Zealand and some of the Australian States. Much opposition was given to the arbitration portion of the resolution, mainly on the ground that it would be unwise on the part of the unions to make it impossible. The proposal affirming the desirability of conciliation and arbitration was adopted.

tived, on a division, by delegates representing trades unionists in the following numbers:—Against, 869,000; For, 383,000. Majority against, 486,000.

Senator DAWSON.—Do not forget that our object is to make strikes impossible.

Senator GRAY.—I quote this to show what the trade unionists of England think about the subject. Practically the vote shows that the opinion against compulsory arbitration is more than double the opinion in favour of it.

Senator PEARCE.—Is the honorable senator aware that the majority has been dwindling every year?

Senator GRAY.—Is the majority this year lower than the majority last year?

Senator PEARCE.—Yes.

Senator GRAY.—Then it is very little lower. I am quoting these facts in order that we may be guided to a practical conclusion. I believe that if we could prevent strikes by means of an Arbitration Bill, it would be a very great blessing indeed. But I do not believe that it is so.

Senator FINDLEY.—It has been so in New Zealand.

Senator GRAY.—I believe, further, that arbitration laws are causing ten times more friction than occurred, and ten times the number of absolute difficulties than existed, in connexion with trade before such measures were passed. It may be said by some that that is a reason why Arbitration Courts should be brought into existence. But I contend that it shows that those who are interested, not only in trade unions, but in connexion with the Labour Party, generally find, in many instances, that it pays them well to do their best to bring about friction between employer and employé.

Senator PEARCE.—That is very unworthy.

Senator GRAY.—I speak as a business man, with some knowledge of the facts. I will give an illustration of what took place three months ago in connexion with a firm in which I am interested. This firm employs between forty-five and fifty coopers. A deputation waited upon the firm and asked whether the employers were aware that two of their coopers were non-union men. We stated that we knew nothing about that, and that all we wanted to know was that these men did their duty properly. They had been working for the firm for fifteen months, and they had wives and children at home. They had been working in perfect harmony with the unionists during the whole time they had

been there. But the members of the deputation gave it to be understood that if those two non-unionist men were not discharged, they would call out the other coopers. The remarkable thing was that these two men had applied over and over again to be admitted into the trade union, and were rejected. In the very same week the secretary wrote, asking the two unionists to call at his office, and they were at once admitted to the union. Mr. Watson, the late Prime Minister, and Mr. Hughes, the late Minister of External Affairs, have both said that they are opposed to the action taken by that union. They have publicly stated that they would not approve of converting the unions into what I may call close boroughs. But I give this illustration to show that there was a case in which a union used its authority in order to endeavour to turn these two men, who had wives and children to provide for, into the streets, so far as they were concerned.

Senator PEARCE.—One swallow does not make a summer.

Senator GRAY.—No; it does not. But the instance shows that these gentlemen hold positions which depend to some extent upon their getting up disputes here, there, and everywhere. Much friction has been caused which would not have existed had not the Arbitration Court been in existence. The experience in New South Wales has been that the whole of the trading community is, I was going to say, absolutely disgusted with the verdicts that have been given by the Arbitration Court, and also at the frivolous manner in which the affairs of that Court have been conducted. I will not say more, because the Judicial Bench of Australia is worthy of respect. We are proud of it, and I believe that the President of the Court to which I have alluded is carrying out his duties faithfully according to his views, although to many of us it is unaccountable how he arrives at the verdicts which he has given. When the Arbitration Bill comes before the Senate, I trust that it will be dealt with not in a party spirit, but in a spirit broad enough to allow us to resolve that it must not be made an element of danger in regard to the future prosperity and growth of Australia. I thank honorable senators for the patience with which they have listened to me, and wish to state, in conclusion, that, as long as I am a member of this Chamber, I shall try to deal with the subjects which are brought before us in a spirit which is not

actuated only by the interests of party, but by the interests of the people of Australia as a whole.

Senator HENDERSON (Western Australia).—I do not intend to deal at great length with the questions that have been put before the Senate. But in listening to the Attorney-General's presentation of the policy of the Government yesterday, I could not help observing the vast contrast between his effort on that occasion and on previous occasions when I have had the pleasure of listening to him. I have no doubt that if he speaks in reply we shall hear something of a more brilliant character than that to which we listened yesterday. Perhaps the reason for his lack of vigour and of ardour was his want of sympathy with the position in which he finds himself, and with the work in hand. We cannot fail to recognise that the policy outlined by Senator Symon is very largely the policy that has been advocated for years and years by this very much maligned caucus party. Therefore, I have no particular fault to find with the policy outlined by the Government in a general sense. Nor do I intend to say anything in connexion with the personnel of the Ministry, except this: I certainly do agree with Senator Styles that of all the leaders of political thought in Australia to-day, the present Prime Minister is the least representative of the general will of the Australian people. On that account I agree that he has no right whatever to fill the position which he now occupies. But the policy of the Ministry is in very strong contrast with the platform utterances of both its leaders—because there are two of them—and of several of their more ardent followers during the past few weeks. We have read reports of meetings where the only real business has been an attempt to ridicule, and even wilfully to villify, the intentions and the general attitude of the party known in politics as the Labour Party. The policy of that party has been altogether misrepresented, and knowingly misrepresented by the persons who have been making those utterances. A member of the Senate has publicly stated that the battle of to-day is between Socialism and anti-Socialism. I refer to Senator Dobson, who made such a statement when addressing a meeting of ladies at St. Kilda. I give Senator Dobson this credit—that he uttered one or two sentences with which every one of us will heartily agree. He pointed out that those who hitherto had

control of the welfare of the nation, and who were engaged in the industrial life of the country had been largely responsible for the great growth of this socialistic thought, as he characterized it.

Senator PEARCE.—In consequence of their selfishness.

Senator HENDERSON. — Through their selfishness.

Senator WALKER.—The honorable senator should not hit his own party.

Senator HENDERSON.—I am not doing so. I am merely pointing out that we have an excellent ally in Senator Dobson so long as he continues to place before the ladies and gentlemen of this country such plain truths, showing that the present day position has been arrived at simply as the result of the education of the people that has been borne in upon them by the facts with which they are daily confronted. There is one reason why I must compliment the Government and their supporters. I have tried, as an honest man will try, to steer a straight course through life. I have also tried to follow, as far as it was profitable for me to do, the advice given by men whom I considered to be infinitely and eminently capable of giving advice. But when it comes to the political arena I have an aptitude, it may be a very slow one, to somewhat think for myself, and possibly my thoughts have occasionally led me astray. When I have been reading those brilliant free-trade speeches, which have been made by the present Attorney-General, and when I have listened to eloquent protectionist speeches made by gentlemen who now sit with him in the same cabinet, I have been strengthened in the conclusion at which I arrived years ago, that on both sides they were on this one question almost faddists. I have always been led to believe that there was a ring of insincerity about the politicians—great statesmen as they may claim to be—when they stood on the platform and tried to gull the public as a whole, by preaching to them, as the primary cause of all evil, or the primary cause of all good, either one or other of the fiscal systems.

Senator DRAKE.—Whoever did that?

Senator HENDERSON.—We have men, whom I need not mention, because they are well known, who have urged that free trade or protection as the case may be, will do almost anything in the world, other than rearrange the basic principles of our Christian civilization.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—The honorable senator thinks it good that those gentlemen should take to fiscal peace?

Senator HENDERSON.—I think it is very good that the honorable and learned senator and his friend should have done what they have done. They have shown to the people of Australia that there has been insincerity in the whole of their advocacy—that freetrade was merely a useful bogey to trot before the people of this great nation. They have shown also that protectionists ideas do not embrace the primary question with which the mind of Australia ought to be occupied—that both systems in themselves are secondary, and very secondary, indeed, to the well-being of the people.

Senator GRAY.—We have taken a lesson out of the book of the Labour Party.

Senator HENDERSON.—I am very glad to hear that; and in a few more years I am satisfied that several more lessons will be taken out of the same book. The honorable senator who interjected will become convinced that the Labour Party have never yet asked a legislative assembly in Australia to place on the statute-book any law that is not humane in its every instinct—that has not for its ultimate object the uplifting and the general welfare of the people. Ardent leaders of freetrade and protectionists' movements hesitated not, when the Labour Party with their sunken fiscal policy came into the arena, to show how infantile were our notions, and how useless our aspirations, inasmuch as it was utterly impossible for any man to enter politics unless he made either freetrade or protection his battle cry in life. Those gentlemen, in an endeavour to show the impossibility of our position, hounded us from every platform, and now they have given the great object lesson to the people that, after all, the insincerity must be dropped, and a position adopted precisely similar to that of the Labour Party.

Senator GRAY.—Does the honorable senator say that the freetraders in his party are insincere?

Senator HENDERSON.—I say that our party is a Labour Party.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—The Labour Party have sunk the fiscal issue, and we have done the same.

Senator HENDERSON.—First of all, we are a Labour Party, and whatever else we may be, is a secondary consideration. There has been a good deal of fairly reasonable banter in connexion with the poli-

tical machine—that instrument by which we are brought together, and through which our deliberations are transmitted from one to another. Senator Millen when speaking, referred in a disparaging tone to our machine politics, and I interjected that he had endeavoured to enter public life by means of the influence of that very machine. It was then the disturbance arose, the honorable senator stating that what I had said was false. Probably, judging from his intentions from the beginning, it may have been false, but to me it certainly appeared very correct indeed, inasmuch as on the 9th November, 1893, I sat in the next chair to Senator Millen at a large conference, which lasted for two days, of representatives of labour leagues, who were perfecting this machinery for the purpose of making our political existence sure. Senator Millen was then a delegate of the Labour Party, and if my memory serves me right he represented the Carters' Union of Bourke, New South Wales. Those are the facts on which I base my impression, and if the honorable senator's own position was false, that, of course, is not my fault.

Senator DOBSON.—We can change our minds, but honorable members opposite cannot change theirs.

Senator HENDERSON.—The honorable and learned senator can change his mind very accommodatingly sometimes. I am somewhat pleased that the Government have placed so early in their programme the further consideration of the Arbitration Bill. Notwithstanding some of the remarks which have been made, I sincerely hope that that Bill will not pass in anything like its present shape. I should not like us as a Senate to do anything that would appear a travesty on legislation, and in its present form this Bill is utterly impotent, and very far from realising the anticipations of people who are to be guided and controlled by it. It would be better to put it at once into the waste-paper basket rather than pass it in its present shape. I hope with Senator Gray that the Bill will leave this chamber as perfect a measure as our intelligence can make it, so that we may effect the object we have in view, namely, the prevention of the unsettling of any industrial arrangements on which the whole of our people depend. We know how disastrous every disarrangement of our industries is, but there is no analogy between the position of the people of England and the people in Australia. We cannot

reason from the position of the English people as to the position in industrial matters here.

Senator GRAY.—Why?

Senator HENDERSON.—To-day the private employer has not yet gone out of existence in England, but he is going out, and he is not to be found in Australia. The private employer is a mere figment—a shadow. We are the creatures of a trust and syndicate system, and our real employer is an American millionaire, or, more probably, a London millionaire.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—There are very few millionaires here.

Senator HENDERSON.—But, unfortunately, they are taking away the wealth of our country. We are employed by people who are in the old country; we are controlled by managers who are paid a salary, and are, in turn, controlled by men who, in most cases, do nothing, 13,000 miles away. In England that is not the case.

Senator GRAY.—It is not the case in Australia.

Senator HENDERSON.—I have been employed as a worker in Australia for many years, and I have never yet been employed directly by a man whose interests are in Australia. I have been employed in big concerns, where thousands of men are engaged, and those concerns were always owned by people who never see Australia.

Senator WALKER.—That is in Western Australia?

Senator HENDERSON.—And New South Wales, too.

Senator DOBSON.—Would the honorable senator prefer that that capital should never have come into the country?

Senator HENDERSON.—I am not talking about capital, but about the comparison there has been an endeavour to draw between the position of Australian workers and the position of English workers, and I say that the cases are by no means analogous. Since I was a boy of very tender years there has been a form of conciliation adopted almost right throughout England. For the last thirty years there has been conciliation of a voluntary nature, but under such conditions as have made it operate almost in a compulsory way. Employers and workmen in England have for all those years had their joint committees, at which they sit at the same table, and there is that feeling of sympathy which can be created

at close quarters, but which can never be created at a distance of thousands of miles.

Senator DOBSON.—That sympathy is what the Labour Party are driving out of Australia.

Senator HENDERSON.—We are not driving it out of Australia—it is out of Australia, and we seek to prevent the havoc which may result to us as industrial operatives.

Senator DOBSON.—The honorable senator has hit the nail on the head, but his argument is dead against himself.

Senator HENDERSON.—My argument shows that the positions in the two countries are not analogous. Private employers are gradually dying out of industrial operations in England, and all are coming under the influence and power of trusts and syndicates. The result is that, whereas twelve years ago scarcely a worker in England would breathe a word in favour of compulsory arbitration, representatives at a union conference representing nearly 500,000 people have just declared in its favour.

Senator DOBSON.—The voting was two to one against compulsory arbitration.

Senator HENDERSON.—But twelve years ago there were 100 to one against compulsory arbitration. What does the English worker say? He says, "What! make strikes impossible? No!" He does not want strikes to be made impossible. We, on the other hand, hold that strikes ought to be made impossible. We want to establish a system which will keep our industrial wheels moving in sympathy and harmony with the surrounding conditions. If we desire to secure industrial peace it can be obtained by that method, and it will be infinitely more profitable to us in the end than even the fiscal peace which has been so mildly arranged by the old parties. I do not propose to make any other comment on the programme of the Government, except to express my pleasure that they intend to bring down a Bill to authorize a survey of the Trans-Australian Railway to be made. I am sorry, however, that it occupies so low a position on their programme. I believe that they will not get a chance to pass the Bill, but if they do, it shall have my ardent support. I am satisfied that, having taken the project in hand, the Government, unless a day comes when they may cease to exist—

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—That is in the dim and distant future.

Senator HENDERSON.—I trust the time will speedily come when not only a survey will be made, but the railway will be constructed.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—The honorable senator will support us in passing the Bill?

Senator HENDERSON.—I shall support the Bill, and more than that, I shall do all I can, if I am spared, to support the Government in completing what to me appears to be one of the most essential necessities to this nation.

Debate (on motion by Senator MATHE-SON) adjourned.

Senate adjourned at 9.30 p.m.

House of Representatives.

Thursday, 8 September, 1904.

Mr. SPEAKER took the chair at 2.30 p.m., and read prayers.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION.

Mr. HIGGINS (Northern Melbourne).—I desire, with the indulgence of the House, to make a personal explanation. I have not troubled honorable members in this way before, because I think that as a rule such explanations are a mistake; but, in his speech yesterday, the Prime Minister made a statement regarding myself, which, coming from one in the high official position which he occupies, I do not feel free to ignore. His statement was to the effect that, during my term of office in the late Administration, I was most of the time absent from the House, and took little concern in its business. As my late colleagues know well, nothing could be further from the facts.

Mr. WATSON.—Hear, hear.

Mr. HIGGINS.—I was in the House every parliamentary day, and when not actually within this chamber, listening to excellent arguments excellently repeated, I was in the room behind, doing work for the Government and for the country in connexion with my Department. I also rendered such assistance as was required of me in shaping amendments, and in dealing with clauses. The work of the Arbitration Bill being left to very competent hands—the late Prime Minister and the late Minister of External Affairs—and the work of

the Seat of Government Bill also being left to competent hands—the Prime Minister and the Minister of Home Affairs—I remembered that too many cooks may spoil the broth, and I felt that I should be doing no good by interfering in the course of debates which were already too prolonged. I have to thank the right honorable gentleman for having fathered the statement, because, although I have noticed it before as coming from anonymous sources, yesterday was the first time that it was actually and boldly put forth, and his remarks have given me an opportunity to publicly deny it. I felt the accusation very deeply, and particularly because I regarded it as a reflection upon my good faith in the circumstances under which I assumed office.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The honorable and learned member's own newspaper, the *Bulletin*, was the first to repeat it.

Mr. HIGGINS.—This is the first chance I have had to refute it, and I hope that I shall not have to trouble the House with my personal affairs again.

Mr. REID (East Sydney—Minister of External Affairs).—My remark was a random one, I admit, and was based upon proceedings in the chamber; but I most cordially accept the statement of the honorable and learned member. I see that I have quite unintentionally done him an injustice.

Mr. FRAZER.—How often was the Prime Minister here to see if the honorable and learned member for Northern Melbourne was or was not present?

Mr. REID.—Lately I have been here a good deal.

EMPLOYMENT OF CHINESE IN SUGAR PLANTING.

Mr. BAMFORD.—I wish to ask the Minister of Trade and Customs, without notice, if the statement which has been attributed to him, that the transfer of Chinese from the other States to the Queensland sugar fields would be a desirable policy, was made by him.

Mr. McLEAN.—I am sorry that my honorable friend has not extended to me the usual courtesy of mentioning the matter to me beforehand; but I think I can remember pretty accurately what took place on the occasion to which he refers. I presume that the statement of which he speaks is one occurring in a report in the daily press of some remarks made by me

under the following circumstances:—The representatives of the newspapers came to me at the end of the day, as they generally do, to see if there were any items of news to be obtained, and among other things they asked me if there was any truth in the reports that Chinese were largely replacing kanakas on the Queensland sugar plantations. I told them that we had no knowledge of any such thing having occurred, that only one application for a bounty had been made by Chinese prior to my taking office, and that on that occasion the applicant showed that he had employed nothing but white labour. One of the reporters asked, "Do you not think it would be a good thing rather than otherwise, if the Chinese, who are competing with white persons in other industries, would take to sugar planting on their own account?" and my reply was, as nearly as I can remember, to this effect, "No doubt it would be a good thing for the States who got rid of their competition, but the people of Queensland, who are primarily interested, are those who should be consulted in the matter." I may remind my honorable friend that the migration of Chinese from one State to another is not a matter in which my Department has any concern, and I believe that the opinion which I expressed is that which he would have expressed under similar circumstances.

DEFEAT OF THE WATSON ADMINISTRATION.

Mr. THOMAS.—I wish to know whether the following passage, which appeared in the *Argus* of the 30th August, is a correct report of the Prime Minister's remarks:—

If I had tabled a direct motion of censure, every one of the gentlemen who voted against the Ministry on that occasion would have voted against them just the same later on.

Mr. REID.—I believe that, for once, the newspapers have reported my utterances with absolute accuracy. I was expressing an opinion which I entertained at the time, and which I still entertain.

Mr. McDONALD.—Is the right honorable gentleman aware that on the evening when he made that statement, the honorable and learned member for Bendigo, who is one of those who voted for the amendment of the honorable and learned member for Corinella, stated in Bendigo that had a no-confidence motion been moved, he would not have voted for it?

Mr. REID.—I accept the assurance of the honorable member.

CONTRACT POST-OFFICES: MELBOURNE.

Motion (by Mr. MALONEY) agreed to—

That a return be laid upon the table of the House showing—

- (1) All post-offices in the metropolitan area of Melbourne which are let by contract.
- (2) The amount paid annually in each case by the Department to the contractor.

PUBLIC SERVANTS' INCREASES.

Sir LANGDON BONYTHON asked the Minister of Home Affairs, *upon notice*—

1. What is the opinion of the Government in regard to the annual increases of civil servants who, under State Acts, were, prior to the Constitution Act, entitled as of course to annual increases until they reached the top of their respective classes?

2. If the Government consider such servants to be so entitled, will they make provision on the Estimates for the payment of such increases during the current financial year?

3. If the Government are of opinion that such servants are not so entitled to such increases, will they obtain the opinion of the law officers on the matter and inform the House what such opinion is?

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—The answers to the honorable member's questions are as follow:—

1 and 2. Officers who are entitled to automatic increases under State laws at the date of transfer to the Commonwealth are entitled to be paid such increases up to the date of the Order in Council confirming the classification of the Service, when, in accordance with the advice of the law officers of the Commonwealth, the State increases become superseded by the classification effected under the provisions of the Commonwealth Public Service Act 1902.

3. The opinion of the law officers has already been obtained, which is to the above effect.

TELEGRAPH MESSENGERS.

Mr. CHAPMAN (for Mr. EWING) asked the Postmaster-General, *upon notice*—

1. Is he aware that under section 10 of the Post and Telegraph Act many telegraph messengers have to leave the service at eighteen years of age?

2. Have not the services of many of these officers been utilized in more advanced posts, and have not some of them become proficient telegraphic operators?

3. Will he consider the advisability of amending section 10 of the Act in order to enable the Department to retain the services of suitable messengers in the advanced positions for which they have prepared themselves?

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—This matter is now under consideration.

LOCAL PREFERENCE IN GOVERNMENT CONTRACTS.

Mr. TUDOR (for Mr. CROUCH) asked the Prime Minister, *upon notice*—

1. Whether he proposes to carry out the policy that in all Government contracts preference shall be given to local manufactures and products?

2. Whether he will cause to be inserted in all Government contracts a condition that goods which can be reasonably manufactured in Australia should have preference over similar articles manufactured outside?

Mr. REID.—I regret that this question, of which notice was given a long time ago, did not come before me until yesterday. It is my intention to make inquiries as to the practice which the Departments have observed in these matters during the preceding years of the Commonwealth, and I hope to be able to give some definite reply within a week or so.

RABBIT DESTRUCTION.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE asked the Prime Minister, *upon notice*—

If he will communicate with the State Premiers to ascertain whether any State will give facilities to Pasteur's agents to test the efficacy of chicken-cholera as a destructive agent to check and ultimately destroy the serious plague of rabbits which is so rapidly extending?

Mr. REID.—The agents have made no application to this Government. I would suggest that Pasteur's agents might communicate direct with the States Governments.

QUEENSLAND BALLOT-BOXES.

Mr. DAVID THOMSON asked the Minister of Home Affairs, *upon notice*—

1. Whether the police in Queensland have been paid for collecting ballot-boxes at the General election?

2. If not, why not?

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—The answer to the honorable member's question is as follows:—

All accounts received in the Home Affairs Department for services by the Queensland police have been paid, but further inquiry will be made.

MILITARY OFFICERS.

Mr. KING O'MALLEY asked the Minister of Defence, *upon notice*—

1. Is there any truth in the rumour that he intends securing some military officers from Great Britain?

2. If so, is it owing to the superiority of the European officer over the Australian; or is it an admission of the incompetency of the Australian officer?

3. In the light of the South African experience during the Boer war, and the alleged failure of the European officers as compared with the brilliant success of the Australian officers, is the Minister justified in filling the military positions (which many people think rightfully belong to Australians) with Europeans?

Mr. McCAY.—In answer to the honorable member, I wish to say that, in the first place, I am not aware that such a rumour is in circulation. The only thing I know is that I expressed the opinion, which I still hold, that, owing to various causes, in the early future there may be a shortage of officers of higher rank to fill various positions in the Commonwealth Defence Service, and that it will be necessary for the Department of Defence to take the requisite steps to prevent that shortage occurring or continuing. The inference was founded upon that statement of mine that I had made up my mind to ask for the services of officers of the Imperial Army; but that was subsequently contradicted in the newspaper in which it was made. I have formed no such intention. As I think honorable members know, my desire has always been to officer the Australian Forces, so far as that can be done, with Australians, and it is still my feeling that that should be done. I do not say absolutely that we should not ask for officers from home, but I would certainly do so only if there were a shortage which could not otherwise be made up. In reply to questions 2 and 3, if any such officer were obtained, it would neither be owing to a belief that the European officer, as the honorable member calls him, is rank for rank superior to the Australian, nor to the idea that the Australian is incompetent.

PAPERS.

Mr. McCAY laid upon the table the following paper:—

Addition to the financial and allowance regulations of the Military Forces, dated 3rd September, 1904.

The CLERK laid upon the table the following paper:—

Return to an order of the House of the 8th September as to contract post-offices in the Melbourne metropolitan area.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

Mr. REID (East Sydney—Minister of External Affairs).—I think that the House will concur with me that it is highly desirable that the debate on the Ministerial Statement should be continued, and with the consent of honorable members who have

business on the notice-paper for this afternoon, and with the concurrence of the House, I move —

That general business be postponed until after the consideration of Government business, Order of the Day No. 1.

Question resolved in the affirmative.

MINISTERIAL STATEMENT.

Debate resumed from 7th September, (*vide* page 4353), on motion by Mr. REID—

That the despatch from the Secretary of State, with reference to the metric system, be printed.

Mr. WATSON (Bland).—I think that if there is one feature of the speech of the Prime Minister yesterday upon which we can congratulate him, it is its extraordinary brevity. As to any other aspects of it, I hardly think that they would form the subject of much congratulation on the part of his supporters. In fact, to my mind, a certain proportion of honorable members sitting on the Government benches must have been filled with disappointment, both on account of the fewness of the matters referred to, and of the proposals in detail which the Prime Minister put forward. The right honorable gentleman dealt first with the crisis that has existed in this Parliament for some little time past, and stated that the late Government chose its own battle-ground in connexion with the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill. He quoted a statement of mine which was made to representatives of the press in Sydney, as to the attitude that the then Government would take up if this House failed to reconsider its position in regard to the amendment adopted at the instance of the Minister of Defence. The honorable member for Grey took exception to the statement put forward by the Prime Minister, so far as its first presentation was concerned. His statement as it was first put forward would lead the public to believe that the Government had chosen the particular motion upon which they were afterwards defeated as their battle-ground, but that was very different from what was stated by myself. I stated to the representatives of the Sydney newspapers that if the House failed to reconsider the amendment adopted at the instance of the Minister of Defence, we should take their action as an intimation that our services were no longer required. That, however, was a very different thing from the proposal of some honorable members of this House to take the whole conduct of business out of the hands of the

Government by refusing to go into Committee. No Government would have been worth its salt if it had submitted to an insult of that kind lying down, and therefore when the right honorable gentleman stated that we chose our own battle-ground he was some distance from the truth, so far as the particular motion which was carried against the Government was concerned.

Mr. REID.—I was referring to the clause containing the amendment to which the late Government took exception.

Mr. WATSON.—We never reached the clause. Owing to the machinations of the right honorable gentleman and those honorable members who assisted him, we had not an opportunity of reaching the clause. The right honorable gentleman and some of his supporters stated that the effect would be the same, whether we reached the clause or not. No doubt the effect was the same for their purpose, which was to dislodge the then Government by a side wind. But so far as it affected the supporters of the Arbitration Bill, the effect was very different, because if those gentlemen who supported the right honorable member in ousting the Government had honestly desired to have that Bill passed in the shape that the majority of Parliament were anxious to see it assume, they would have gone into Committee, and tried every expedient to obtain the decision of the House, and the full sense of its desires in regard to that important measure. My complaint is, however, that the right honorable gentleman and his supporters showed no desire to pass the Bill in such a shape that it would prove effective. Their sole anxiety was to take advantage of the declaration of some honorable members that they would not change their vote upon clause 48, in order to eject the Government from office. So far as I am concerned, I entertain no great regret at being thrown out of office. I never whined for office, nor have I whined at being thrown out of it, I made no improper attempt to get there, and I never went to one man with the idea of inducing him to alter his opinion, so that the Government might be retained in office. Therefore, I have no regret at being ejected from office. As one, however, who has supported the principle of conciliation and arbitration for years past, and as one who believes that if an effective measure were passed it would save the Commonwealth millions of pounds, and that it would be in the best interests of the country, I do regret that some honorable members

thought fit to wreak their vengeance upon the Government by leaving the Bill to its fate. I say, therefore, that the battle ground was not of our choosing. We certainly objected, and still object, to the proposal embodied in the Bill; but I think—I may be wrong—that much greater regard would have been shown for the principle which the majority of honorable members on the other side of the House have always professed to support in regard to the Bill, and a more seemly spirit of sweet reasonableness, if they had consented to go into Committee, and to there confer as to the best means of expressing the desires of the majority. There was one feature of the Prime Minister's speech yesterday that I thought was regrettable. In speaking of the recent crisis, the right honorable gentleman was good enough to refer to myself as having tendered certain advice to His Excellency the Governor-General. Of course, the fact that the House is still in existence is sufficient evidence that that advice was not accepted. I do not wish for one moment to canvass the right of His Excellency as the representative of His Majesty the King to take whatever course he thought proper in the interests of the people of Australia. I have not the slightest doubt that the action he took was dictated by no other consideration than what he conceived to be the best interests of the community. But I say that it comes most improperly from the right honorable gentleman, who must have assured His Excellency that he could carry on the Government of this country, and that the time had not arrived for a dissolution—who must have given his assurance in explicit terms in the face of the fact that there was only a majority of two in support of the Government—to come down, and, in so many words, threaten this House with a dissolution if what?—if the Opposition did not combine with their strength the quality of mercy, if the Opposition did not extend consideration to the Government far and away greater than that extended by the right honorable gentleman and his supporters to the late Government. We were told that if we did not extend to the Government greater consideration than they gave to us, the result would be a dissolution.

Mr. KENNEDY.—We heard something of the same kind from the last Government.

Mr. WATSON.—I beg the honorable member's pardon. That is not correct.

Mr. KENNEDY.—We heard it from their supporters.

Mr. WATSON.—If any supporters of the late Government said that, they had no authority from me. On the contrary, I took the opportunity to explicitly deny, by interjection, that there was any such promise made, or any such contingency afloat.

Mr. KENNEDY.—The honorable member told the House that he would seek a dissolution.

Mr. WATSON.—Certainly. Who would object to the Prime Minister stating that he would seek a dissolution? His statement went a great deal further than that.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I do not think it did.

Mr. WATSON.—Perhaps the right honorable gentleman is a biased observer.

Mr. McCAY.—Is not the honorable member also biased?

Mr. WATSON.—I do not think so—not to the same degree, at any rate. The action of the Prime Minister appears to me to be most improper, and certainly unprecedented. I do not remember a single instance in which a Prime Minister, upon meeting the House for the first time with his programme, practically threw out, in so many words, a threat that if the members of the Opposition did not behave themselves they would have to go about their business.

Mr. REID.—I said no such thing.

Mr. WATSON.—I refer the right honorable gentleman to the words of his own speech.

Mr. REID.—I am not the Emperor of Japan; I could not dissolve the House.

Mr. WATSON.—Probably that is a good thing for the country.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—The honorable member, when he asked for a dissolution, admitted that the House was not competent to carry on the business of the country.

Mr. WATSON.—I shall argue that question when it arises. I am quite prepared to take the full responsibility of any advice I tendered in that direction. I must say that I regret exceedingly that we had not an opportunity to consult the country.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Pray leave this most distasteful subject.

Mr. WATSON.—The Prime Minister then proceeded to compare his party with honorable members in Opposition. I suppose that he was justified in speaking of his "party"; although the members who support him are certainly a heterogeneous lot.

Mr. REID.—Do not say that.

Mr. WATSON.—I think so. I do not use the term disrespectfully. Among honorable members who sit on the Government benches, there exist the most remarkable differences of opinion upon many of the leading questions before the community. I do not in any way seek to imply that such opinions are not legitimately held, or that honorable members are not honestly seeking to secure the betterment of the condition of the people; but that their opinions widely differ must be admitted by the most unprejudiced observer. The Prime Minister said that there was one great point of similarity between his supporters and the members of the Opposition, namely, that they were all democratic. We can understand the excitable ramping democracy of the honorable and learned member for Parkes, who has been noted as a democrat for many years past in New South Wales. Then there is the honorable member for Flinders, who is another raging democrat, who is anxious to put all the power in the hands of the people, and to secure absolute equality for all classes of the community. I notice, too, that even the honorable member for Corangamite shelters himself under the term "Liberal."

Mr. WILSON.—We are democrats who have not gone mad.

Mr. WATSON.—It is always safe to imply that the other fellow is just a little weak in his top storey. I do not, however, wish to say that of honorable members opposite. I do not think that my honorable friends are even politically mad. No doubt they are politically sane, so far as the interests of the people they represent are concerned. But it does sound like a travesty upon the term democrat when we find coming under its beneficent shelter the gentlemen I have indicated who are sitting in the Government corner. Sitting behind the Government also, there will be found other gentlemen who have just as little title to the term "democrat" as those to whom I have referred.

AN HONORABLE MEMBER.—What about the honorable member for Kooyong?

Mr. WATSON.—He is another excellent sample of a democrat. He is a most estimable gentleman, but I do not think that he would claim to be particularly imbued with democratic ideas. The honorable member for Oxley is another strong democrat, whose whole aim during the time he has been in politics has been to advance the cause of democracy. He

has been pushing its interests forward with all his strength, and the only regret that remains to him is that he has been comparatively unsuccessful in his own State.

Mr. REID.—The honorable member would be proud to have the support of every one of them.

Mr. WATSON.—If I had their support, it would be a clear indication that I was at last going wrong in my public career. The right honorable gentleman, passing from that vain attempt to prove similarity between the two parties to an endeavour to accentuate the points of difference, said that the great primary distinction between the supporters of the Government and the Opposition was that the former did not believe in a caucus. We are given to understand that the Government conduct their business in quite a different way. There is no bringing of their supporters into consultation, that a proper result may be arrived at. They manage these matters at present. I understand, not by the domination of one man, but by the domination of two half men. They arrange their business on the basis of the two heads of the Government being "equal in all things," and these two honorable gentlemen seem to manage the concern for the rest of the party.

Mr. THOMAS.—It saves trouble, so far as the rest are concerned.

Mr. WATSON.—Certainly it does; but the thinking machine is liable to become rusty if not occasionally agitated, and such a thing may perhaps happen to the supporters of the Government. There is one feature of the right honorable gentleman's statement that certainly calls for remark from me. Some considerable time ago—I think it was when addressing a rather innocent audience at Warragul, in the Federal electorate of Flinders—the right honorable gentleman stated that the policy of the Watson Government was put together in the vaults. The Prime Minister has rather a weakness for graphic forms of expression, and we can understand the attractiveness of the word "vaults" to a man who is given to vaulting so regularly over any obstacle, no matter how high it may be. I think it was on the day following the making of that speech that I made a clear and distinct statement to the press to the effect that the policy of the Government of which I was the head was determined by the Ministry, without reference to any outside person—without reference to even an extra leader,

or kind of fifth wheel to the coach, a practice which, we are told, obtains in the present Ministry. In any case, the programme of the late Ministry was prepared without reference to any outside person, and was subsequently placed before the supporters of the Government at a meeting held, not in the vaults of this House, but in the ordinary meeting-room.

Mr. REID.—What does the Labour Party do at these meetings?

Mr. WATSON.—I shall come to that matter in the course of a few moments. I do not wish to be drawn away from the point that, to my mind, it is a regrettable feature of public life that, when a definite statement is made, to which an equally definite denial is given, that denial is not accepted clearly and without reservation.

Mr. REID.—I have not seen the newspaper statement to which the honorable member refers.

Mr. WATSON.—It appeared two days after the statement made by the right honorable gentleman.

Mr. REID.—I can assure the honorable member that I do not read the newspapers regularly, but that I would accept any statement made by him, whether made through the medium of a newspaper, or in any other way.

Mr. WATSON.—It is very good of the right honorable gentleman to say that. As a matter of fact, there was no necessity for the late Ministry to go before the caucus, for the simple reason that the policy on which the members of the Labour Party had been elected to this Parliament was well known to all. So long as no attempt was made to depart from that policy, there was no occasion to consult members of the caucus or of the party individually in regard to it. The members of the Party had sufficient confidence in the late Ministry—and would have had sufficient confidence in any other Ministry formed from its ranks—to believe that they would stand by the policy to which its members had pledged themselves when before the country. In these circumstances, there was no necessity for the late Government to do more than tell their supporters what particular portion of their policy they hoped to carry out in the immediate future, and how much of it would necessarily have to be left in abeyance until the time arrived to take action.

Mr. HUTCHISON.—The caucus never instructed the late Government, even in regard to that matter.

Mr. WATSON.—I must say that I was treated with a generosity which certainly was never excelled by the supporters of any Prime Minister of the Commonwealth, or of the Premier of any of the States. No member of the Party ever approached me in regard to the *personnel* of the Ministry which I was about to form, or in reference to the programme which we should insist on carrying out. This, perhaps, is not a matter of public importance, but it is only right that the facts should be stated. The Prime Minister attempted to make some capital out of the alleged power exercised over members of the Labour Party by the Labour Leagues, and the honorable and learned member for Ballarat traversed the same ground in a speech which he delivered some little time ago. For public men who have been acquainted to a greater or lesser extent with the Labour Party and its organizations for a number of years—and certainly the Prime Minister has been very closely identified on some occasions with the Labour Party—

Mr. SPENCE.—He was “in the hollow of their hand.”

Mr. WATSON.—I believe that the right honorable gentleman confessed that he was at one time in that position. It is strange that such gentlemen should exhibit so much ignorance as to what are the relations between the Labour Leagues and members of the Labour Party.

Mr. HUTCHISON.—It is not ignorance, but something worse.

Mr. REID.—That is rather a vulgar assertion.

Mr. WATSON.—I scarcely like to assume that these honorable gentlemen would be guilty of deliberate misrepresentation; but the statement having been reiterated yesterday, it is proper that I should in a few words, state exactly what the facts are. In the first place, the programme of proposed legislation which the Labour Party will support is agreed to by a conference at which every supporter of the party, whether a unionist or non-unionist, may be represented. I am glad to say that the vast bulk of the support of the Labour Party comes from the ranks of the non-unionists—from men who, while not actively opposed to unionism, are certainly not at present included within its ranks. Every person who supports the programme of the Labour Party has an opportunity to be represented, either through the agency of a labour league or by a union, at the conference to which I have referred.

Mr. FISHER.—Farmers have been represented at such conferences.

Mr. WATSON.—I am pleased to say that we receive substantial support from the farmers of New South Wales and Queensland. When the programme is agreed to, it is, of course, laid down that every person desiring to stand as a labour candidate must first subscribe to that programme—it would not be of much use for a man to appear as a labour candidate if he did not—and, secondly, he must pledge himself, if not selected by the organization, to stand down in favour of the selected candidate.

Mr. WILKS.—The Labour Party have two platforms—a fighting programme and a propaganda.

Mr. WATSON.—Quite so. We have one programme for immediate action, while the other is a declaration of principle; but it makes no difference to the position of the candidate. He is asked to express his belief in the whole programme.

Mr. WILKS.—He takes the lot.

Mr. WATSON.—That is so. From the time a candidate is elected on that programme, until he again comes before the league for selection, that league has no power over him. Its members trust to his honesty, and to the honesty of those associated with him in the Parliament, to carry out the programme on which he has been returned. There is no domination in the slightest degree by the outside leagues or organizations of the Labour Party.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—But they can pass resolutions.

Mr. WATSON.—Certainly; but do not the supporters of the right honorable member occasionally pass resolutions?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—They do not.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—In Western Australia they have passed several resolutions in regard to the right honorable member.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—They have never passed any about me.

Mr. WATSON.—I was about to say, when this cross-firing commenced, that it was absolutely incorrect for persons to assume or to state that any power over members of Parliament exists in the hands of any labour organization, except in this degree—that, as the right honorable gentleman stated yesterday, if those members do not give satisfaction, they may not be again selected to stand for Parliament. What sort of a man is he who is afraid to face those who are in

agreement with him in regard to every detail of his political programme? What man is there who, being honest, and anxious to carry out the principles to which he has pledged himself before the electors, would fear to face those who necessarily must be prejudiced in his favour, seeing that they are in thorough harmony and agreement with him on all the material issues that come up for public discussion? The members of the Labour Party share the liability to rejection equally with every other member of this House. The right honorable gentleman finds it convenient to talk about machine politics as applied to the Labour Party, but he seeks to gloss over the operations of equally objectionable machine politics among the ranks of his old-time supporters. Let us recall to mind the case to which he referred yesterday—the case of a member of the State Parliament of New South Wales, who was one of the most faithful supporters of the party which the right honorable gentleman led so ably and so long, and who, in regard to both loyalty and service, deserved well of the party. The machine—the local organization—selected another man.

Mr. WATKINS.—By ballot?

Mr. WATSON.—Yes. They ran a gentleman in opposition to Mr. Hawthorne for the electorate of Leichardt, and, notwithstanding that the leader of the party which is now heir to the ideals of the right honorable member for East Sydney—Mr. Carruthers—had received every support and assistance from Mr. Hawthorne—notwithstanding that Mr. Hawthorne had been as loyal to his new leader as he was to his old one—

Mr. McDONALD.—For sixteen years!

Mr. WATSON.—Notwithstanding that he had given this support to his leaders for sixteen years, the machine was so strong that not only was another man brought out against him, but the leader of the party spoke against his old henchman. The accusation may be made against the Labour Party that they are governed by organizations; but I say, without the slightest hesitation, that if a man had been loyal to the party of which I was leader, I should never speak against him. The “machine” might do as it pleased, but, whatever else I might do, I certainly should not be guilty of such an action. I am not putting this forward against the machine. Unfortunately, some kind of machine or organization is necessary.

Mr. CHANTER. — To which of the machines is the honorable member now referring?

Mr. WATSON.—I was referring to the machine called, I believe, the "Liberal and Reform Association of New South Wales." We shall shortly learn how far that "reform" will go.

Mr. REID.—What is the name of the newly-formed alliance between the Opposition and honorable members in the Opposition corner?

Mr. WATSON.—It is a Liberal and Labour alliance. I repeat that so-called machines are necessary and are universally employed. The Prime Minister himself used a machine at the last elections in New South Wales. I am told that it was not quite so effective in this State, but in New South Wales we had the free-trade organization working hotly and strongly for him. I do not blame them; but what I do object to is the political hypocrisy of which men are guilty when they come here and object to the Labour Party as an organization *per se*, while they themselves use the machine, and, as in the case of the honorable and learned member for Ballarat, bring into existence yet another organization to remedy the defects of that already existing.

Mr. REID.—It is only the despotism of an enlightened democracy.

Mr. WATSON.—I think that the decision of a Committee appointed in part by the right honorable gentleman before the last Federal election, and in part by gentlemen who had previously appointed themselves a committee, is a form of despotism a little more complete than the organization of the Labour Party, in connexion with which every individual may join a labour league, and may in that league have his direct vote by ballot to decide whether a particular candidate shall be run for Parliament.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The only difficulty about it is that it is not true. That is all.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—It is true. It has been done all through New South Wales.

Mr. SPEAKER.—I must ask the honorable member for Parramatta, if I correctly understood him to say that something which was said by the honorable member for Bland is untrue, to withdraw that statement.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I certainly withdraw the statement. I made it in no personal sense.

Mr. WATSON.—I quite accept the explanation of the honorable member for Parramatta that he did not intend any imputation on my trustworthiness.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Merely that the statement was not one of fact.

Mr. WATSON.—Just so. What I understand is that one-half of the committee was appointed from members of Parliament, presumably on the initiative of the right honorable member for East Sydney, and the other half from organizations consisting of a number of gentlemen who were not representatives of leagues or organizations existing throughout New South Wales.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Is that the statement the honorable gentleman made before?

Mr. WATSON.—I think it is nearly the same. I have no wish to say any more on that point. I come now to deal with the Prime Minister's statement that another great difference between the members of his party and the Labour Party is that the latter believed in socialistic legislation. The right honorable gentleman referred to some remarks I made in reply to a deputation from the May Day demonstrators.

Mr. MAUGER.—Did the right honorable gentleman bring that up again?

Mr. WATSON.—Yes, but not in quite the same terms as those in which it was previously referred to. I was quoted as stating that the time was not ripe to enter upon a general socialistic propaganda, but that one might begin with the plum that was in a condition fit to pluck—the tobacco monopoly. The way in which that was referred to by the right honorable gentleman would lead people to believe that some great public wrong was likely to be inflicted if the tobacco monopoly were nationalized. The Prime Minister did not proceed to explain exactly of what the tobacco monopoly consists, or how far it is necessary in the public interests that some steps should be taken in order to clip the wings and cut the claws of that and kindred monopolies.

Mr. MAUGER.—Or that a Select Committee of the Victorian Legislative Assembly recommended the nationalization of the tobacco industry some years ago.

Mr. WATSON.—That is so, but the question has developed very materially since that Select Committee inquired into it.

Mr. MAUGER.—The position is much worse now.

Mr. WATSON.—Then the monopoly existed in a comparatively innocuous form. It was then practically confined to one State, and was not there complete; but to-day the tobacco monopoly has its tentacles over every State in the Commonwealth.

Mr. HUGHES.—It is a real monopoly.

Mr. WATSON.—It is an actual monopoly. It is not one to which the term may be applied merely in a general way; because it has now become actually and specifically a monopoly, and is taking advantage of the people at both ends.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Why does the honorable gentleman support it?

Mr. WATSON.—My method of supporting it is to transfer its control to the national Government of Australia at the earliest possible opportunity.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The honorable gentleman subscribes to its funds.

Mr. WATSON.—I admit that I indulge in tobacco, if that is the insinuation of the honorable member; but beyond that, I do not support the trust. So far as Australia is concerned, I believe that, no matter what form of Tariff we have, and no matter what other steps we take short of the nationalization of some of these industries, we are bound to have enormous monopolies batten- ing upon the people, and taking advantage of them at every opportunity. Are we to stand idly by and impotently lament that these things should be, or are we to seize the nettle resolutely, and determine that if there is to be a monopoly—and in many cases I admit that monopolies cheapen production, so far as manufacture is concerned—it shall be in the hands of the people, and controlled for the benefit of the people? The Prime Minister went on then to refer to another socialistic proposal of the late Government, namely that we propose to take some £8,000,000 sterling belonging to the banks—

Mr. WILKS.—Has not the new combination opposite thrown that over?

Mr. WATSON.—Not that I am aware of.

Mr. McCAY.—It is not in the joint scheme.

Mr. WATSON.—There is plenty of time; we do not propose to deal with the matter this session.

Mr. REID.—I notice that there is something about "social status" in the joint scheme. Where did honorable members opposite get that phrase? Possibly they could not express what they intended in English.

Mr. WATSON.—I should like to remind the Prime Minister that what he terms a socialistic proposal in regard to banking legislation—

Mr. REID.—I did not say that it was socialistic.

Mr. WATSON.—I think the right honorable gentleman did. He was referring generally to the socialistic proposals put forward by the late Government, and included in the number the proposal to take £8,000,000 belonging to the banks. I say that that financial policy has been given effect to, as I indicated some time ago, for over thirty-four years in Canada—a country where, so far, at all events, there has not been any great progress on the road to Socialism.

Mr. REID.—They were very hard up for money at the time they adopted it.

Mr. WATSON.—They were, but in view of the indebtedness of Australia, and of the fact that we have to cut down in every direction in order to balance our finances, one would think that we were not too flush of money at the present time.

Mr. KING O'MALLEY.—Hear, hear. We starve the members of the Federal Parliament.

Mr. WATSON.—I propose to refer the Prime Minister to a statement made by the present Treasurer when delivering his budget in 1901. At page 5693 of *Hansard* for 1901 the right honorable gentleman is reported to have said—

I have looked at the Canadian system. It is said that instead of borrowing money we ought to take ten or twelve millions of gold which the banks have lying in their coffers.

I said only eight, or less than eight millions.

In Canada they compel the banks to keep a reserve—I do not think we do—but they provide that a certain portion of that reserve must be kept in the Dominion's notes. By that means they get the use of a considerable amount of money without paying any interest. On the face of it, it appears to be a fair proposal, and that no harm is done.

Mr. McCAY. — The right honorable gentleman said, "on the face of it."

Mr. WATSON.—I propose to quote the right honorable gentleman fully. The honorable and learned member for Corinella need not be afraid that I shall do the Treasurer any injustice.

Mr. REID.—I know the right honorable gentleman's present opinion on the subject.

Mr. WATSON.—The right honorable gentleman further said—

But until I get the fullest information I am not going to rush into any scheme of the kind.

Mr. REID.—Hear, hear!

Mr. WATSON.—The report goes on—

Mr. O'MALLEY.—It is a splendid scheme.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—In theory I admit it is splendid, but I do not know that in practice it works out well. I have sent to Canada to get the fullest information with regard to the working of the scheme.

Mr. REID.—Hear, hear! There is no duty on bank notes there. We get a revenue from a duty on bank notes here.

Mr. WATSON.—That is so, but in Canada, as the right honorable gentleman is probably aware, the Government issue all notes below the denomination of five dollars. They issue one, two, and four-dollar notes against which they, practically speaking, hold no reserve.

Mr. REID.—That is a very bad system.

Mr. WATSON.—They hold no reserve up to nine million dollars. But after that issue is reached, they hold a certain reserve, increasing as the issue increases. Up to an issue of nine million dollars, which it is believed the country can fairly carry without any risk, they hold no reserve at all. What I desire to point out is that the present Treasurer, in 1901, thought that that, on the face of it, was a fair scheme. The right honorable gentleman had not, I admit, gone fully into it, but he led the House to believe that he considered it favorably, so far as he had then gone, and he intended to refer to Canada for further information. But, of course, the right honorable gentleman has got into different company since then.

Mr. REID.—The right honorable gentleman got the information long before he joined me.

Mr. WATSON.—Yes; but the right honorable gentleman had not declared against this scheme before he joined the right honorable member for East Sydney.

Mr. REID.—The right honorable gentleman has not done so yet.

Mr. WATSON.—I can quite understand, when so many members of the present Reid-McLean Administration are sinking their convictions in so many directions, the right honorable member for Balaclava must sink some portion of his.

Mr. TUDOR.—The members of the Government will sink themselves in the end.

Mr. REID.—And will come up again smiling. It is all in a life-time.

Mr. WATSON.—I come now to deal with the practical proposals of the Government. I regret that I have taken up so much time in the introductory portion of my observations, but in that I have merely fol-

lowed the example of the Prime Minister, who yesterday devoted the greater part of the admittedly short time he took up, to general matters outside of his programme.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Is the honorable gentleman going to continue to imitate the Prime Minister?

Mr. WATSON.—Only in so far as the right honorable gentleman is right. The first definite statement we had in the right honorable gentleman's speech yesterday was with regard to Preferential Trade. The Prime Minister says that he takes up the position taken up by the Deakin Government in respect to Preferential Trade.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—And that involves the raising of duties to the foreigner.

Mr. WATSON.—This is a most interesting alteration of policy on the part of the right honorable member for East Sydney.

Mr. REID.—The honorable gentleman does not complete what I said in respect of waiting for a definite proposal from the Imperial Government.

Mr. WATSON.—That was an addition to the statement first put forward, and not retracted, that the position taken up by the Deakin Government on the subject of Preferential Trade was the position adopted by the present Administration. I say that this discloses a most interesting state of affairs.

Mr. MAUGER.—Because that was to raise the duties against foreigners.

Mr. REID.—Some of the newspapers say that I have dropped it altogether.

Mr. WATSON.—I desire to have some clear understanding as to what policy in this matter the present Government has taken up. If there is to be any emendation of the statement put forward yesterday, the sooner it is made the better in the interests of the public generally. I am quite willing that the position of the Government in this matter should be cleared up now. If the statement I heard yesterday is correct, that the policy of the Deakin Government is taken up, I desire to know what is the opinion of the honorable and learned member for Werriwa on the subject? Is that honorable and learned member prepared to support the proposal of the Deakin Government to raise duties against foreigners? Personally, I am in favour of it.

Mr. MCCAY.—What does the honorable and learned member for West Sydney say to that?

Mr. WATSON.—I am quite prepared to increase the duties; but I wish to know is it the Government decision to follow the Deakin proposal in that regard?

Mr. MAUGER.—They say—No.

Mr. WATSON.—I do not know what they say. That was the statement yesterday.

Mr. REID.—No.

Mr. WATSON.—I am sorry if I have misunderstood the right honorable gentleman. If that is not the position, are we to assume that the honorable and learned member for Ballarat is going to acquiesce in the lowering of the duties at present existing in favour of British goods?

Mr. DEAKIN.—Who said so?

Mr. WATSON.—Only two positions are possible, even to this Government. Even this Administration cannot take up more than one of two positions on this question, and it must be one or other of the two positions which I have mentioned.

Mr. REID.—The honorable member is all astray.

Mr. WATSON.—I am asking what the Government propose to do, and whether they do not propose to do what I heard yesterday was their intention. I am free to admit that the versatility of the right honorable gentleman is equal to all emergencies, but I hardly think that it is possible, even for him, to find more than two paths to follow in relation to this particular matter.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—We should know what their policy is, at any rate.

Mr. REID.—Is this a caucus?

Mr. WATSON.—Perhaps for an explanation of the other aspect of this particular question we should look to the other head of the Government. When, a little later, the Minister of Trade and Customs speaks, he may supplement the statement of the Prime Minister in regard to preferential trade with an amended proposal which will be distinct from that which we heard yesterday; but, in the absence of such an amended statement, I am forced to the conclusion that those who followed the Prime Minister originally are now being asked to back down upon their ideas of preferential trade, and to submit to the duties being raised against the foreigner.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—No.

Mr. WATSON.—If that is so, I congratulate them upon having come to an opinion which I share, and which I have shared for a considerable time past.

Mr. THOMAS.—The Government is solid only on the trade marks measures.

Mr. WATSON.—I regret the decision of the Government to postpone the passing of the High Commissionership Bill until next session.

Mr. McCOLL.—It is a wise decision.

Mr. WATSON.—It seems to me an unwise decision.

Mr. REID.—It is certainly an un-Wise decision.

Mr. WATSON.—I do not know that there would be any greater wisdom in an appointment which might be made in another direction. It is possibly because of the unpopularity, if not unwisdom, of some appointment that the Bill is not being proceeded with. In my opinion, it is certainly a proper thing to have a High Commissioner in London at the earliest opportunity possible. I have held the view that true economy in this relation consists in having a Federal representative in the heart of the Empire as soon as we can, and that the cry about the expense is a paltry matter when it is recollected that we shall be able to do without the services of the Agents-General of the States if the High Commissioner is appointed.

Mr. McCOLL.—We cannot dispense with the services of the Agents-General of the States, though the Governments of the States may do so.

Mr. WATSON.—If a Commonwealth officer is appointed, who will be competent to perform, for one-sixth or one-fourth of their salaries, the work which the Agents-General of the States are now doing, public opinion will force the Governments of the States to make use of his services in order to save expense.

Mr. McCOLL.—But this House has no control over the States in regard to the appointment of Agents-General.

Mr. REID.—Would not friendly negotiations with the States be better than an attempt to force the change upon them? I think that, in the first instance at any rate, it would be better to proceed by negotiation.

Mr. WATSON.—I do not see any objection to friendly negotiation, but, seeing how much time has already elapsed, it is rather too late to proceed in that way now. Australia has already suffered through having no proper representative in London. In my view, the acts of this Parliament have been misunderstood and grossly misrepresented in London, and that could have been avoided if we had had some one there able to speak with authority on behalf of Australia, as to what our aims and our intentions really were. I was informed, only a couple of days ago, of an instance in which an Agent-General, speaking in London, showed him-

self absolutely ignorant of the terms of the Constitution, and thereby conveyed an altogether false impression to the people to whom he was speaking as to the powers of this Federation. This is a most unfortunate state of affairs. The least we should expect from any gentleman appointed to that high position is that he would be fit to interpret to the people of England our Constitution, and the legislation under it.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Interpret our Constitution?

Mr. WATSON.—The honorable member knows what I mean. He should not make any gross errors in regard to it. But in the case to which I refer, a gross error was made. I am sorry, therefore, that the Government have seen fit to postpone the passing of the High Commissioner Bill, and the appointment of a High Commissioner. I believe that to be false economy. I do not think that there would be any friction with the Governments of the States if a High Commissioner were appointed. On the contrary, anxiety would be shown at an early date to take advantage of the facilities which his office in London would afford. There is another measure referred to in the Ministerial statement upon which I should like to say a word or two, and that is the Iron Bonus Bill. We have been told that the question of the granting of an iron bonus is to be an open one with the Government. The right honorable gentleman seemed to be rather concerned yesterday as to the opinions of those in Opposition upon this highly important question. I at once say that I have been opposed to the granting of bonuses to private individuals, just as a number of the members of the Ministry, and a number of those who are supporting the Ministry, have been opposed to it. But I have never been unprepared to take the opinion of the House in regard to that question as in regard to other questions. In my view it is one in regard to which a difference of opinion may legitimately exist. I give way to none in my anxiety to see the iron industry successfully established in Australia; but I differ from those who think that the best way to establish it is to pay large bonuses out of the public Treasury to private individuals. I was, however, prepared to bow to the decision of the House on the question, both before I took office and while I was a Minister. The policy of the last Administration in regard to that measure was not parallel with

the course proposed to be followed by the present Government. The Prime Minister, in common with, and almost in company with, the honorable member for Ballarat, has for months past been impressing upon the electors of Australia that what is needed in this country is to restore responsible government and majority rule; that that is the one thing necessary, and the great end to which all energies should be bent. Judging by the appearance of the benches in this chamber, both yesterday and to-day, it does not look as though majority rule has been achieved, and certainly one cannot say that it was responsible government which the right honorable member emphasized yesterday. He spoke about the example of the British Parliament in this matter; but responsible government is not achieved by a decision such as that of the Ministry in respect to the Iron Bonus Bill. The right honorable gentleman was frank enough to say that there is no rule, no matter how good, to which there may not be exceptions. These exceptions appear to be getting rather frequent, and are made nearly always when it is convenient that there should be an exception. I myself have no complaint against the proposed treatment of the Iron Bonus Bill; but it must be a sore disappointment to those outside who have followed the Prime Minister blindly, believing that when he obtained office he would give them this much-vaunted responsible government—what it may be worth I do not know, but they seem to think that there is something in it—and now find that they have been left in the lurch. Perhaps we have an explanation in their attitude towards this question of the disinclination of the Government to meet its followers in caucus. The right honorable gentleman stated yesterday that it has not been their practice so far to meet in caucus, and we could understand the difficulties of a caucus on the Iron Bonus Bill if the honorable member for Eden-Monaro, and the honorable member for Lang division, or the honorable and learned member for Werriwa, and the honorable member for Echuca were present. We can understand that it would not be wise to bring these full-grown tigers into so small an arena.

Mr. REID.—It would not be more incongruous than to bring the honorable member, the honorable and learned member for West Sydney, and the honorable member for Hume together.

Mr. WATSON.—Our contempt of responsible government, as the right honorable member seems to understand it, and has advocated it throughout the country, was not disguised. I have never made any pretence of regard for responsible government as it has been understood and written about in British communities for many years past. I see no virtue in it *per se*. The right honorable gentleman, however, has taken quite a different stand. He seems to me to have tried to persuade the people that if they achieved responsible government all their troubles would disappear as if by magic. Now, however, that opportunity has been taken from them, because in dealing with the Iron Bonus Bill he proposes to drop it as inconvenient.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—All coalitions have their little differences—even the Opposition coalition.

Mr. REID.—There is one little difficulty that might be fixed up. Who is to be leader of the Opposition?

Mr. BATCHELOR.—The right honorable gentleman need not worry; he will find out.

Mr. WATSON.—Upon that head, we shall not have half the difficulty that seems to have confronted the right honorable gentleman some little time ago. There is one remarkable statement in the speech of the Prime Minister that is another striking commentary upon this cry for responsible government. The right honorable gentleman said, by way of apology for the small programme that he was putting forward, that if there was anything else for which time could be found, and which the House desired, the Government would afford opportunities for its discussion. That is responsible government with a vengeance. The Prime Minister said, in effect, "Gentlemen, we present a programme to you; if it does not suit it can be altered, or extended, or anything else done, so long as we remain in office." I must say that that struck me as a rather peculiar way of reintroducing responsible government.

Mr. REID.—There is no more consistent man in Australia than I am.

Mr. WATSON.—I do not make any reflections upon that head, but I cannot quite harmonize the statement that room will be found for anything in the Ministerial wagon so long as the House gives some reasonable indication of its desires, with the claim that responsible government will be

restored. That appears to me tantamount to saying that responsible government can go hang.

Mr. REID.—I did not say that.

Mr. WATSON.—I defy any one to attach any other meaning to what the right honorable gentleman said. For myself I can conceive of no other, and I should like to hear an explanation of that phrase.

Mr. REID.—I shall make a note of it.

Mr. WATSON.—I should like to hear each of the Government supporters getting up in turn and trying to explain by thorough dissection exactly what that phrase means, if it does not mean what I have said. We were told yesterday that every endeavour would be made to establish cordial relations between the Commonwealth Government and the States Governments.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—As if they were not already established.

Mr. WATSON.—I was just about to say that I was not aware that any Government so far had failed in the endeavour to act in the most generous fashion towards the various States Governments. I have certainly heard no complaint from any of the States Governments upon this head.

Mr. JOHNSON.—Mr. Bent does not seem to think that the relations have been satisfactory.

Mr. WATSON.—So far as Mr. Bent is concerned, his bark is very much worse than his bite. According to my own experience, whilst Mr. Bent has occasionally spoken about the awfulness of the Federal Government—and he will probably speak in just the same way of the present Government in a little while—I have found him most easy to work with in regard to matters which concern both the Commonwealth and the State of Victoria. I succeeded in settling up several matters which had been in abeyance for some years, and which I wished to have disposed of upon equitable terms, so far as both Governments were concerned. Therefore, while it is true, as the honorable member for Lang has indicated, that Mr. Bent may have made some random remarks about the Commonwealth Government spending money they were not entitled to, so far as the actual relations between the two Governments are concerned, they were of the most cordial character.

Mr. JOHNSON.—Perhaps Mr. Bent was misreported.

Mr. WATSON.—He may have been; but in any case I do not know of any real complaint. Further than that, so far as

the States Governments generally were concerned, there was no exception taken, or any ground for taking exception, to the administration of the last Government. And I heard nothing as to the relations of the previous Government with the States Governments being unsatisfactory. Therefore, the Prime Minister appears to me to convey quite a wrong impression when he states that every endeavour will be made to establish cordial relations with the various States Governments. I do not wish to say a great deal more with regard to the programme of the Government. The Prime Minister, when speaking at Warragul some time ago, referred to the programme of the late Ministry as a crawling programme. If that term was justifiably applied to the programme of the late Government, which included some debatable matter—something over which a fight might be made—surely it could be applied with tenfold force to the wretched programme which the Prime Minister has put forward, which is not calculated to offend the meekest individual in the community.

Mr. REID.—That is what makes it so indigestible.

Mr. WATSON.—The right honorable gentleman talked about the crawling programme of the late Ministry. One would imagine that he was the knight valiant, who was going to put forward a programme when he had an opportunity—when the “chap to save the country” was called on—about which there would be no cavil, and which would range all the forces of righteousness on his side. The mountain has been in labour, and what is the result? This programme is significant quite as much in respect of its omissions as for what it contains. On the occasion of the last election, we heard from the right honorable gentleman some statements about the administration of the legislation of the then Government. When he made the opening speech of the campaign at the Protestant Hall, Sydney, on 13th October, 1903, he stated that the contract labour provisions of the Immigration Restriction Act, and the prohibition of coloured labour on steamships, constituted blots upon the prospects of Australia. We were told by inference, if not explicitly, that this was the reason that immigration had fallen off, why people barred Australia when they desired to settle in a new country and make homes for themselves. The right honorable gentleman said he would not rest until these blots upon our statute-

book were removed, that no effort of his would be spared to alter both the legislation and the administration in these regards. Now, we have a most significant silence in regard to these important matters—important in our eyes, as they were held to be important by the right honorable gentleman a short while ago. We hold them to be important, because we believe that the best interests of Australia are bound up in their retention, whereas the right honorable gentleman regards it as important that they should be abolished. I ask why there is no mention in this programme of any proposal to deal with either of these important matters?

Mr. PAGE.—The honorable and learned member for Ballarat will not permit it.

Mr. WATSON.—Is it that the stress which the right honorable gentleman laid four months ago upon administration, is to find expression in the action of himself and his colleagues in the Departments? Are they content to rely on administration for effecting their purposes, instead of coming down to Parliament fairly and openly and asking for the reversal of the previous decisions? I say that the circumstances are such as to arouse suspicion. When the Prime Minister sought the suffrages of the electors, and asked for their support, he put these matters in the very fore-front of his programme, and emphasized their importance; but now he is significantly silent upon the subject. This must arouse the suspicion that, either he is dropping these questions, upon which he assumed an attitude which he claimed to be just and right, or that he is going to effect his object in an underhand way, by means of his administration, instead of asking Parliament reasonably and fairly to arrive at an opposite decision. I think that we are entitled to a statement upon the matter. In coalitions it is, no doubt, necessary that some sacrifices of opinion should be made, temporarily, if not permanently; but I say that on important matters regarding which so much controversy has been raised in Australia—because it was sought to make the last election turn, to some extent, upon the question of the six hatters—it is surely reasonable to ask that a fair and candid statement should be made to Parliament on an occasion of this kind. I should like to congratulate the Prime Minister upon his new-found anxiety to promote friendly feelings between the States of New South Wales and Victoria. Relying for his support—I will not say for his majority

at present—in the bulk, upon the representatives of these two States, we find the right honorable gentleman saying that it is time that Inter-State jealousies died out, and that we should demonstrate our belief in the fairness of members who come from the other States. Now, I would point out that this sentiment was not especially expressed during the last election in New South Wales.

Mr. JOHNSON.—That feeling should be reciprocal.

Mr. WATSON.—Of course it should. But who has done the most to keep alive the feeling of animosity between the States?—the press supporters of the right honorable gentleman in New South Wales.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—And the press opponents of the right honorable gentleman in Victoria.

Mr. WATSON.—I admit that some of the Victorian newspapers have helped to keep alive the feeling of hostility between the States. I contend, however, that no encouragement has been given to any such feeling by myself or by any other member of the Labour Party, whereas it was distinctly stimulated by the right honorable gentleman. I say that the honorable member spoke about the domination of Victoria *ad nauseam* throughout the last election campaign, and stated that the Barton Government had been enabled through its brutal majority of Victorian representatives to carry through a Tariff to which he objected. He laid stress upon that fact at almost every meeting he addressed.

Mr. REID.—None of those appeared in the press; no statements in that strain.

Mr. WATSON. — The right honorable gentleman will find such statements in the report of his meeting of 10th October, 1903, published in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, and also in a report of his speech at Bowral in August of the same year. That was just before the opening of the electoral campaign, and I dare say that he will find similar statements in other speeches delivered at a later stage. I have not had time to look them up. We had an example of this only a few days ago. The *Sydney Daily Telegraph*, which is to-day amongst the most influential newspapers supporting the present Government, stated that the Liberal Protectionists, now in alliance with the Labour Party—the Liberal Protectionists who are in opposition to the present Government—constituted that

section of Victorians who had all along shown the utmost enmity to New South Wales.

Mr. REID.—It spoke of a section of Victorians, not of Victorians generally.

Mr. WATSON.—It stated that they constituted that section of Victorians who had shown the greatest opposition to New South Wales.

Mr. MAUGER.—That is absolutely untrue.

Mr. WATSON.—It is a most unfortunate libel.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I rise to a point of order. The honorable member for Melbourne Ports loudly interjected that a certain statement was untrue.

Mr. SPEAKER.—I distinctly heard the interjection, and it was to the effect that the statement quoted from the *Sydney Daily Telegraph* was false.

Mr. WATSON.—It is most unfortunate that attempts of this kind should be made to stir up inter-provincial feeling. I am happy to say that this feeling is largely confined to the cities of Sydney and Melbourne, and that there is very little evidence of it in the country districts.

Mr. KING O'MALLEY.—There is none in Melbourne.

Mr. WATSON.—There is some feeling of the kind.

Mr. MAUGER.—Very little.

Mr. WATSON.—Surely no public man should encourage, and no public print should give publicity to, such statements. They are absolutely untrue, so far as individuals are concerned. I have not seen evidence of any desire on the part of any representative of Victoria to do injury to New South Wales interests. There has naturally been an anxiety evinced by them, and I am happy to say, by the representatives of New South Wales also, to stand firmly by their opinions, but I have not seen any indication of a desire on the part of Victorians or of any other section of the House to attack New South Wales interests. I am satisfied that there is no such desire existing in the minds of honorable members on either side of the House. As an instance of the length to which these tactics may be carried, I should like to mention a statement which I read in an issue of the *Sydney Daily Telegraph*, published shortly before the last general election. It was contained, not in a letter to the editor, but in an article written by a member of the staff, and it was to the effect that some blunder

had been committed in the electoral office, and that "Melbourne must be called to account for this." Having regard to the fact that the Minister of Home Affairs, who then controlled the electoral office, was a New South Welshman, and that the Secretary of the Department of Home Affairs, as well as the gentleman immediately in charge of the electoral office, were New South Welshmen, it does not seem to me that Melbourne was particularly responsible for any blunder that had occurred.

Mr. JOHNSON.—All of them had strong Victorian interests.

Mr. WATSON.—I do not think that is true.

Mr. JOHNSON.—I think it is.

Mr. REID.—I think the expression was—"The Melbourne office" not "The city of Melbourne."

Mr. WATSON.—I am sorry to say that the reference was to Melbourne itself. It is only in keeping with frequent statements of the kind that have been made. I believe I speak for every honorable member on this side of the House, when I say that while we recognize that the Government are entitled to reasonable consideration as to the form that any attack should take, we have so little confidence in them as a Ministry—we have so little confidence in their public administration, apart altogether from the personal merits of the individual members of the Ministry, which, of course, must at once be conceded—that we shall avail ourselves of every legitimate step that can be taken to turn them out of office. It is all very well for the right honorable member to speak of the democracy which is behind him. We know, as against that statement, that all the reactionary forces of Australia are banded together in support of the Ministry; all the conservatives who can be martialled into line are strongly of the opinion that the present Government should be maintained.

Mr. REID.—And all the anarchists are behind the Opposition.

Mr. WATSON.—The right honorable member talks of anarchists! Where are the anarchists in Australia, if we except the honorable and learned member for Werriwa and the honorable and learned member for Parkes? I am glad to say that, so far as I have been able to ascertain, there are none. If there are any they certainly have never demonstrated their support of the Labour Party. We cannot in New South Wales even secure the support of the official

Socialistic party, not to speak of the anarchists. All the gentlemen whose belief in non-interference with private enterprise inevitably leads them in the direction of political anarchy are on the other side.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—Necessarily.

Mr. WATSON.—Necessarily they are on the other side, and linked with them are, as I have said, all the reactionary conservative forces which exist to-day in Australia. The Government have even the moral support of Mr. Walpole, the paid organizer of the Employers' Federation, who tells the workmen of Australia that marriage is a luxury which should not be indulged in by the poor.

Mr. JOHNSON.—Is the honorable member responsible for the views of every outside supporter of his party?

Mr. BATCHELOR.—Are we responsible for the statements of Mr. Tom Mann?

Mr. WATSON.—What about the insinuations made by the Prime Minister yesterday in his endeavour to place the responsibility for various statements by irresponsible persons on the shoulders of the Opposition? The present Government are not responsible for all that is said by these persons.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—This side of the House has nothing to do with Mr. Walpole.

Mr. WATSON.—The present Coalition Government is supported by Mr. Walpole, and by every other force similar to that by which he is maintained as a paid organizer. The right honorable gentleman has told us that the Government are in favour of encouraging private enterprise. He will, of course, go to the assistance of those who are anxious for the success of private greed as against the public good. The gentlemen who have lately done so well out of the butter trade will give every assistance to this Government. They do not believe in interference with private enterprise. Why should the State step in?

Mr. PAGE.—Why should the State interfere?

Mr. WATSON.—That is what they say. Why not let the weakest go to the wall? Why should not free play be given to these grand original individualistic instincts of the people? That is their doctrine.

Mr. FULLER.—All this is the result of the bonus system.

Mr. WATSON.—No; the honorable and learned member knows that the later swindles disclosed by the evidence given before the Butter Commission had no connexion with the bonus system. The gains

in question were made at the expense of the butter producers, quite independently of the bonus system.

Mr. FULLER.—But the operations of these men did not commence until the bonus system was inaugurated.

Mr. WATSON.—I repeat that the swindle was perfected, independently of the butter bonus, and was the legitimate product of private enterprise in the form of a trust.

Mr. FULLER.—It is such systems which give rise to tactics of the kind to which the honorable member refers.

Mr. WATSON.—The Government will certainly receive every assistance from gentlemen of the character to which I have referred, as well as from the members of the tobacco monopoly, who will also give them all the influence that it is possible for them to exercise; and when we find all these forces brought together in support of a Government it is certainly time for the radicals of Australia to sink their minor differences, and to concentrate all their energies in hurling that Government from power.

Mr. McLEAN (Minister of Trade and Customs).—I think that honorable members will agree with me that in the tone and manner of the discourse he has just concluded, as well as by the great force and ability displayed by him in its delivery, the leader of the Opposition has well maintained the high reputation that has made him so deservedly popular in this Chamber. The honorable member, however, cannot expect me to concur with the views he has expressed on the different matters with which he has dealt, seeing that they constitute the distinction between the Government and the Opposition. Before proceeding to reply to the honorable member's speech, I should like, with the indulgence of the House, to refer briefly to some statements which have been made regarding myself and the other protectionist members in the ranks of the Government and of their supporters. It appears to me that if there is one section of the House who need not explain their position—who are acting in strict accordance with their election pledges—it is the protectionists on this side of the Chamber. Honorable members are aware that after we had spent more than a year in wrangling over the Tariff Bill and in settling it on the most favorable terms that we could obtain, we went to the

country advocating fiscal peace during the life of the present Parliament, and in the advocacy of that policy we were joined by several free-trade members. At that time we heard nothing of our honorable friends the seceding protectionists.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—The seceding protectionists are members and supporters of the present Government.

Mr. McLEAN.—The honorable member is a distinguished member of the seceding protectionists. I can show him a list of the names of both protectionists and free-traders who went to the country as advocates of fiscal peace. If honorable members in the Opposition corner, who are now asking that the Tariff be immediately re-opened, held that opinion at the time of the last Federal election they should have been found working under the banner of my right honorable colleague the Prime Minister, who went to the country openly advocating its immediate revision.

Mr. HUGHES.—But what did he do?

Mr. McLEAN.—What were these honorable members doing? If they intended to support the re-opening of the Tariff question—as my right honorable colleague said he intended to do as soon as the House met—they were simply masquerading under the banner of those who advocated fiscal peace. The position of the Protectionist Party was at the time well stated in the columns of the *Age*, and I will quote one or two passages from an article which appeared in that journal on 12th December last, some four or five days before the general election took place. In the issue of that date the following statement appeared in its leading columns:—

The watchword of the Deakin Ministry is fiscal peace, and all Australia should, at the present juncture, cry a truce on the tariff question—

A truce, bear in mind. That is the very word I have been taken to task for using—

while the great issue of Imperial Preference is being fought out in England.

There are two points in that paragraph, short as it is, that bear directly on our present attitude. It describes the position of the Deakin Government at that time. Their policy was to have a fiscal peace, or a fiscal truce, I care not which phrase is used, during the term of the present Parliament, and to wait to deal with the question of preferential trade until some proposal was made by the Imperial Government. That

position is put as plainly as it can be in the paragraph I have quoted—"While the great issue of Imperial preference is being fought out in England," we were to have a fiscal truce.

Mr. THOMAS.—That is the *Age*. What has it to do with the members of this Parliament?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—It is the age in which we live.

Mr. McLEAN.—That appeared in the *Age* of 12th December, and I quote it, because that newspaper correctly reported the views of the Deakin Government at the time.

Mr. HUGHES.—Was it not the attitude of the Deakin Government on preferential trade, to raise duties against the foreigner?

Mr. McLEAN.—It was. I was one of those who went to the country, advocating fiscal peace during the life of the present Parliament.

Mr. HIGGINS.—And preferential trade.

Mr. McLEAN.—I believe I can say for every protectionist on this side that we pointed out to our constituents that we had got the best Tariff which could have been got, considering the relative strength of parties, and that there was no use in re-opening the Tariff while the relative strength of parties remained unaltered.

Mr. HIGGINS.—Does the honorable member think it consistent that those who opposed fiscal peace should ask for fiscal peace when they are beaten?

Mr. McLEAN.—I think their position is quite logical. They went to the country openly advocating an immediate revision of the Tariff.

Mr. HIGGINS.—And they were beaten.

Mr. McLEAN.—They were hopelessly beaten on that question, and they are prepared to bow to the decision of the majority. But is it consistent for my honorable friend opposite, or any one who went to the country advocating fiscal peace, and who won on that policy, when the country backed them up, and dealt with their request by sending into this House an overwhelming majority, made up of protectionists and free-traders, in favour of fiscal peace, to turn round now and say, "We were only fooling you at the elections; we did not believe in fiscal peace. We believe in re-opening the Tariff at the earliest possible moment"? What are the excuses that are being put forward? We are told that what we objected to was the re-opening of the Tariff by free-traders, but that it was quite legitimate for protectionists

to re-open the Tariff. Surely, that is a story which will not impose upon the credulity of the inhabitants of a nursery, much less upon intelligent adult people? Does not every one know that if the Tariff is re-opened—and it does not matter a rush by whom, whether by protectionists or free-traders—if one item of the Tariff is re-opened, every item on it is open to attack by both free-traders and protectionists. We have had over twelve months of a struggle on the Tariff. It has been admitted by both sides that the relative strength of the protectionist and free-trade parties was not disturbed at the last election. That was stated in the columns of the *Age* newspaper a couple of days after the elections took place. It was explained that the losses in one place were made up by gains in another, and that so far as the relative strength of the parties was concerned it was exactly as before.

Mr. HIGGINS.—May I interrupt the honorable gentleman for a moment? We asked for fiscal peace as a compromise. That compromise was refused. Does the honorable gentleman think that we are now bound by the compromise?

Mr. McLEAN.—It was not refused by the country.

Mr. HIGGINS.—It was refused by our opponents.

Mr. McLEAN.—It was granted by the country. Will honorable members opposite say that the country having given a majority to them, and to those who fought under the same flag, they should turn round immediately, and take up the attitude of the party that was defeated at the elections?

Mr. HIGGINS.—The question is: Have those who were defeated when they refused the compromise a right to insist now on the compromise being kept?

Mr. McLEAN.—There is no insistence. They say openly, "We asked for permission to re-open the Tariff. That permission was refused by the country, and we bow to the verdict."

Mr. HIGGINS.—Honorable gentlemen wish to tie our hands, and to keep their own hands free.

Mr. McLEAN.—We, as protectionists, tied our own hands at the last election. The name of my honorable and learned friend is in the list of those who went to the country asking for fiscal peace.

Mr. HIGGINS.—No, I did not.

Mr. McLEAN.—Then the honorable and learned gentleman allowed his name

to be used in that connexion. If we take the protectionists who are now asking for a revision of the Tariff away from the the majority who supported fiscal peace, and add them to the members of the party led by the right honorable member for East Sydney, who advocated an immediate revision of the Tariff, it will be found that we shall make a very material difference in the verdict of the country.

Mr. KING O'MALLEY.—There can be no truce where both sides do not agree to it. If one side fires on the flag there is no truce.

Mr. McLEAN. — The truce was confirmed by the country. The country was the arbiter and the proper arbiter. The electors who were the judges heard both sides, and they said virtually, "We are tired of this Tariff wrangle, and we decree that the Tariff shall not be re-opened during the life of the present Parliament." That is the position which I and other protectionists on this side took up. That is our position to-day, and I therefore say that we have nothing to explain to our constituents, because we are acting in strict accordance with our election pledges.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Then why is the honorable gentleman explaining now?

Mr. McLEAN.—Because my honorable friend and others acting with him have been making certain statements to the country—statements very much at variance with their utterances of a few months ago. Perhaps the honorable member for Hume will give me his attention for a moment while I quote a paragraph from his own speech in returning thanks for his election to his constituents at Albury.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—These papers ought to be burnt.

Mr. McLEAN.—These are the words of the honorable member for Hume, as reported in the *Age* of 18th December—

The fiscal question should never have been raised in this election. Owing to the stringency of the financial clauses of the Constitution it was impossible to have either protection or free-trade. Whatever party was in power, the only possible Tariff must be very similar to that now in force; and until the expiration of the Braddon clauses, it was vain for either party to dream of radical alterations.

Those were the views of almost the whole of the members of the party with which my honorable friend was associated at that time. The only difference at the present time, so far as I can learn, is that we are

still of that opinion, whilst some of our honorable friends have seen fit to change their attitude.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—Who said that?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Sir William Lyne.

Mr. McLEAN.—A gentleman for whom I have the highest respect, my old and honorable friend the member for Hume.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Hear, hear; and I shall refer to it myself presently.

Mr. McLEAN.—It is quite true that I, and I believe all of the protectionists on this side, advocated preferential trade. The attitude of the Government which we supported was to wait until some proposal on the subject emanated from the Imperial Government. That is our attitude to-day. We do not think it is likely that these proposals will come to us during the life of the present Parliament, but if they do, we are prepared to carry out our election pledges, and to deal with them in accordance with those pledges.

Mr. HUGHES.—Is the other head of the Government going to do the same?

Mr. McLEAN.—The head of the Government is absolutely willing that every member of the Government and their supporters should be true to their election pledges on this as well as on every other question.

Mr. HUGHES.—Is there, then, a free hand on preferential trade; is it an open question in the Cabinet?

Mr. McLEAN.—It is a question on which we shall all vote in accordance with our election pledges.

Mr. HUGHES.—That is to say, that the honorable gentleman will vote in one way, and the right honorable member for East Sydney in another?

Mr. McLEAN.—Probably, if that question should come up. The honorable and learned member for West Sydney is aware that in that respect we are a coalition Government in just the same way as the Government of which he was himself a member. Will he tell me that he would have voted in the late Government for preferential trade, and in favour of raising the duties against the foreigner?

Mr. HUGHES.—The late Government was not a coalition Government.

Mr. McLEAN.—My honorable and learned friend should be straight and candid. We know what he would do. He is too honorable to do otherwise than vote in accordance with his honest convictions. The honorable and learned gentleman knows very well that four mem-

bers of the Cabinet to which he belonged held one fiscal belief, whilst another four held the opposite view.

Mr. HUGHES.—I do not know that at all.

Mr. McLEAN. — My honorable and learned friend must know that the Government of which he was a member included four free-traders and four protectionists.

Mr. HUGHES.—I am not aware of that, but it may have been so.

Mr. McLEAN.—The innocence of the honorable and learned gentleman is charming. Possibly he was not aware of it, but I may tell him that every other member of the House was. In that respect, on the Tariff question alone, and on questions arising under the Tariff, we admit that we are essentially a coalition Government—some of us hold one view and some another.

Mr. HUGHES.—Is that consonant with responsible government?

Mr. McLEAN.—It is on all the matters we have in hand. If this matter should come before us by request from the Imperial Government, we shall deal with it in accordance with our election pledges.

Mr. HUGHES.—Who will deal with it? The present Government cannot deal with it.

Mr. McLEAN.—Every individual member of the Government.

Mr. HUGHES. — But who will lead? The honorable gentleman or the other half of the head of the Government?

Mr. REID.—Wait until it comes along; we shall then soon tell the honorable and learned member.

Mr. McLEAN.—When the matter comes before us by request from the Imperial Government we shall be prepared to deal with it.

Mr. HUGHES.—I do not know that the Government will then be able to deal with anything.

Mr. McLEAN. — Dealing with the speech of the leader of the Opposition, that honorable gentleman, in his opening remarks, complained bitterly of the action of honorable members now on this side of the House in taking the conduct of business out of the hands of the late Government. He argued that, under ordinary circumstances, we should have allowed the House to go into Committee, and to deal with the amendment of the honorable member for Corinella there. I admit that, under ordinary circumstances, that would have been a fair request to make, and I should have

been one of the first to agree to it; but my honorable friends know that the late Government stated openly the alternative which they had to propose.

Mr. HUGHES.—Not on the motion to recommit.

Mr. McLEAN.—They told us what they intended to do in Committee. If they had asked us to go into Committee to deal with the question on its merits, they would have been allowed to do so; but they did not ask that. I believe that if we had gone into Committee, the majority against the Government would have been larger.

Mr. HIGGINS.—There would not have been a majority against the Government in Committee.

Mr. McLEAN.—The honorable member for Barker, for one, would have voted against the Government in Committee.

Mr. HIGGINS.—What about the honorable member for Dalley? How would he have voted, if we had moved to strike out the whole proviso?

Mr. McLEAN.—The amendment of the honorable member for Corinella was carried on its merits by five votes, whereas the Government were defeated on the proposal to recommit by a majority of two votes.

Mr. HUGHES.—On the one occasion there was not a full attendance, but on the other there was.

Mr. McLEAN.—For my own part, I was not aware that the amendment was to be moved by the honorable and learned member for Corinella.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Nor was I.

Mr. McLEAN.—I do not think that many of us knew of it until it was proposed. I voted in accordance with the views which I expressed during the second reading debate on the Bill introduced by the Barton Government, and I think that most honorable members did likewise. On that occasion I stated what were the provisions to which I objected, and I voted all through in strict accordance with that statement. It was not our fault that the late Government chose to make clause 48 a vital question. That was a matter for themselves. But they could hardly expect us, who were not supporting them, to reverse the vote we had recorded a few days previously, simply because they were making the question a vital one.

Mr. FRAZER.—We expected fair play, and we were deceived.

Mr. REID.—Poor little babies! But honorable members were not deceived. They are too clever for that.

Mr. FRAZER. — The right honorable gentleman's turn is coming.

Mr. McLEAN.—If we get the same amount of fair play as we extended to the late Government, we shall not ask for anything more.

Mr. PAGE.—The honorable member will get it.

Mr. McLEAN.—We do not wish for anything more. My honorable friend cannot point to a single instance in which the late Opposition attempted to obstruct business, or to thwart progress in any way. We dealt with each matter as it came up, purely and simply on its merits.

Mr. HUGHES.—Hear, hear! There is no question about that.

Mr. McLEAN.—The ejection of the late Government from office was a matter for which they alone were responsible, since the situation was one of their own creation. Honorable members who voted against them did so in accordance with their previously expressed convictions. The leader of the Opposition referred in a sneering tone this afternoon to the remark of the Prime Minister, that in one respect there is a strong resemblance between the members of the Opposition and the supporters of the Government, in that both are democrats and liberals; and he proceeded to ridicule the assertion by referring to two or three honorable members whom he regarded as conservatives. It is well known that I have never had any sympathy with conservatism, and that I have supported advanced liberalism throughout the whole of my political career. But in the matter of exclusiveness, there is a very strong resemblance between the ultra-conservative and the labour member. They are equally exclusive. Your ultra-conservative is in favour of class rule, and your labour member is also in favour of class rule. The only difference between them is this: Your ultra-conservative believes in entrusting political power to that class which, having acquired a stake in the country, has shown some capacity to manage its own affairs.

Mr. HUTCHISON.—Cannot the labour members do that?

Mr. McLEAN.—They have not done it. Honorable members must remember that I do not sympathize with the conservatives, and have never sympathized with them. They contend that those who have shown their capacity to manage their own business by acquiring a stake in the country, in the shape of property—

Mr. PAGE.—What does the honorable member call a stake in the country?

Mr. McLEAN.—I am stating the argument from the conservative, not from my own point of view. Their contention is that the class for which they ask for what I consider an undue share of political power has given evidence of being able to manage its affairs intelligently.

Mr. KING O'MALLEY.—Is it not the man with a wife and family and no money who has the real stake in the country?

Mr. McLEAN.—My honorable friend's tent, if he had one, would be a good instance of what is meant by a stake in the country. Honorable members opposite also believe that the Government of the country should be in the hands of one class, the labour class.

Mr. HIGGINS.—That is the honorable member's mistake.

Mr. McLEAN.—I do not say that it is not just as capable as any other, but they desire to give exclusive power to a section of the community which has not yet given the same evidence of capacity to manage its own affairs.

Mr. HUTCHISON.—Does the honorable member mean that the labour members have not shown that they can manage their own business?

Mr. McLEAN.—The labouring class has not shown that capacity to the same extent as other classes have done. If they had done so, they would not be under the necessity of working for wages.

Mr. HUTCHISON.—Many of the honorable members of the Labour Party do not work for wages, but manage businesses of their own.

Mr. McLEAN.—I have been opposed to both parties always. Both the Prime Minister and myself believe in making every section of the community equal in the eyes of the law, and in giving every section of the community the same voice in framing the laws of the country.

Mr. HUTCHISON.—That is the policy of the Labour Party.

Mr. McLEAN.—It is in that respect that we differ from our friends opposite. The honorable member for Hindmarsh cannot deny that he came into this Parliament bound by a very stringent pledge.

Mr. HUTCHISON.—What was the pledge?

Mr. PAGE.—Read it. We are proud of it.

Mr. McLEAN.—It is this—

I hereby pledge myself not to oppose the candidate selected by the recognised political organi-

zation, and, if elected, to do my utmost to carry out the principles embodied in the Federal Labour Platform, and on all questions affecting the platform, to vote as a majority of the parliamentary party may decide at a duly constituted caucus meeting.

My honorable friends claim to represent the whole people; but had the employers any voice in framing the programme, to which they have bound themselves body and soul?

MR. KING O'MALLEY.—Certainly. They can come into the unions if they like. We welcome them.

MR. MCLEAN.—My honorable friends know that they come into Parliament as the pledged advocates of one class.

MR. HUGHES.—Not at all.

MR. MCLEAN.—I accept the correction to this extent. In using the word class, I was rather too comprehensive. I should have said section of a class. The recent action of my honorable friends shows that they have come here as the pledged advocates of those who are enrolled in the trades unions, and not of the whole of the workers.

MR. HUTCHISON.—Employers, lawyers, squatters, doctors, and other sections of the community belong to the Labour Party.

MR. MCLEAN.—That is a revelation to me. I am not surprised at lawyers belonging to the party, though I believe that the honorable and learned member for Northern Melbourne has not yet signed its platform.

MR. HIGGINS.—I think that the honorable member will admit that men of all classes and occupations are free to join the party.

MR. MCLEAN.—Just as any person is free to commit suicide. If they are willing to enter upon a career of confiscation, they can join the Labour Party.

MR. KING O'MALLEY.—No one is free to commit suicide. The honorable member would be arrested if he attempted to do so.

MR. MCLEAN.—Perhaps I should not have used that illustration.

MR. PAGE.—Have not the labour candidates to face the electors?

MR. MCLEAN.—Yes.

MR. PAGE.—Then whose fault is it that we are here?

MR. MCLEAN.—I am not blaming the honorable member for anything. He should not be ashamed of his position.

MR. PAGE.—I am not ashamed of it; I am proud of it.

MR. MCLEAN.—If I have misrepresented the platform of the Labour Party in any way, I am open to correction.

MR. HUTCHISON.—Do not the electors accept our platform in choosing us to represent them?

MR. MCLEAN.—My honorable friends come here as the pledged advocates of the trade unions.

MR. HUTCHISON.—That is not so.

MR. MCLEAN.—The trades unions are excellent electioneering organizations; there is no denying that. Every man in a trades union is a canvasser for a labour candidate, and they certainly select excellent representatives. I have never said anything against the labour members in this Chamber. They are a most reputable body of men, who are attentive to their duties, and conscientiously carry out their election pledges. But I object to the whole machine which creates class rule. My honorable friends know that I have always been opposed to that. I object to any man binding himself body and soul to an organization outside Parliament. I think that it is right for every man to place his own views before the electors. If those views are acceptable, he should be sent into Parliament. I do not believe in any man so moulding his views as to comply with a platform framed by a body of men outside of Parliament.

MR. PAGE.—Those views must be entertained by the majority of the electors, or they would not send us here.

MR. MCLEAN.—The honorable member must, of course, represent a majority of those who vote in his constituency.

MR. REID.—Yes, of those who vote.

MR. PAGE.—I secured a majority of 4,780 over the candidate who would have been supported by the right honorable gentleman.

MR. SPEAKER.—I am sorry to again have to call attention to the fact that interjections across the chamber—practically conversations carried on between honorable members—are highly disorderly, and render it almost impossible for the honorable member who is addressing the Chair to pursue a consistent line of argument. I must again ask honorable members to refrain from engaging in conversations across the chamber.

MR. MCLEAN.—The leader of the Opposition took exception to a remark made by the Prime Minister in a recent speech at Warragul, to the effect that the programme of the Labour Government was framed in the vaults. He contended that there was no truth in that statement, and, of course, I accept his denial. But what

does that denial involve? It involves the abandonment of the election pledges of the members of the Labour Party, by which they engage to abide by the views of the caucus in every matter affecting their programme. Therefore, it is a poor compliment to pay to a Labour Government to say that they could act independently only by a violation of the pledge under which they entered Parliament.

Mr. HUGHES.—If the whole of the members of the Labour Party are of one opinion, how can their views be influenced by persons outside?

Mr. McLEAN.—I will answer that in the true Scotch fashion by asking another question. If my honorable friends are of the one opinion before they go into the caucus, where is the necessity for the rule that has been laid down?

Mr. PAGE.—Because we have been tricked too often by people giving us pledges and promises.

Mr. McLEAN.—Then what the honorable and learned member for West Sydney says cannot be true. All the members of the Labour Party cannot be of the one mind before they go into the caucus.

Mr. HUGHES.—The honorable member stated that we had violated our pledge in regard to the Arbitration Bill; I say that we were of one opinion, so far as that was concerned.

Mr. McLEAN.—How did the honorable and learned member know that?

Mr. HUGHES.—We found it out first of all.

Mr. McLEAN.—That is what the leader of the Opposition denied. He said that the Government had framed their own programme in absolute independence of the party. Honorable members must have entered the caucus, either in order to make the minority bow to the will of the majority, and come in here as if they believed in it, or merely to perpetrate a farce. If they were all of the one opinion before they went into the caucus it would be absurd for them to enter into any conclave upon the matter. The leader of the Opposition told us that the policy of the late Government was known to the whole world. I would ask the honorable member whose policy it was. Was it the policy of the Government or of the labour organizations outside of Parliament?

Mr. HUGHES.—It was the policy of the Government.

Mr. McLEAN.—It was a policy framed by the organizations outside of Parliament, which the labour members were sent in here to carry out in obedience to their masters.

Mr. HUGHES.—It was the policy of the electors at the last general elections, which was confirmed by an overwhelming majority. It is so good a policy that the honorable member is not game to knock out one plank of it.

Mr. McLEAN.—The leader of the Opposition referred to the Free-trade League and compared it to the labour organizations outside of Parliament. Now, is there a single member of this House who comes in here with the brand of the Free-trade League upon him, and bound body and soul to carry out its behests? The Free-trade League will, no doubt, pledge itself outside of Parliament to vote for those candidates whose views are in consonance with its own, but it does not make its representatives its servile instruments.

Mr. HUGHES.—They have to sign a pledge in New South Wales.

Mr. REID.—They can do without it just the same.

Mr. McLEAN.—The Free-trade League of New South Wales did not put their brand upon the Prime Minister. The leader of the Opposition referred also to the tobacco monopoly, and pointed out the injury that was being done to the community by that combination. I am not prepared to say that his assertions are not absolutely true, but I submit that there are other means of dealing with such a matter, besides nationalizing an industry and making it a State monopoly. Surely these monopolies can be prevented by legislation from doing any harm to the public. The present Government are just as much opposed as are my honorable friends opposite to any monopoly that imposes disabilities upon the general public. We may have a different method of dealing with it, but we have the same object in view, and honorable members will find that we are quite as earnest as they are in that respect.

Mr. HUGHES.—What is the honorable member's method?

Mr. McLEAN.—The honorable member is questioning me rather too soon. We have not yet had time to consider the whole of the details of the legislation by which we could deal with such matters.

Mr. HUGHES.—What has the honorable member been doing during the last three weeks?

Mr. McLEAN.—What was the honorable and learned member doing for three months?

Mr. HUGHES.—Combating the stratagems and tricks of honorable members opposite.

Mr. McLEAN.—The late Government during the three months they were in office passed only one Bill, namely, the Seat of Government Bill.

Mr. HUGHES.—That was something which the former Government did not succeed in achieving during the three years that it occupied office.

Mr. McLEAN.—That Bill was passed in a day or two, and the other portion of the term during which the late Government held office was fruitless. The leader of the Opposition also took exception to the proposal of the present Government to postpone the appointment of the High Commissioner. He said that we ought to make the appointment at once, and trust to public opinion to compel the States Governments to come into line. Is that the proper way to approach independent States Governments, who have just as clear rights as we have under the Constitution? We believe that it would be much more conducive to the best interests of the people whom we both represent if we met the States Governments in friendly conference, and came to some amicable agreement. We know that the members of the States Governments are as anxious as we are to promote the greatest good for the people at the least possible cost, and we believe that economy can best be served by entering into friendly conference with them. I would point out that the High Commissioner will have very important functions to discharge, and that, if he does his duty ably and conscientiously, he can accomplish a great deal. He will be in a position to promote the interests of our producers, by advertising our products and resources in the old world, by opening up markets, by making the best possible freight arrangements for the cheap transport of our exports to those markets, and by the collection and dissemination of useful information. In this connexion, perhaps, I may be permitted to digress a little from the speech of the leader of the Opposition, by saying that the Government are looking forward to accomplishing very useful work, in conjunction with the States Governments, during the recess. In the first place, the States have public debts, amounting to £222,000,000. One of the strongest arguments in favour

of the Federal Union was that increased facilities would be given for borrowing money for public purposes on favourable terms, because the credit of the Commonwealth would stand very much higher than that of individual States; I think that that was a fair and reasonable view to take. If the credit of the Commonwealth stands higher than that of individual States to the extent of even a half per cent.—and I think that is a very modest assumption—we might by taking over the States' debts, effect a saving upon our annual interest bill of £1,110,000. That would surely be an advantage well worth gaining.

Mr. HUGHES.—Why delay the matter?

Mr. McLEAN.—There will be no delay in dealing with the matter, unless honorable members opposite unduly prolong the session. If we can go into recess within a reasonable time, we shall be able to deal with the matter promptly. If we do not succeed in reaching recess, the honorable member will not find us whining for office. We can leave office in as good a spirit as we came into it. Reverting to the subject of the appointment of a High Commissioner, I would point out that there are many directions in which that official may render great service. I would remind my honorable friends that the Federal Parliament has already devoted more than a year to the consideration of one question, the fiscal issue, and it seems to me, that by the time that the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill has been finally dealt with, we shall have devoted something like a similar period to the consideration of that measure. Surely it is fair that the great producing interests of Australia should receive some attention. The Federal Constitution has left the control of those interests in a somewhat divided state. The Governments of the States have charge of the various Departments of Agriculture; but the Government of the Commonwealth have the sole power to give direct encouragement to production or export. It is absolutely necessary, if we are to evolve a wise and intelligent policy in this direction, that we shall do so in conference with the States Governments, and that is a matter to which the Government intend to devote special attention. I believe that the Parliament and the Government of the Commonwealth may do more good for Australia by developing and expanding her natural resources than they can in any other direction. I would draw attention to the proposal which was submitted last session, as

well as early this session, by the honorable and learned member for Bendigo, in regard to the creation of a Federal Bureau of Agriculture. It is the intention of the Government to take that proposal into their serious consideration. We are all in sympathy with the object which the honorable and learned member has in view, and it is the intention of the Government to do all that we can to come to such arrangements with the States as will enable us to give every reasonable encouragement to the expansion of the natural resources of the country.

Mr. ISAACS.—Have the Government any concrete suggestion to make?

Mr. McLEAN.—If we have a concrete proposal, there is good reason why it should not be made public. The matter is one that must be dealt with, as the honorable and learned member will admit, in conference with the States Governments. What position should we occupy if we first announced exactly what we proposed to do, and then proceeded to negotiate with the States Governments? My honorable and learned friend will surely see that it is only reasonable that we should not make any definite proposal until we have conferred with the States Governments. It is indeed due to the States Governments that that position should be taken up by us. But I am at liberty to point out the direction which these negotiations will take. The honorable and learned member for Ballarat has been long and honorably associated with such progressive movements as water conservation, immigration, and other important questions of public concern, and I may tell the House that in these respects the Government are in entire sympathy and accord with him. These also are matters that will have to be dealt with in the first instance in conference with the States Governments.

Mr. HUGHES. — Does the honorable gentleman speak of irrigation?

Mr. McLEAN.—I am referring to water conservation and irrigation generally.

Mr. HUGHES.—We are entirely in accord with the Government programme, but what we wish to know is when it is to be proceeded with.

Mr. McLEAN.—We shall go on with it as rapidly as possible.

Mr. HUGHES.—Then why not go on with all these matters without any recess?

Mr. McLEAN.—Such a suggestion may impose on the occupants of the galleries, but it can have no such effect on old politicians like the honorable and learned mem-

ber himself. Did the Government, of which he was a member, attempt to do anything in the direction to which I am referring?

Mr. HUGHES.—We undoubtedly did; but we were throttled by the attacks of honorable members like the Minister of Trade and Customs.

Mr. McLEAN.—Then the Government kept the matter a very close secret.

Mr. HUGHES.—We had to do so.

Mr. ISAACS.—The Minister does not mean to say that the Government will not do anything for the producers, except that which the States Governments agree to do?

Mr. McLEAN.—Certainly not. This is not the time to make such a declaration. If we desired to flout the States Governments, to defy them, and to have them arraigned in opposition to us, that is the course which we should follow. We commence by saying that we shall endeavour by friendly negotiations and conference with the States Governments to come to amicable arrangements that will be conducive to the best interests of the people of the Commonwealth. We surely should not, on the other hand, hold out a threat to the States Governments, and say to them, "If you do not agree with what we propose, we shall carry it out in spite of your opposition."

Mr. ISAACS.—It is surely our duty to help the producers.

Mr. McLEAN.—We shall not be found shirking our duty in regard to the producers. I trust that my honorable and learned friend is doing his duty to his constituents.

Mr. ISAACS.—I hope so.

Mr. McLEAN.—I trust that my honorable and learned friend feels that he is discharging his duty to his constituents, the producers, by doing all that he can to bring into power an organization which would proceed to tax them off their holdings. Is that the way in which he desires to do his duty to them? I have fought with the honorable and learned member in the past, and I hope to fight with him again, and the remark which I made a moment ago was drawn from me only by his interjection. It relates to a matter which his constituents will have to determine.

Mr. ISAACS.—I do not object to the remark; but I say that the policy of taxing the people off the land is the policy of the free-trade democratic association, with which the honorable gentleman is now allied.

Mr. McLEAN.—The honorable and learned member knows that that is the ultimate goal of the party which he is

now supporting. He knows that it supports the nationalization of Land, Capital and industry. How are they to be nationalized?

Mr. HUGHES.—By the method which is favoured by the honorable member for Lang, who is a Government supporter.

Mr. McLEAN.—By means of taxation imposed not for the legitimate purposes of revenue, but to reduce the value of holdings, in order that they may be ultimately acquired by the money wrung in this way from the holders.

Mr. ISAACS.—Who imposed the Land Values Taxation in New South Wales?

Mr. McLEAN.—My honorable and learned friend knows that the doctrine to which I have referred is preached by the paid agitators of the Labour Party, and is advocated by their press. I presume that they will not repudiate their utterances on these questions? The leader of the Opposition was very candid in his statement that it was the intention of his party to turn the Government out of office at the first opportunity. The Government do not complain of that attitude. If the Opposition proceed fairly the Government will be quite prepared to meet any legitimate attack as soon as it may be desired to launch it. I give the leader of the Opposition every credit for his statement, and do not feel less friendly towards him, or to any member of his party, because of the attitude which he and they have taken up towards the Ministry. I recognise that they differ from our views just as we honestly differ from those which they hold. We can fight fairly, and if we are members of the defeated party we shall be able to take our defeat like men. I can only say in conclusion that I trust that the Government during their term of office, whether it be long or short—and I am not particularly concerned about the duration of its life—will acquit themselves in a manner that will be creditable to the Commonwealth, and conducive to the best interests of its people.

Mr. SPENCE (Darling).—I have listened with some degree of interest to the statement of the policy of the peculiar Government that now controls the destinies of the Commonwealth.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—It is not more peculiar than is the Opposition.

Mr. SPENCE.—It is the most peculiar Government that has ever been brought into power.

Mr. REID.—There are some peculiar combinations in the Opposition.

Mr. SPENCE.—We are peculiarly solid. We all should, doubtless, have liked to hear the opinion of the late Sir Henry Parkes, who was a high constitutional authority, on the position of the present Government. I have some recollection of a speech in which he dealt with the principles of constitutional government in the sense that the head of a Government should be responsible to the King's adviser, and have the right to act as the mouthpiece of his Ministry. In that respect we find that the present Government occupy a most extraordinary position. It is a double-headed Government. We have two Prime Ministers, each of them speaking according to the dictates of his own conscience.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Only one Prime Minister.

Mr. SPENCE.—I think I shall be able to show, from statements made by the respective leaders of the coalition, that there are two gentlemen at the head of the Government who are "equal in all things." It is known as the "Reid-McLean Government," which means that it has two heads. I expected to hear from the first spokesman on behalf of the Government some declaration as to the methods which they will adopt in proceeding to work, but no such statement was given. The Prime Minister occupied much time in dealing with the one question on which the Ministry—and presumably their supporters—appear to be somewhat solid—the policy of anti-labour.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—That is not so.

Mr. SPENCE.—The Government programme is the most miserable, threadbare policy of which I have ever heard.

Mr. ISAACS.—They have none.

Mr. SPENCE.—The Prime Minister is said to have referred to the programme of a certain Government as a "crawling" one, but the policy which he has put forward cannot be described even in that way, except in the sense that the one dominant idea in the minds of the Government is to crawl into recess. The Prime Minister occupied considerable time in dealing with the alleged tactics of the Labour Party, and statements have been made by him, as well as by the other head of the Government, that are not correct. I am somewhat surprised that these honorable members who have occupied high and important positions for many years, and who have been more or less in

close touch with the Labour Party, should have made such assertions in regard to the methods of the party. They have either been asleep, so far as the Labour Party and its work are concerned, or they have designedly misrepresented the true position of affairs. I should be sorry to say that they would wilfully misrepresent the methods of the party, but I have no hesitation in asserting that those methods have been misrepresented, both inside and outside this House, with the deliberate intention, if possible, to discount the influence, and to check the growing power of the great labour movement. It is worthy of note that the Prime Minister occupied more time in dealing with the planks in the Government platform, with which they do not propose to do anything this session, than with those on which they are solid. They may be said to be solid so far as the introduction of the Papua Bill and the Trades Marks Bill—both measures left over by previous Governments—are concerned; but there appears to be nothing else on which they are united. We are told that Parliament is to go into recess before dealing with the High Commissioner Bill, and that the members of the Government are to be allowed to vote as they please in regard to the Manufactures Encouragement Bill. We are not told how it will be possible to secure the passing of that measure, unless some one takes charge of it. Is it to be left, with the consent of this double-barrelled Government, in the care of a private member, or is some member of the Ministry to have a free hand in introducing that contentious measure? Almost every question of importance is in the same position. We tried to induce the Minister of Trade and Customs to say how it was possible to carry on business in connexion with matters about which he was speaking, such as preferential trade, but the honorable gentleman declined to reply. The Prime Minister also declines to say how it is possible for Parliament to deal with those questions, unless the Cabinet has some definite opinion upon them, and provides some method for dealing with them. If the members of the present Administration have any hope that they will last, and if they are to be the great Government they are claiming to be, which is going to set up the constitutional system, restore responsible government, and give effect to all the ideals put before us by the honorable and learned member for Ballarat, as a justification for bringing about a coalition, they must expect

Mr. Spence.

to retain a sufficient majority to enable them to carry on until the Imperial Government sends out some proposal in connexion with preferential trade. But they decline to tell us what they will do when it comes. They decline to say whether the question will be dealt with on free-trade or protectionist lines? What has been disclosed shows that the coalition on the other side has been formed for certain objects, ulterior to the questions now before the country; and that the principal object has been to put out the Labour Government and to keep them out, because they were a Labour Government, and not because of anything they had done, or of anything they proposed to do. The chief object was to take their places—in whose interests I shall presently show. Apart from that object, they do not seem to care whether they have a programme or not. They do not propose to make any issue vital except that of holding on to the Treasury benches. That has been the one issue in their minds, and for which they have been scrambling in a way which, to say the least of it, has been a little bit tricky.

MR. JOSEPH COOK.—The honorable member is very rough.

MR. SPENCE.—I am not as rough as I feel inclined to be, nor as I think the circumstances warrant; but I am not given to saying extremely strong or hard things, because I have some sensitiveness with respect to people's feelings. Considering the general interests of the community, I take up the position that an unholy combination now holds office, that it is a menace to the welfare of the Commonwealth, and should not be permitted to remain in power a day longer than we can help. That is a somewhat new position for members of the Labour Party to take up.

MR. JOHNSON.—What about the unholy combination on the other side?

MR. SPENCE.—Hitherto in the various States we have been satisfied that legislation of which we approved should be passed by other parties. We have endeavoured to take a hand in the moulding of legislation, that it might be fair to all classes of the community. We have here, however, a Government in power who are going to represent the minority, who are organizing deliberately outside to secure as a power behind them all the most reactionary influences that exist. It is therefore not in the interests of the Commonwealth that this Administration should exist at all

—that it should be tolerated for even a day. I propose in a few words to show what has led up to the present situation, and I desire particularly to deal with the right honorable gentleman at the head of the Government.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—The honorable member now admits that the right honorable member for East Sydney is the head of the Government.

Mr. SPENCE.—During the last contest in New South Wales the right honorable member for East Sydney is reported to have made these remarks—

It is my proud boast that when I got power in New South Wales I compelled the men of wealth to pay their share of the taxation of the country. There had been some at the head of the liberal and free-trade parties for fifty years who shirked their plain duty, but the moment I got power I used it to take £800,000 worth of burdens off the masses of the people, and to shift them on to the land-owners and wealthy people of the country.

Mr. JOHNSON.—And yet the Labour Party turned the right honorable gentleman out of office.

Mr. SPENCE.—In doing that, the right honorable gentleman was helped by the members of the Labour Party. He has quite recognised that, and has always borne testimony to the fact. But what does the right honorable gentleman who made that boast do now? Does he propose now to relieve the masses of taxation which he said it was his proud boast to have done in New South Wales? Now the Commonwealth Government has charge of taxation, of the raising of revenue for the States, yet we hear no word from the right honorable gentleman about lifting any burdens from the masses of the people.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Some honorable members opposite claim now that more should be put on.

Mr. JOHNSON.—The honorable member supports those who insist upon increasing the burdens.

Mr. SPENCE.—I am aware that the honorable members for Lang and Parramatta are very uncomfortable, and I do not wonder at it, when I find the honorable member for Lang sitting behind a protectionist.

Mr. REID.—The honorable member is himself sitting behind one now.

Mr. SPENCE.—I was not returned on a fiscal policy. I am carrying out my pledges whilst the right honorable gentleman is not carrying out his pledges.

Mr. REID.—I did my best.

Mr. SPENCE.—The right honorable gentleman said that it was his proud boast that he was able to take £800,000 worth of burdens off the masses of the people, and whilst he certainly did so, I wish to know from him whether the present Minister of Trade and Customs has agreed to join him in relieving the masses of the people of the burdens of customs taxation? Has that honorable gentleman agreed to do so by introducing the same method of taxation on land values as that adopted by the Prime Minister, or has the right honorable member for East Sydney given up his policy and deserted his principles in that respect? I desire to direct the attention of honorable members and of the people outside to the change in the attitude of the right honorable member for East Sydney. In New South Wales he was a straight-out free-trader, who believed in an absolutely free port, and in raising revenue by direct taxation.

Mr. JOHNSON.—What does the honorable member for Darling propose to do?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—What are the honorable member's fiscal opinions? He has been here four years, and we do not know what they are.

Mr. SPENCE.—If the honorable member for Parramatta expects to throw me off the track by his interjections he makes a mistake. If the honorable member does not keep quiet I shall have a shot at him presently.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I do not mind a bit. The honorable member's little pea-rifle will not hurt anybody.

Mr. SPENCE.—The honorable member for Parramatta knows that what I am stating is correct. He is aware that the present Prime Minister was in New South Wales a believer in absolute free-trade, apart from duties upon stimulants and narcotics.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—What has the honorable member to do with fiscalism?

Mr. SPENCE.—I should like some degree of attention from the honorable member who, although he has now become a chronic interjector, sat very quiet while a member of the Reid Ministry in New South Wales. The honorable member, while in that position, never said a word for five years.

Mr. FISHER.—The position in which the honorable member is now requires a lot of explanation.

Mr. SPENCE.—The honorable member was a member of the Government who, in New South Wales, took the action to which I have referred. I am proposing to show what kind of a Government we have now in the Federal Parliament, and to show that the present Prime Minister is not a man who should be intrusted with the welfare of the Commonwealth. When he carried direct taxation in New South Wales, the right honorable gentleman was a believer in absolute free-trade, but when he entered Federal politics, he became from the very start associated with those who in Victoria have been recognised as the most conservative body in the politics of the State. The honorable and learned member for Ballarat is aware that the revenue tariffists of Victoria, the men who used to be called the "Flinders-lane crowd," were dead opposed to land value taxation, or any other form of direct taxation. The right honorable member for East Sydney, who did such noble and creditable work in New South Wales, has become associated in Federal politics with those who have been notoriously the class of men who have formed the Legislative Council of Victoria, and who have consistently blocked every democratic measure that came before them. In New South Wales, the men with whom the right honorable gentleman was associated, were real free-traders, men of the Single Tax League, and of the school to which the honorable member for Lang belongs, and I recognise that there are democrats amongst them. I am aware, from the active part I have taken in political life, that the class of men with whom the right honorable gentleman has been associated in Federal politics are amongst the most ultra-conservative politicians to be found in Victoria. He has been associated with them in connexion with the fiscal faith he set up as the only policy upon which the country should be run. From my point of view, it is but natural that the bad company which he has kept should have led him away from the progressive and liberal faith disclosed by his political action in his State.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The right honorable gentleman is on a missionary tour.

Mr. SPENCE.—I shall be able to show from quotations from the public prints what his missionary tour is. I wish to show the peculiar combination which is now ranged behind the right honorable gentleman. In speaking in Sydney he prefaced one of his addresses by some remarks applied to the honorable and learned member for Bal-

larat, which I think would be more appropriate if applied to himself. He is reported by the *Daily Telegraph* to have said—

Mr. Deakin, who was all things one time or another, and nothing very long, except an eloquent and courteous gentleman, had given them a few ingenious catch-cries with which it would be interesting to deal.

Mr. THOMAS.—Who said that?

Mr. SPENCE.—The present Prime Minister. That shows the kind of friendly feeling there was between the two honorable gentlemen. The reference to being all things at one time and another is, in my opinion, much more applicable to the Prime Minister than to the honorable and learned member for Ballarat.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—From what is the honorable member quoting?

Mr. SPENCE.—From the official organ of the right honorable gentleman's party—the *Daily Telegraph* of 3rd September, 1903—during the recent electoral contest.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Will the honorable member vouch for the accuracy of the report?

Mr. SPENCE.—I vouch for the fact that the report appeared in the *Sydney Daily Telegraph*, but I never vouch for the accuracy of anything that is published in the press. I shall not deal very lengthily with the changes of opinion, and the various arguments which have been expressed in regard to fiscal peace, but I think that it is important to know what sort of Government we have in power. Before we support the Government, we should be satisfied that we can place faith in them. Now, the *Sydney Daily Telegraph* reports the right honorable member for East Sydney as saying, prior to the elections—

Regarding the question of fiscal peace and free-trade, the protectionists had all the fight taken out of them. He had challenged Mr. Deakin and his colleagues to fight the battle of free-trade and protection to a finish, and, although they had accepted his challenge, they now came along with the flag of fiscal peace. Well, they would get no fiscal peace from him until he pulled them out.

Can honorable members recollect any occasion when the right honorable gentleman tested the question in this chamber, and tried to find out how many others held his views? As a matter of fact, he has left the question untested. Then the honorable

and learned member for Ballarat, speaking of the present Prime Minister, was reported to have said—

He has played round the question of contract labour and employment of white seamen upon mail boats, but has formulated no distinct policy in these regards. Of course, foreign traders fight for foreign ships as well as the goods they bring. The Government prefers a preference to British ships. Foreign traders would leave our coasting trade open to all commerce without conditions. The Government aim at protection of Australian seamen; but on none of these points does the Opposition challenge us.

The right honorable member for East Sydney, in every speech on the subject that I remember to have read, has raised great objection to the provisions of our laws which prohibit the immigration of labour under contract and the employment of coloured labour on mail boats, as well as to fiscal peace and preferential trade unless it meant a lowering of the fiscal barriers in favour of England, even if they were left up against the foreigner; but his keynote has always been the treatment meted out to the six hatters. I am therefore astonished that, now that he has had an opportunity to present a policy to this Parliament, he has not asserted his intention to alter the law which affected them. If the matter was so important as to warrant the fighting of an election upon it, surely it might be expected to appear in the Government programme. The right honorable member, however, said not a word about it. Then I should like to know how the honorable member for Eden-Monaro squares his present position with the following statement to the electors of Surrey Hills:—

When they talked about free-trade, and the so-called glorious change that would be wrought by putting Mr. Reid into power, they must have sufficient common sense to look at Mr. Reid's political past. The elector who did not support the present Government was simply working against Australia, and proposed to send all the money to the foreigner.

I wish to know if the honorable member has lost his common sense. Surely he should follow his own advice, and not support in power a dangerous man who will send all the money to the foreigner. No doubt he at the time believed what he said, and I should like to know what has influenced him to change his position. These are the surprises, the unique circumstances of the present state of affairs, and I should like to know how government is to be carried on under them. The combination which has been brought about has been arrived at in a somewhat peculiar way. Both the origi-

nal parties—that led by the right honorable member for East Sydney, and that lead by the honorable and learned member for Ballarat—were holding secret meetings and attending caucuses day after day. Then we saw some proposals put into black and white. Very nice complimentary letters passed from one party to another, and we were given to understand that the party led by the honorable and learned member for Ballarat declined to join a coalition unless their leader was made leader of the coalition. The moment this Parliament met, the honorable and learned member for Ballarat stated that one of his aims was to bring about a union of parties, so that there would be only two parties in the House. To carry that out, the secret meetings to which I have referred, were held. I do not know that they took place in the vaults. I have been told that they were held in one of the suburbs. At any rate, we read interesting stories about the honorable member for Macquarie taking out children for a walk to mislead the general public, and even the kind of hat in which the right honorable member for Balaclava was going away was mentioned. Other statements were made which were calculated to bring both parties into ridicule. Then, notwithstanding the manner in which honorable members opposite have denounced the caucus as a wicked thing, both parties sat in caucus daily. I would like to be informed by the supporters of the honorable and learned member for Ballarat how the decision of their caucus, that there should be no coalition with the Reid party, stands now.

Mr. JOHNSON.—Why not tell us about the negotiations of parties opposite?

Mr. SPENCE.—We have no negotiations. We are not a secret party. All that we do is done openly, and we are not ashamed of it. It is those who are associated with underground engineering who measure others' corn with their own bushel. We are now told that those who have broken away from the resolution of their caucus not to support the Reid party are the only true protectionists, and that the others are secessionists. That is a most extraordinary statement. It appears to me that the protectionists who have remained loyal to their fiscal faith are those who sit on this side of the Chamber, not those who have been swallowed up by the right honorable member for East Sydney.

Mr. McDONALD.—That is Socialism. The Government have half, and we have the other half.

Mr. SPENCE.—I shall show presently what kind of Socialism it is that honorable members opposite are supporting. They are going in for minority rule red hot.

Mr. McLEAN.—The late Government left office as a protest against majority rule.

Mr. SPENCE.—There is no truth in that statement. They set an example which other Governments would do well to follow, but which this Government does not seem likely to follow. They walked out of office rather than abandon their principles, and they did not crawl into office, or take advantage of a side wind. I should like to see how the following paragraph from the election speech of the honorable and learned member for Ballarat fits in with the present position :—

A White Australia goes further than the preservation of the complexion of the people whose homes are here. It means the multiplying of those homes, so that we shall be strong enough to use and defend the whole of this Commonwealth. It means the maintenance of conditions of life fit for a white man and a white woman. It means equal laws and equal opportunities for all, and protection against the under-paid labour of other lands. It means social justice, so far as we can establish it, and the payment of fair wages. A White Australia means a civilization whose foundations are built in healthy lives, lived in honest toil, under circumstances that do not imply degradation. A White Australia means protection. We protect ourselves from armed aggression. Why not protect ourselves from aggression by commercial means? (Cheers.) We protect ourselves against undesirable aliens; why not protect ourselves against the productions of the undesirable aliens' labour? (Loud cheers.) Unless a White Australia is to have more than a surface complexion, it must represent a policy which goes down to the roots of the national life from which the whole of our social system and political organization must spring.

We know how strongly the honorable and learned member, and his predecessor in the office of Prime Minister, were in favour of a white Australia, and we know, further, that the first Parliament of the Commonwealth was almost unanimous on the subject. We have had from the honorable and learned member for Ballarat a definition of the meaning of a White Australia policy, and now we find that honorable and learned member allying himself with the Prime Minister, who has denounced the White Australia policy, and the measure passed into law to give effect to it. We may now pertinently ask whether the Prime Minister will remain true to his election pledges, and endeavour by means of his administra-

tion to defeat the object of the Immigration Restriction Act. Is contract labour to be admitted?

Mr. McLEAN.—The administration will be in accordance with the law.

Mr. SPENCE.—The Minister must know very well that the question of adhering to the law is very much a matter of opinion. When the Immigration Restriction Bill was before us, it was pointed out that the question whether it would prove effective or otherwise would very largely depend upon the administration, because so much reliance would have to be placed in the discretion of the Minister and the officers under him. Furthermore, we have had evidence that the object of the Act has been defeated to a large extent in Western Australia, because officers who were unfavourable to the law had winked at the admission of Chinese.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I never heard of that before.

Mr. SPENCE.—It has been admitted, and certain officers have been removed in consequence.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—It is true that officers have been removed, but the reasons for their removal have not been published or submitted to this House.

Mr. MAHON.—The removals took place whilst the right honorable gentleman was in office.

Mr. SPENCE.—I am not making charges against the officials generally in connexion with the administration of the Act, but it is admitted that the effectiveness of the law depends very largely upon the wise exercise of their discretion. I have no faith in the present Government as administrators of such a law. The Prime Minister has turned somersaults upon nearly every subject upon which he has declared himself, and he may perform a similar acrobatic feat in this matter. I complain, however, that he has not sufficiently taken the House into his confidence as to his intentions with regard to the administration of the Immigration Restriction Act. He has given us practically no information, but has contented himself with abusing and misrepresenting the Labour Party, and I think that I am fully justified in entertaining suspicions as to his intentions. The Government have no policy, except that of clinging to office. I leave it to honorable members now sitting on the Government benches, who believe in the earnestness and sincerity of the

honorable and learned member for Ballarat, to explain how it is that they are supporting the Government, led by a declared opponent of the White Australia policy.

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—The honorable member forgets that the Government which he supported proposed to alter the white mail service.

Mr. MAHON.—In what way?

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—In regard to the land service.

Mr. MAHON.—That is a mare's nest.

Mr. SPENCE.—I know nothing of any departure from the White Australia policy on the part of the late Government. Since the last election, the Prime Minister has been very active. He was never noted for his constant attendance at Parliament; but he has been prompted to give very close attention to public business by his ambition to secure the position of Prime Minister of the Commonwealth. He has been active outside the House, as well as here, and has apparently been paving the way for the situation which he has at last succeeded in bringing about. When he addressed a meeting of farmers at Kyneton recently, he said—

If they asked him what was the thing upon which the Labour Party was to be most heartily congratulated, he would say, it was that the members of that party, though they came from every State in the Commonwealth, found some bond of union strong enough to enable them to sink all their State and provincial jealousies and hatred, and to work together upon a broad basis of Australian brotherhood.

It would appear from this that the Labour Party was one which the right honorable gentleman might very well support, unless there was something very wrong with their policy. He said further—

He had never denounced the labour leagues. He cherished esteem for members of any organization which endeavoured to advance the intellectual and political welfare of the country in which they lived. The great labour agitation had its root in a sound cause. It aimed at bringing about a political ideal in which the manhood and womanhood of the land would have equal power; but the time had come when it devolved upon him to stand right across the path of the Labour Party.

At a later stage he also said—

The Labour Party was a selfish, formidable organization, which strove to terrorize the workers of Australia into their ranks or drive them into the gutter.

In the first part of his speech the right honorable gentleman made the most kindly references to the Labour Party, but he ended by denouncing them. He stated what was

absolutely untrue with regard to the aims and objects of the party. He advanced no arguments in support of his assertions, and has said nothing whatever to justify his statements that the party was a "selfish, formidable organization which strove to terrorize the workers of Australia into their ranks, or drive them into the gutter." No greater slander could have been uttered. The statement has no foundation in fact. If the Labour Party had any such aim as that which he has indicated, it should not have been spoken of in the terms used by the right honorable member at an earlier stage of his address. I do not propose to deal with the methods adopted to bring about the defeat of the Watson Government. I entertain very strong feelings with regard, not to the defeat of the Government, but to the way in which a measure of vast importance, involving very large interests, including those of the most valuable industry in the Commonwealth, has been sacrificed in order to gratify the ambition of those who wanted office. History tells us that the great Napoleon, as he was called, in order to gratify his ambition, sacrificed the lives of 2,000,000 persons who had no interest in his quarrels. So in the present case the interests of a very large and important section of the community were sacrificed in order to gratify the ambition of the Prime Minister. If the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill had first been launched on its way I should not have had any grave cause for complaint; but the course adopted by the right honorable gentleman and his supporters was such as to indicate that they had no regard whatever for the interests of the masses. They were actuated to a far greater extent by consideration for the classes who are behind them. After the defeat of the late Government some statements were made by different party leaders, and I desire to call special attention to some remarks which fell from the Prime Minister. He said—

I think this division marks a line of cleavage which will dominate the politics of the immediate future. The crisis which brought into line men like Mr. Deakin and myself points to some great national emergency. It cannot be said that this is one of those old time combinations in order to secure the distinctions of office. It is notorious that Mr. Deakin's one anxiety throughout the present crisis has been to avoid office. I think the public of Australia will give us credit for having in our minds some higher purpose.

The system of government under which we live has been outraged by this new form of caucus Cabinet and caucus Executive. Then we

have the network which surrounds the present Government in relation to despotic outside bodies, which are the masters of the Ministries, and all the time hold their political destinies in the hollow of their hands. All this has come to an end.

Then, again, the honorable member for Gippsland, speaking in reference to the caucus machine, said—

They were told that all parties had caucus meetings. He well knew that all parties went into caucus for the election of a Speaker or Chairman of Committees, but they never heard of other parties going into caucus to compel a minority to change their views and support the views of the majority. That process, in his opinion, was destructive of the wholesome principle of government by majority. The Labour Party numbered twenty-five in the House of Representatives. Suppose on an important question, thirteen held one view and twelve another view. They went into caucus; the twelve men might fight hard for their views and try to induce their comrades to accept them. If they were finally outvoted, they would have to come out of the caucus meeting a solid vote, and be prepared to vote against their own convictions. Twelve votes taken from one side and put on the other meant twenty-four votes in the House of Representatives, out of a total of seventy-five.

That statement was cheered. I do not say that the Minister of Trade and Customs would wilfully make an incorrect statement in regard to the Labour Party, and the fact that, unlike the Prime Minister, he has not been in close touch with the party and its methods, is some excuse for the mistake that he made in the speech which I have just quoted. No such practice is adopted as that to which he referred. We do not compel members of the party to change their views in caucus. The only questions that are discussed by the caucus are those dealt with in our platform, and even those are discussed only in relation to any Bill that is introduced, the desire being to see whether that Bill is designed to give effect to the principles which we favour. The reference made by the Minister of Trade and Customs to machine politics, is entirely incorrect.

Mr. WILKS.—But the Labour Party can change their platform by conference?

Mr. SPENCE.—Misrepresentations of this kind are undoubtedly made with some ulterior object in view. The Minister of Trade and Customs probably did not know better—

Mr. HUTCHISON.—He repeated the same statements after he had been put right in this House.

Mr. SPENCE.—The same remark applies to that section of the press which is opposed to the Labour Party. If I mistake not, the copy of the pledge from which the

Minister of Trade and Customs quoted, was taken from the *Argus*. That newspaper, in setting the pledge before the people, deliberately caused an alteration to be made in regard to one word, so that it would appear that we met in caucus to deal with every question. The position is entirely different. Our platform for the last election provided for the maintenance of a White Australia, compulsory arbitration, old-age pensions, the nationalization of monopolies, a citizen defence force, the restriction of public borrowing, and navigation laws. The caucus can deal only with those questions, and I repeat that the *Argus* deliberately misled its readers. The Minister of Trade and Customs was probably misled in this way, and he will find that the caucus deals only with questions relating to the platform of the party.

Mr. McLEAN.—That was stated in the pledge which I read.

Mr. SPENCE.—Then, how does the honorable gentleman justify the statement which he made? We have constantly to fight against misrepresentation of this kind from quarters whence it ought not to come. Whatever difference of opinion there may be between honorable members, that difference should be honestly based on facts, and when a distinct statement is made, and is just as distinctly denied, it should not be repeated. If the Minister of Trade and Customs knew that the labour pledge was that which I have mentioned, he certainly misled the public by inferring that the Labour Party was bound in regard to all matters, by the caucus. As a matter of fact, we meet every week and transact business. It is because we are an active, militant party that other sections view us with a jealous eye. We transact a great deal of business, but a reference to records of divisions taken in this House will show that on questions of detail the members of the party are frequently at variance. Our opponents do not seek to enlighten themselves by reference to such facts; they wish to continue to misrepresent our position. I can find no excuse for the misrepresentation of which the Prime Minister has been guilty, for he had the support of the State Labour Party of New South Wales for a period of five years. If after so intimate an acquaintance with the methods of the party as that support must have afforded him, he does not know what are the true facts in regard to the caucus, he certainly is not fit to hold office as Prime

Minister of the Commonwealth. The caucus of the Labour Party did not interfere in any way with the late Government. I can support the statements made by the leader of the Opposition, that no attempt was made by the caucus to interfere with his Ministry, and that it had no hand in the framing of its policy. The Prime Minister appeared very anxious a little time ago to know what was transacted at the labour caucus, but now that I am prepared to enlighten him, I find that he is not in the chamber.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The Labour Party, from first to last, supported the late Ministry.

Mr. HUTCHISON.—That was because the Government did not go beyond our platform.

Mr. SPENCE.—Let me refer to one incident which will show that the Labour Party, as a whole, was careful not to interfere in any way with the late Government. During the life of the Barton Administration the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill was referred to a sub-committee of the Labour Party, in order that it might be considered clause by clause, the desire being that it should be as perfect as possible. That work was carried out, and the sub-committee, in its report, which was adopted by the caucus, suggested certain slight alterations. One important principle—that relating to the appointment of permanent Judges, in addition to the Justices of the High Court—was discussed, and some members of the party held very decided views upon it. The caucus adopted the recommendation of the sub-committee, that that portion of the Bill which dealt with the matter should be allowed to pass as it stood; but when the Labour Government came into power, it was found that its members held a different opinion. Without consulting the party, the Cabinet made an amendment, providing for assessors to be appointed in respect of each dispute that came before the Court. That action was taken contrary to the decision of the labour caucus, and yet no exception was taken to it by the party. Honorable members opposite praise the work performed by the late Government. They say that each Minister left an absolutely clean sheet behind him in his Department, and that no fault can be found with their administration. Nothing can be said against their policy, or in opposition to the planks on which the members of the Labour Party generally were elected.

We have nothing whatever to do with what some labour newspapers may advocate, or with that which Mr. Tom Mann may say. The present Government has snatched a temporary victory, and taken advantage of a Ministry which had the courage to stand by a principle in which it believed. The present Government find themselves in office, not because of any fault that could be discovered against the Administration which they displaced. They are unable to denounce the Labour Party because of anything which it has done, or proposes to do, but they set up a bogey, and appeal to the country by means of misrepresentation and slander. A Government which has at its head a right honorable gentleman who is capable of such tactics, is unworthy of the confidence of the Parliament. I have to make another quotation from a speech made by the Prime Minister, in which he said—

It is not for us to dictate to the electors of Australia what the issues of an election, on perhaps a distant date, should be. That is a matter entirely within their own province; but I feel bound to say that the war with the Labour Party upon which we have entered to-night would lead to absolute disaster, to utter failure, if we were to begin by a division upon fiscal matters in this great fight before the people of Australia. The evils of split voting have been painfully in evidence in the Victorian and New South Wales State elections. We must not give a triumph to our opponents by divisions amongst ourselves.

I look upon the vote of to-night as one which must be followed up by determined organization, not only within the walls of Parliament, but throughout the whole of the Australian States. We must strive to emulate, if not the cast-iron and despotic methods of the Labour Party, their personal unselfishness and unflinching zeal. It is the absence of these characteristics, one or the other, which has brought upon Australia all the miseries of minority Government and minority rule. We must endeavour to adjust the difficulties of the great fight which is bound to come, so that the voice of the great majority of the people will be heard, and can be translated into the proper exercise of the powers of Government and of the Legislature.

The point I wish to emphasize very strongly is that when proposals for a coalition were first submitted, a time limit was fixed to the life of that coalition. In speaking at a conference of farmers held recently at Kyneton, the right honorable member for East Sydney said that each party was to keep its powder dry, and that, although they were going to reduce the three parties in the Parliament to two, and to abolish minority rule—he did not explain how that was to be carried out—each party to the coalition was to maintain its separate organization until the next

election. Honorable members will see from a later statement made by the Prime Minister that his present intention is that the coalition shall be a permanent one, and that the anti-Labour plank is to occupy a permanent place in its platform. The desire is to keep the Labour Party out of power. The original proposals made for coalition between the followers of the right honorable member for East Sydney and the honorable and learned member for Ballarat failed only because some of the followers of the last-named honorable member declined to accept them. Those proposals have gone by the board; and certain honorable members of the Protectionist Party, having been trapped into following the leadership of the right honorable member for East Sydney, are to continue to permanently occupy that position. I am pleased that the House is now divided into two parties. We have at last the Conservatives on the one side—unfortunately they are in power—and the Democrats on the other.

Mr. McCAY.—The only point is that the honorable member makes a mistake as to the sides on which the two parties are ranged.

Mr. SPENCE. — We have a Government "by the grace of Watson." I hope that the Ministry will have such a heading printed on their note-paper. I have to make another quotation which, I think, is rather important as showing the position taken up by the Prime Minister, who apparently admits that an apology is necessary for his coming into office. The speech made by him yesterday certainly seemed to me to be very much in the nature of an apology. Without consulting the other head of the Government, the Prime Minister issued three manifestoes, and thought that it would be quite sufficient to deal with Western Australia and Tasmania in a postscript. What has the right honorable member for Swan done that the great country from which he comes should be dealt with in that way? I certainly do not think that two States should be dealt with in a mere postscript to a Ministerial manifesto.

Mr. WILKS.—The postscript is the best part of a love letter.

Mr. SPENCE.—It is considered the best part of a lady's letter, and it generally has reference to something that has been forgotten. The Prime Minister was so absorbed in welding together the two great States of Victoria and New South

Wales that he altogether forgot there were other States in the Commonwealth. The postscript was written when he remembered that there was the State of Western Australia and the little island State of Tasmania. I propose now to quote something which the right honorable gentleman said in his official manifesto, which was his first utterance to the public, and his apology for being the leader of the Commonwealth Government. He says—

Under the guise of a noble desire for "industrial peace," we are beginning to suspect the existence of a gigantic conspiring against the freedom of the general worker, and an organized desire to make the trades unions, instead of a body of artisans concerning themselves, as they used to do, with their own industrial interests, a series of political agencies, forcing men to join their ranks, or forcing an Australian Council of Justice, known as a "Conciliation and Arbitration Court," to place a barrier between non-unionist and his means of subsistence. The trades unions, the political labour leagues, the central executives, the "labour" members of Parliament, the "labour" caucus in Parliament, and the Judge of the Arbitration Court—these are the intended instruments of a dangerous selfish movement, which seeks to assert political domination in order to trample under foot not only political equality, but far more—the industrial equalities and opportunities of the working classes of Australia.

There is again a statement without foundation. I challenge the right honorable gentleman to give any evidence that it is true. The whole of his statements are mere assertions. I challenge the honorable member for Gippsland to give one instance in support of his contention. Members of the present Government make statements for which there is no foundation, and they are repeated as a parrot repeats the lesson it is taught in a press which has always been antagonistic to the labour movement.

Mr. FISHER.—Having no policy, they must abuse their opponents.

Mr. SPENCE.—I have already said that they have no policy but that of opposition to the Labour Party. They have termed the labour platform a socialistic platform, and I shall show honorable members what kind of Socialists they are. I make another quotation, in which the right honorable gentleman speaks strongly of organizations, because I have an object in view. The right honorable gentleman is reported to have said at a meeting of the Farmers', Property-owners', and Producers' Association—

As men of intelligence, you must have noticed how a minority has for years exercised a tremendous unconstitutional influence upon the Parliaments of Australia. How is it that twenty-three or twenty-five men in a House of 100

a House of seventy-five, should have absolute power? It is that, although their avocations are humble, yet they all learned one or two lessons well. The first is organization. The organization of the Labour Party would do credit to the most intelligent body of political wire-pullers that ever existed in any country. If you would break that down, you must show yourself loyal and unselfish too. They do this in the labour ranks, can't we do it too? I had five years experience of the Labour Party in the New South Wales Parliament. During most of the time I was practically in the hollow of their hands. They will tell you that the result was I got my free-trade tariff passed with the help of protectionist labour men. They can always call on me in a deal of that sort. "I may not admire the principles of your caucus," I say to them, "but the direction of your vote meets with my entire approval." To those who say I have just discovered the wrong position which the labour leagues occupy, I will say, "Look at the Sydney newspapers of 1894 and you will find as strong a denunciation of the principle of the labour caucus as if I spoke for twenty years." It is no new thing with me. They gave me what I wanted, and then I was too slow for them, so they cried to Sir William Lyne, and they got more out of him in twelve months than they would have got out of me in 200 years.

Then he went on to speak of their tyranny, but I need not quote his references to that. I wish to show that the right honorable gentleman has been doing something outside of Parliament which he has given us no account of in this chamber. He has been attending the meetings of the various bodies which are not labour organizations, and what I have quoted is an instance of the kind of thing he tells them. I invite honorable members to consider the extraordinary logic of the right honorable gentleman. It was quite right for the Labour Party to support him. He said that they had him in the hollow of their hands. That was all right, so long as he got their votes, but it suddenly becomes a wonderfully wicked thing that they should support some body else. If their support was bad, why did the right honorable gentleman put up with it for five years, in order that he might hold office? If it was the wicked thing which he is now inviting the country to believe, what honorable man would have availed himself of its support, and would have thus shared in the wickedness? The right honorable gentleman contends that the power of the Labour Party is a wicked thing in Federal politics, because we do not now hold the balance of power in his favour, as we did in the State Parliament of New South Wales. It is true that we got more out of the honorable member for Hume than we should have got out of the right honorable gentleman in 200 years. What did we get

from the honorable member for Hume? We got measures abolishing sweating and giving the employes in the work shops some chance of a life worth living, by securing for them reasonable hours of labour.

Mr. WILKS.—With the assistance of the votes of Reid supporters.

Mr. SPENCE.—We secured the Arbitration Act and Female Suffrage. We are now told at this late stage, because the right honorable gentleman desires to please the Federated Employers' Union, that we should not have got these things from him in 200 years. That is an extraordinary confession for a right honorable gentleman to make, who has posed as a democrat, who talks democracy, and who calls himself a liberal. I am astonished that the honorable member for Dalley, who is a democrat, should sit for an hour behind a leader who has so evidently surrendered all his democratic principles. The right honorable gentleman hit the right nail on the head when he said that we got more from the honorable member for Hume than we should have got from him in 200 years. He admits now that we should never have had the four or five important measures, including Female Suffrage, to which I have referred if he had remained in power. The right honorable gentleman has by his own confession shown that the Labour Party in New South Wales did the right thing when they exercised their votes to turn him out of office, and I say that they will be even more decidedly right if they now turn him out of office in the Federal Parliament, because he is adopting principles which he did not profess to hold then. A number of meetings of the Farmers, Property-Owners, and Producers Association, and the Victorian Reform League have recently been held. I suppose that the Victorian Reform League can hardly be called a democratic body. We have never looked upon it in that light. I have not heard that its special interest is to look after the masses who most need protection. At the meetings of these bodies the chairmen and all the speakers have joined in denouncing Socialism. It would appear that their whole object now is anti-socialistic. These meetings have been addressed not only by the Prime Minister, but also by Senator Drake, the Vice-President of the Executive Council, who said at one meeting—

The new Government, for the first time in the history of the Commonwealth, was supported by

a majority of members of the House. It was a small majority, it was true, but it would be carefully looked after, and he hoped that it would continue.

It is very suggestive to say that the majority would be carefully looked after. I have understood that honorable members now occupying the Government benches are so unanimous in their desire for majority rule, and in getting a coalition to secure responsible Government, that they would not need to be carefully looked after, as though they were a number of sheep who might stray away. It appears that the Vice-President of the Executive Council is satisfied that they require to be carefully looked after. He continued—

What they wanted was unity. It was a feature of the opposing force that they were always in their places in Parliament.

A Mr. Felstead interjected "They have nothing else to do," and the report announces that there was laughter at the suggestion. To these people to whom the Government are looking for support, it would appear to be some sort of offence that members of Parliament should attend to their duties. It is a somewhat new feature, I admit. The old political idea was that politics were something to which a man might give the fag end of his brains, after he had attended to his private business. People who have so much to say about private enterprise, are astonished that members of Parliament should stick to their work. One of the best characteristics of the Labour Party is, that its members have always done that. I take it as a high compliment to them, and I believe that the electors generally look at the matter in the same light. One reason why the Party is gaining ground at every State and every Federal election is, that the electors have found that the members of the party consider the welfare of the country, and devote themselves to carrying out the duties they are elected to perform. The Farmers, Property Owners, and Producers Association held a convention quite recently, and over the report of the proceedings, there are a number of cross headings, "Fighting the Trades Hall," "Proposed National Organization," and so on. No less than 120 delegates were present, and it was stated that they represented 100 branches. They passed some very decided resolutions, all strongly anti-labour. This body, and representatives of the Reform League subsequently met together.

Mr. CHANTER.—They are only free-trade organizations under another name.

Mr. Spence.

Mr. SPENCE.—No, these bodies are not free-trade organizations. I wish now to read a portion of a newspaper report of a meeting of the Farmers', Property Owners', and Producers' Association. The first paragraph will make the honorable member for Gippsland feel comfortable—

The secretary read a report in which it was stated that, although the association had only been in existence a few months, it had already made it impossible for a socialistic labour candidate to be elected for a Gippsland constituency.

After debate, it was resolved—"That it is advisable to take steps to confer with the Chamber of Agriculture, with a view to settling a *modus vivendi*, whereby the sympathy and co-operation of the chamber may be secured without any sinking of our individuality, or alteration of our constitution."

The following motion was then moved by a delegate:—

That, in the opinion of this meeting of delegates, it is desirable that each and all now assembled do unite with the Farmers', Property Owners', and Producers' Association, thus forming a strong organization to oppose to the utmost all socialistic or aggressive legislation affecting country interests, and to uphold the rights of property owners and producers of all kinds.

He said that the—

Convention should take a leaf out of the book of the Labour Party and fight them with their own weapons. (Applause.)

Mr. J. WILLIS (Geelong), in seconding the motion, read the pledge of labour candidates for Parliament, and said that a man who allowed such a chain to be put around his neck should have something else put round his neck, and be strung up to the yardarm of a ship.

I suppose that loud cheers would have followed that proposition if there had been any chance of carrying it into effect. I shall now quote again from the newspaper which so strongly supports the movement—the *Sydney Daily Telegraph*. This is a portion of a report, which shows how the work is going on in New South Wales—

MOVEMENT IN NEW SOUTH WALES.—CONFERENCE TO BE HELD.—A WIDE BASIS OF REPRESENTATION.

Something has been done in New South Wales with a view to the ranging of forces into line against a menacing Socialism, but it has not been of a very definite character. Mr. Deakin's now famous speech helped to stir people up to the necessity for some action, and now Mr. Reid's speech to the Farmers' League of Victoria will give a further stimulus to the movement. The initiative has been taken by the Employers' Federation, and at a meeting of the council of that body yesterday it was decided to take definite steps to organize a conference, or large public meeting, representative of the stable interests of the country generally, to consider a plan of organization. To this end every agricultural, horticultural, and pastoral body, every

creamery and butter factory, the Farmers' and Settlers' Association, every country municipal council—in short, every country interest, is to be asked to send delegates to meet those representing town interests. Provision will also be made for the extensive representation of all wage-earners who are not in sympathy with the socialistic party's platform. The date of the meeting or conference has yet to be settled. It is desired that the time fixed should be as widely convenient as possible to the country people. The co-operation of women will very probably also be invited.

I think that I have now produced evidence sufficient to show the work which is being done by the Government and those upon whom they are depending for support. If the organizations which have been created do what it is said that the labour organizations do, the Government will be controlled and dictated to by a body outside Parliament. Active work is now going on to bring about the organization of what we term the reactionary forces—forces that no one can term democratic, their whole object being anti-socialistic and anti-labour. The Government represents such organizations, and the Prime Minister is taking an active part in their creation. He is assisting their paid organizers. I am not finding fault with these bodies for organizing, because I have always been a preacher of unionism and have advocated the organizing of all classes of the community. But it cannot be denied that this Government represents a particular section of the community, which it is assisting to organize. No doubt we all of us share the desire for a reasonable recess; but, in my opinion, the real object of the long recess which has been advocated, on a plea of peace, is, not to bring about harmony, because no other Federation has been established with so little friction between the federating States and the Federal Government, but to organize forces. The object of the organization which the Government support is declared and open. I find no fault with that, because it is of advantage to us. We have always looked upon Mr. Walpole as a helper, since his statements have been so candid at times that people have been prevented by them from joining his organizations. It is impossible for those who have heard him speak to be foolish enough to imagine that the class amongst whom sweaters have been found, and whose members do not consider it their business to pay decent wages if they can get employes to work for less, is to be regarded as representative of the workers, or as likely to advance the interests of labour. The first

and chief plank in the platform of the Farmers', Property Owners', and Producers' Association is this—

That at all elections, whether Federal or State, where a socialistic candidate nominates for a constituency, the members of this association sink all political differences and go solidly in support of a candidate to be selected by the association in opposition to such socialistic candidate.

We have heard the Prime Minister denounce the labour method of selecting candidates; but he is assisting in the creation of an association whose first plank is to follow labour methods. He has, indeed, advised them to follow the methods of the labour leagues. The first plank of their platform is to sink all political differences. The Government, too, have done that. Nothing is vital to them, but to continue in office, to get into recess, and then to vigorously organize.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—To keep in the tart shop at all hazards.

Mr. SPENCE.—The honorable member for Parramatta knows what hard work is. He knows the sufferings which strikes entail, because he has been in close touch with them, and he has represented men who have had to work in coal mines. Now he is assisting to organize the Federated Employers.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The honorable member is talking at random.

Mr. SPENCE.—The honorable member for Parramatta has followed his chief in every movement, erratic or otherwise, and must follow him again. It is a new thing to find one of whose conduct I have not previously had cause to complain, associating with a movement which is so distinctly opposed to his past history. I have no fault to find with those who have always belonged to the class of whom I am speaking; but those whose associations and professions have been different should open their eyes to what this movement means. Plank 3 of the Association is—

To watch over all measures proposed by the Federal or State Parliaments affecting the association, and guarding the interests of the same. I have nothing to say against that plank; but I find that those who are opposed to anything socialistic, who believe in the individual fighting his own battle and would put no restriction upon private enterprise, are asking for a good many things from the State. Here are a few of their requests: They want the State Government to give them water conservation, land on deferred payments, a Manure Protection Bill, reduced grain freights, wire netting on deferred payments, a bonus on foxes' scalps, help in

time of bush fires, starving stock rates, cold storage for produce, a credit foncier, to enable them to borrow money; grants for shows, a market for fruit, instructors in the growing of tobacco, and subsidies for agricultural colleges. They also seriously discussed the advisability of asking the Government for assistance to pay for reapers and binders, though, I believe, that they did not finally agree to do so. Yet these are the anti-Socialists, the persons who are opposed to State interference. In reality, they wish to get all they can out of the Government. They are the chief scramblers for Government aid. The Kyabram district, from which the movement originated, has borrowed large sums from the State, which it has not paid back, and is now asking for another £1,000. Their impudence is beyond description.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—The honorable member does not mean to say that the farmers are asking for those things?

Mr. SPENCE.—Yes, I do. I have mentioned fourteen items; but those are not all. This association, which the Prime Minister is organizing upon declared anti-socialistic lines, is asking for these concessions. I should like to know whether any honorable member can point to an instance in which the labour organizations have sent deputations to the Government asking for subsidies, or for concessions such as these I have indicated?

Mr. WILSON.—They have asked for a lot more than that.

Mr. SPENCE.—Honorable members cannot point to any case in which the labour organizations have gone to the Government and asked for favours of any kind, or in which they have sought to dip their hands into the public Treasury.

An HONORABLE MEMBER.—What about relief works?

Mr. SPENCE.—Surely a man is entitled to ask for work? If a man works, he produces more in value than that which is paid for his labour. It is the man who lives on rentals, and who draws interest without giving anything in return who is a burden upon the community. Would not the honorable member apply for work if his wife and family were starving? The organization to which I have referred is one for political purposes which have been openly declared, and I have indicated how its members propose to protect their interests. I am not condemning their proposals as such. The Labour Party have supported many of them, and are still in favour

of granting certain concessions to farmers. I desire, however, to direct attention to the political hypocrisy of these people who, whilst stating that they are opposed to Socialism, declare themselves by their policy to be equally as socialistic in their ideas as any section in the community. They say that they are opposed to State interference, and yet they want the State to do more for them than has ever been asked for by the wage-earning class. We have heard a great deal about minority rule, and I wish to show the direction in which the Government is now trending. I will confine my attention to the condition of affairs in the two larger States, because Western Australia and Tasmania are now apparently regarded as mere postscripts. The only two States in the Commonwealth that are worthy of consideration, according to the view of the Prime Minister, are Victoria and New South Wales, and the mission of the Government is to establish brotherly feelings between those States. In New South Wales there are 110,000 land-owners, of whom 66,000 hold under 1,000 acres each, embracing a total of 10,800,000 acres in the country districts. There are 1,314 land-owners who hold 27,000,000 acres in the country districts, and there are 738 owners who hold half of the total area of private lands in New South Wales. I am quoting from *Coghlan*.

Mr. ROBINSON.—Is the honorable member quoting figures as to value or as to area?

Mr. SPENCE.—I am dealing now with acres.

Mr. ROBINSON.—Those afford no criterion.

Mr. SPENCE.—My object is to show the small number of persons who would be represented in organizations such as those now being formed. These persons would represent a very small minority of the people in the State. The employers number 53,000 in New South Wales, and 48,000 in Victoria; whereas the wage-earners in New South Wales number 362,000, and in Victoria 321,000. Those who are working on their own account in New South Wales number 82,000, and in Victoria 94,000. Assuming for the sake of argument that the statement of the Minister of Trade and Customs is correct, and that the Labour Party represents only the wage-earning classes—

Mr. McLEAN.—The Labour Party represents only a section of the wage-earning classes.

Mr. SPENCE.—I am assuming for the sake of argument that we represent the wage-earning classes of the community only. I contend that we represent others as well. We should still represent a majority of the electors, whereas the Prime Minister, and those who are organizing the employers, would represent a minority. It is idle for honorable members to prate about the representation of minorities when they are actively organizing for political purposes a section which constitutes a very small minority, and are hoping for a long recess in order that they may bring together in one association the most conservative classes in the community. These people are the best able to assist themselves, and I should be ashamed to assist in organizing them. I should give them fair play, and fair play only. Notwithstanding all that has been said with regard to the organization of the Labour Party, we can come here only through the same door as that which is available to other honorable members. We, like them, are dependent upon the will of the electors. Many labour members in the States Parliaments, and more than one in the Federal Parliament, have been elected by constituencies in which there has been no labour league, or other organization of that kind. Why should our organizations be objected to because they insist upon shunting out of political life those who fail to adhere to their principles? Does the Prime Minister defend traitors? If a man breaks his pledges, is he to be lauded to the skies? When a man dishonorably breaks his pledges, is he entitled to be trusted again? Our organizations have been denounced because they have discarded men who have been recreant to their trust. The labour movement has not been built up by traitors, but by those who have worked zealously and unselfishly, in order to forward the cause of labour, men who have not gone to the Government to ask for any favour, but who have always been prepared to work for their living under reasonable conditions. The Minister of Trade and Customs has stated that members of the Labour Party are under the necessity of passing through the ordeal of selection by the Labour leagues. That is not correct, so far as New South Wales is concerned. I was not asked to submit myself for selection at the last election. I had the right, according to our rules, to offer myself for re-election, unless I had misconducted myself by breaking my pledges.

If there was any charge of that kind to be brought against me, I should have to be notified three months beforehand. In the absence of any such call, I was entitled to re-submit myself as a representative of the Labour Party for the constituency for which I was formerly returned. The labour organizations are not the only ones which discard their representatives. Mr. Hawthorne, who formerly represented Leichhardt in the New South Wales Assembly, was "bumped out" by his party after having worked very hard for its leaders, including the present Prime Minister. No consideration was shown to him, and it does not lie in the mouths of those who were parties to the treatment accorded to Mr. Hawthorne to find fault with the methods adopted by the labour organizations. Honorable members talk about our representing a minority, but I would ask them how we could get here unless we could successfully appeal to the electors? How can that statement be made in the face of the experience of the last twelve years? The Labour Party has gained ground in every State, not because of its organization, but because of the proposals which it has put forward. We have submitted humanitarian and other proposals of importance to the community generally. None of our planks refer merely to the interests of the wage-earners. How is it that many of the country districts return labour representatives? There are not a sufficient number of wage-earners in the district which I represent to return me without the assistance of others. I represent a district in which the pastoral and mining industries are very largely carried on, whereas the honorable member for Bland represents a purely farming district. If we are such enemies to the employers and to the land-owning class, how is it that we find such favour in their eyes? Is it because we carry out our platform, and because we do not, as the Prime Minister has done, surrender our policy for considerations of expediency? He fought for free-trade, and the honorable and learned member for Ballarat opposed him. In the old days in Victoria many of us fought with the late Sir Graham Berry against the very forces which are now being brought into prominence by the Prime Minister. The honorable and learned member for Ballarat and the Minister of Trade and Customs have allied themselves with a party whose main design is to bring about class rule. The trades unions are naturally formed for the purpose of

protecting the interests of the trades with which they are connected; but the membership of the labour leagues embraces many persons other than unionists or wage-earners. We have a large number of employers in our ranks, who believe in our aims and principles. The Prime Minister has told honorable members that at one time the Labour Party held him in the hollow of its hand. Why did he submit to that? Because his platform and that of the Labour Party were brought into agreement. We had to accept some things which we did not like, because we knew that the alternative was worse. We supported the right honorable gentleman in fighting for free-trade—for an absolutely free port. That was something very different from free-trade as it is understood in Federal politics. Will the representatives of the large landholders who sit in the Government corner support a tax on land values? Will the honorable member for Corangamite and the honorable and learned member for Wannon support a tax on land values similar to that for which the right honorable member fought? He said that the members of the protectionist party gave him free-trade, but he overlooked the fact that they regarded a tax on land values and other forms of direct taxation as being of the utmost importance, and considered that even if a prohibitive Tariff were imposed it would still be necessary to resort to direct taxation. We were not satisfied that he would go fast enough to suit us, and we therefore put another honorable gentleman into office. That honorable gentleman gave us great measures, which conduced to the well-being of society. I am surprised to learn that the right honorable gentleman, who is now at the head of the Government, has said that he would not have given us these measures. That statement shows that we were right in turning him out of office. I have endeavoured to show that the Prime Minister is out of touch with the great mass of public feeling in the Commonwealth, that he is out of touch with democracy in any form, and that he is in league with all the reactionary forces that are now so militant. At the last general election he received the support of the Employers' Union, which devotes its attention to the interests of employers, as employers only, and does not do or pretend to do anything for labour generally. That organization and many others of the same kind were behind the Prime Minister and his party.

Mr. Spence.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—The honorable member is wrong; they were behind the protectionist party.

Mr. SPENCE.—They were not behind the protectionists as a party. The Reform League and the Employers' Federation of New South Wales have united to denounce what they term "Socialism." They do not understand the true meaning of the word, and they know that many people are ready to adopt their definition of it. In the same way they are making use of the word "reform," and thus a party has been brought together to support what is distinctly a class movement. It has been created to protect the interests of a class that is strong enough to look after itself, and it is surprising to me that such a democratic assembly as the Federal Parliament is generally admitted to be, should be expected to allow a small minority to control the majority. I wish to show that the Government are opposed to democracy. I do not know how far the remarks which I am about to make will apply to the second leader of the Ministry, and to that section of the Government supporters which follow him. I believe that they will apply mainly to the old free-trade section of the party. That party, so far as economic principles are concerned, are consistent in their support of anti-labour movements.

Mr. LONSDALE.—No.

Mr. SPENCE.—Then they are in favour of anarchy. They are in favour of the "let-alone" policy. They believe in a political economy that was in full play nearly 100 years ago. At that time the key-note of social reform was the cry of "natural rights," while, so far as economics were concerned, we had the policy of *laissez faire*.

Mr. FULLER.—Who was responsible for all the liberal legislation which is to-day in force in New South Wales?

Mr. SPENCE.—I am not now dealing with that point, although I should not hesitate to give credit to the man responsible for that legislation if he were present. The policy of the Government is not in keeping with the modern trend of public thought. We cannot expect such a Government to be in keeping with it. To-day "co-operation" is the key-note of social reform, but it does not necessarily mean that we are ready to make every industry a State-owned one. The Labour Party have to be judged according to the direct proposals that we put forward. No one has a right to charge us with some supposititious

policy which we have never advocated. In social reform we find that the watch-word is "co-operation," while in economics it is "character." In the old days, a man was merely considered to be a money-making animal, but to-day we have regard to his all-round capacity. We consider the well-being of individuals as such; we regard man not as a mere commodity to be bought and sold in the market, as is held by many in that economic school with which the Prime Minister has been associated. We consider man from the stand-point of everything that makes for his well-being. The reason why I quoted the very excellent remarks made recently by the honorable and learned member for Ballarat was because they showed a recognition of modern economic thought. Matthew Arnold defined civilization as—

The humanizing, the bringing into one harmonious and truly humane life the whole body of society.

Actions to-day are regarded as moral only when they contribute to the well-being of our fellow-men. The unionist movement and everything else that has an influence in developing human character, and in improving the race is of the right kind. Legislation with that object in view may be an interference with the liberty of the individual, but it is not the fact of interference, but the effect of interference, that we have to consider. Mazzini said long ago that every political question is becoming a social question, and every social question is rapidly becoming a religious question. That is the problem of to-day, which is responsible for the activity of the Labour Party. I may perhaps be pardoned for quoting Arnold Toynbee, who puts the exact position in the following words:—

Two conceptions are woven into every argument of the "wealth of nations"—the belief in the supremacy of individual liberty, and the conviction that man's self love is God's Providence, so that the individual in pursuit of his own interests is promoting the interests of all.

Mr. KELLY.—Hear, hear.

Mr. SPENCE.—I hear an honorable member say, "Hear, hear." If a man understood his true self-interest his pursuit of it would make for the welfare of all. It is said that true self-interest lies in the recognition of the fact that we are dependent and inter-dependent one upon the other. The position from the point of view of wealth production has altered. The old idea was that the wealth of a nation was to be determined from the stand-point of

its material production, man being considered as a mere producing animal, to be hired and treated as his employer might think fit. But that is not the position to-day. At the present time production, distribution, and the good of man, all receive consideration. I believe, with Ruskin, that—

Wealth means well living. Life is more than meat. Man should own property, not property own man.

I should like to quote a very clear and comprehensive statement made by Dr. Findlay, a barrister-at-law, who was formerly in partnership with Sir Robert Stout. In commenting recently on the New Zealand Conciliation and Arbitration Bill, Dr. Findlay said—

The tendency of the age is to make that compulsory which is desirable; to discredit free contract, to foster fair contract, between employer and employé; to fix the status of all workmen by regulation as far as possible, and to assess the worker's share at the lowest resort on his needs rather than on the employer's greeds. It is all nonsense to talk of liberty and freedom of conscience in this connexion. As a matter of fact, social man has no natural inalienable and irrevocable rights. He only owns those things with which society is content to clothe him, and no more.

That is the economic foundation on which Conciliation and Arbitration Bills, and other like measures, are based. The views of several members of the present Government are in opposition to all modern principles of political economy. Is it reasonable for us to expect democratic legislation from a Government, which, by a peculiar combination of circumstances, has secured the support of those who hold views contrary to those of the Prime Minister? It is difficult to understand how professed Liberals have allowed themselves to be associated with men who are opposed to interference in any way with freedom of action, who are opposed to any form of restriction, and would allow every man to transact his business as he pleased. These men endeavour to justify their position by the mere use of words. We want to measure a Government, not by mere words, but by the effect of the legislation which it introduces upon the lives, the actions, and the character of men. I maintain that we are justified in fighting against a Government that holds such views as I have mentioned. There has been much misrepresentation in reference to the Labour Party, and but for this we should have achieved a still greater measure of success. It is always difficult to overtake slander, more

particularly at election time, and the Labour Party may justly complain that it has been continually misrepresented, both by the press and by other means. There are honorable members of this House whom no one could accuse of desiring to deliberately misrepresent the Labour Party, yet they have been guilty of misrepresenting us. The increase in the membership of the Labour Party is due, in a large measure, to the effect of their propaganda and platform work, in correcting misrepresentations and supplying the electors with the truth, and also because our platform and aims appeal to the people. There are amongst the electors men and women who study economic questions, and who can recognise the difference between the lines of thought which characterize various parties. They recognise at once that their interest lies with those who are considering the well-being of the people as such, instead of mere material wealth-production, irrespective of any consideration as to who owns, controls, or secures the larger share of it. They are looking now to the distribution of wealth in such a way that the standard of living may be generally improved, and the mental standard may be improved side by side with the increased production of wealth. In connexion with the system of misrepresentation which has been followed, I think I shall be justified in quoting some remarks which Mr. Justice Cohen felt himself called upon to make in New South Wales a short time ago, in connexion with some misstatements respecting the operation of a measure similar to one of great importance, which has been before the Federal Parliament, and which has wrecked a couple of Governments, and will probably wreck another.

Mr. TUDOR.—When it is found that they have swallowed the inclusion of the States servants.

Mr. SPENCE.—I may deal with that presently. Mr. Justice Cohen said recently in New South Wales, in dealing with certain misrepresentations concerning the effect of the clause in the New South Wales Arbitration Act, giving preference to unionists:—

I have no leaning one way or the other, but in the public interest it would be far better, if the preference clause is being unduly used as a means of oppressing or harassing employers, that the Court should be assisted by evidence of that. I am not saying in this particular case, because I do not know—but from general statements, I see in the press that this preference clause is the means of harassing the employer,

and placing him in an unfair position of working his business. I say it would be much better if the Court were enlightened by evidence of these things. We read in the press of general statements being made—one person takes it up from another person at the corner of the street—and I see general assertions made with regard to what the Court has done, which will not bear any test—they are absolutely without foundation. Therefore, what I say is, in the public interest, in the interests of the Arbitration Act—which, after all, is a most important experiment—it would be much better if people, instead of expressing their grievances in the way in which I have stated, would come to the Court and point out preference has been given in certain cases, and the result is so and so. This is not done. I am not going to be guided in my decisions by what I see in the press. I am guided in my decisions by the sworn evidence in the Court, and that is the only evidence I will be guided by in arriving at my decisions; we are sworn here to decide, in accordance with the evidence placed before us, and that is the only evidence by which I intend to be guided.

Mr. WADE.—I would not for a moment pretend to suggest to the Court that they should be guided by outside opinions.

The PRESIDENT.—I know, from my own knowledge what I read, time after time, of actions attributed to this Court which the Court has never performed. Almost daily in the press you see that. Mind you, I am not saying one way or the other, as to whether this preference clause is or is not worked duly. I have no evidence one way or the other. I will not be guided by what I see in the public press. These general statements are made, and if you put the statements to the proof, in almost all cases they will fail. I do not expect any clause we lay down will work with perfect harmony and satisfaction to every one. All the wisdom of the legislature has not formulated a law to which some objection could not be taken.

A member of the Court said: I would like to say, to show there cannot be very much in these general statements, in every industrial agreement that has been filed in this Court preference has been given. We had an instance of it yesterday in the Shipwrights' dispute, and, in fact, the Court pointed out, in making the common rule, they might have to make some slight qualification in that preference clause. I would like to encourage the parties to make agreements, and I have no hesitation in saying, if all the employers in the State made agreements, they would all grant preference as has been done in the past. I have no doubt, if the two parties in the catering dispute came together at a later stage, and tried to frame an agreement, the employers would grant preference.

That, coming from so high an authority, is a proof that statements were being made which were absolutely untrue, and it should be remembered that the statements were not brought before the Court in order that they might be inquired into with a view to ascertain whether injury had been done by the preference granted, which might be remedied. In view of the discussion which we have had here concerning the granting

of preference to unionists, that statement by Mr. Justice Cohen will probably be considered important. In this connexion also, I desire to quote from a leading article appearing in a newspaper published in my electorate. The quotation will show the kind of men who are in some places educating the public mind—journalists, employers of labour, men engaged in the great reform movement now being backed up by the Reid-McLean Administration, the anti-labour, anti-union, and anti-socialistic movement.

Mr. FULLER.—Not anti-labour.

Mr. SPENCE.—It is anti-labour straight out, and if the honorable and learned member for Illawarra does not believe in that, he has no right to sit behind the present Government. In any case, the honorable and learned member is not in his proper place behind the present Government, because I am aware that he has democratic ideas. In the recent State election in New South Wales, for an electorate which is included in my own, and which is also known as the Darling electorate, the electors did a terribly wicked thing, in the eyes of some persons by selecting a labour man by a majority more than equal to the votes polled by his two opponents.

Mr. HIGGINS.—Who was he?

Mr. SPENCE.—Mr. J. C. Mehan, the secretary of the local branch of the Australian Workers' Union. I may add that he defeated the retiring member, Mr. W. N. Willis, of whom some honorable members present have knowledge. This is the advice given in a leading article by the *Bourke Banner*, in dealing with the election:—

We now advise a course which may seem drastic, but which alone can be effective. No employer should give employment to a member of the Australian Workers' Union. . . . Let the hundreds of union men, to whom the union is their God, look to the union and not to the capitalist for work and wages—for food and clothes for themselves and their families.

Mr. HIGGINS.—That must be a black banner.

Mr. HUGHES.—Do they support the present Coalition Government?

Mr. SPENCE.—Of course they are of the party to which the Coalition Government belongs. We know that the Prime Minister has quoted the remarks of Mr. Tom Mann, as reported in the press, and has charged them to the members of this party, and if I followed the right honorable gentleman's example, I should be justified in charging him and his party with supporting the view of the *Bourke Banner*.

Mr. ROBINSON.—The Victorian members of the Labour Party in this Parliament subscribe to Mr. Tom Mann's salary, and the honorable member knows it.

Mr. HUGHES.—That is absolutely untrue.

Mr. SPENCE.—The question as to who pays Mr. Tom Mann's salary has nothing to do with the matter.

Mr. HUGHES.—I desire, Mr. Speaker, to call your attention to an interjection made by the honorable and learned member for Wannon, in which he declared that the members of the Labour Party—

Mr. ROBINSON.—Victorian members.

Mr. HUGHES.—That the salary of some person outside was chargeable to the members of this party.

Mr. ROBINSON.—I did not state what the honorable and learned member for West Sydney has said. What I said was that the Victorian labour members contributed to the expenses of Mr. Tom Mann's propaganda.

Mr. TUDOR.—That also is absolutely wrong.

Mr. SPEAKER.—I am sorry to have to call attention for the second time in one day to the fact that conversations carried on across the chamber, and especially in a loud tone of voice, are very disorderly and must be discontinued.

Mr. SPENCE.—If this is only one of those attempts to shunt an old hand off the track, honorable members opposite ought to know by this time that it cannot be successful. I unhesitatingly say that, adopting the same form of logic, I should be justified in charging honorable members, who are associated with the movement to which I have referred, and which is not a new movement, but is only specially active just now, with supporting the advice of the *Bourke Banner*—which I have quoted. I am sure that not one of them would do so.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—We never heard of it until the honorable member quoted it.

Mr. SPENCE.—The advice given is that, because a man has chosen to exercise the franchise in a certain way, he should be prevented from earning a living. I make the quotation that honorable members opposite may know the company they are in. There is an old Spanish proverb which says, "Show me whom you are with, and I will tell you what you are."

Mr. LONSDALE.—Chinese.

Mr. KING O'MALLEY.—What does the honorable member know about it.

Mr. SPENCE.—I have read the quotation to show honorable members the organizations which are behind them outside of Parliament, and what they are prepared to do.

Mr. KING O'MALLEY.—On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, the honorable member for New England spoke about Chinese, and I wish the honorable member to say what he meant by it.

Mr. SPEAKER.—An honorable member has a perfect right to make the remark "Chinese," and I do not know that any honorable member has any right to require that he should explain his meaning.

Mr. SPENCE.—I feel sure that no member of the House would advocate this on the public platform; but what is proposed has been done in that district. What is set out in black type was acted upon in Victoria in the last State election. I have had experience of the influence of employers. I have known them to try to coerce men to vote in certain directions.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Every one has had that experience more or less.

Mr. SPENCE.—Has similar influence ever been used by the Labour Party, or the labour organizations? Has it not always come from the class which is now being organized? The views which are put forward are held by large numbers of these persons, though not by all of them. Why is it that the masses were denied voting power, and that the right to vote was given only to the classes? Why was preference given to the classes?

Mr. LONSDALE.—That was wrong.

Mr. SPENCE.—Honorable members who have opposed the granting of preference to unionists have been associated with those who have opposed the giving of a vote to every adult. The members of the Legislative Council of Victoria are the backbone of the Employers' Union. They not only oppose the granting of the suffrage to women in the State elections, but tried to prevent the effective exercise of the women's vote in the Federal elections. I have hitherto let the honorable and learned member for Ballarat off very lightly; but I cannot help making a reference to some rather characteristic remarks in the speech with which he started the National Organization at Ballarat. Formerly there used to be a National Association, but as it used to be termed the National Ass. for short, it fell into disrepute. Speaking at Ballarat, the honorable and learned member seemed to think that organi-

zation was a good thing so long as it was not too effective. While it was only a half-and-half sort of measure, it appeared all right; but immediately an organization became effective, it was to be denounced. That seems an illogical position. If it is good to have an organization, surely the more influential and perfect that organization can be made, the better it will be. In dealing with organizations, what has first to be considered is their objects, the class of people who control them, and what they are likely to do. I believe in organizations in the interests of all classes. But the organization of which I am speaking is one to weld together those who are antagonistic to a certain section of the community, not because of anything it has done or proposes to do, but because of something it is alleged to be likely to do. These persons belong to a class which is necessarily in a minority everywhere, yet they wish to take charge of public affairs, and to shut labour men out of Parliament. Still, honorable members who are helping the movement have the want of conscience to tell us that they are democrats, and to charge us with being class representatives. We could not obtain election as the representatives of a class. We can get here only by securing the votes of a majority of our constituents. There is no minority representation about us. Is it likely that the members of this or of any other Parliament would allow a small section to dictate to them, if they did not believe in the principles of that section? The legislation which has been passed at the instance of the Labour Party has been passed because the members of the other parties in the House believed in it. The present Government, however, is reactionary. Its only object is to keep the Labour Party out, not for anything we have done, or are likely to do, but merely to retain possession of office. We hear a great deal about minority rule, but the majority of the present Government, if it exists at all, will have to be very tenderly nursed, to use the expression of Senator Drake. Even the supporters of the Government will hardly claim that the honorable and learned member for Parkes is an advanced radical, or an extreme democrat; but the difference between the two parties in the House now is so small that he can control the destinies of this two-headed Government. If he chooses to vote against them, where will they be? A section of the conglomerate party which supports the Ministry is totally opposed to

certain important measures of which a majority is in favour. How can the Government carry out a programme under such circumstances? The House has fortunately been divided into two parties, the democrats on this side, and a mixed party on the other. For some of the supporters of the Government there may be salvation even yet. We have heard before of the open door. Well, the new party, the progressive, go-ahead, radical coalition, has an open door.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—With a crimson carpet leading to it.

Mr. SPENCE.—If honorable members come to us we will give them liberty of speech, which they are now denied. The difference between the two parties is that the methods of the leader of the Government are the methods of the autocrats, while our methods are those of democracy.

Mr. LONSDALE.—What is in a name?

Mr. SPENCE.—There may not be much in a name, but there is something in actions. We have heard a denunciation of caucuses; but honorable members opposite are ruled by one man. They must do what they are told. That accounts for their silence at the time of the crisis, when they could not be stirred up even by the admittedly powerful invective of the honorable and learned member for West Sydney. All that they were allowed to do was to make personal explanations. They may boast of freedom, but they have no conception of what the word means. They do not enjoy freedom themselves, and will not give it to others. On the occasion to which I refer, the honorable and learned member for Werriwa got up to speak, and was pulled down by his coat-tails, while the honorable members for Parramatta and Robertson were allowed only to make personal observations. Although our party is governed by caucus, we have proved that it did not interfere with the late Administration. We recognised the older methods, which are supposed to be constitutional; but, even if we had interfered, our action would have been more democratic than that of the leader of the Government, whom honorable members follow so blindly. Now they are going to follow two leaders, and they have no policy upon which they are solid. How the Government could carry on legislation under existing circumstances is a mystery which will never be made known, because they will not remain long enough in office to pass any. Honorable members opposite who speak of freedom and liberty are associated with men against whom I have been fighting for

the last thirty-five years. The honorable and learned member for Ballarat will admit that the free-traders, the revenue tariffists of Victoria, were the Conservative body in the State, even in the days of Sir Graham Berry. Yet they are the men with whom the supporters of the Government have been associated ever since the right honorable member for East Sydney entered Federal politics. The men I speak of are not like the free-traders of the New South Wales school. They believe in direct taxation. The honorable and learned member for Ballarat was associated with Sir Graham Berry in fighting these men; but now he has led his followers into the meshes of an entanglement, so that they are associated with one who is the champion of those whom we have fought in the past, and who have "cruelled" Victoria. I have the greatest admiration for the honorable and learned gentleman, and I regret that he has not seen the danger of a coalition with reactionaries. The people of New South Wales do not fully understand what class of persons they are who in Victoria call themselves free-traders. What does the Minister of Trade and Customs expect from such a following? The honorable member for Moira is now supporting the construction of the Transcontinental Railway, although he at one time threatened to stone-wall all night the proposed authorization of a survey of the line.

Mr. KENNEDY.—Did not the honorable member once serve under the present Prime Minister?

Mr. SPENCE.—The honorable gentleman has now joined a party which is going to carry out that railway.

Mr. KENNEDY.—Who says so?

Mr. SPENCE.—If the honorable member does not say so, why is he sitting on that side of the chamber? What is this party? We had three parties in the House previously, but how many parties are there now? I am inclined to think that every honorable member on the other side is a party in himself. The Government have introduced a condition of pure anarchy. We shall now have an opportunity of seeing how it will work. We have not yet had anything like anarchy in Australia, and it will be interesting to see how it will operate in Parliament. According to the statement of the Prime Minister, it would appear that every one of his supporters is free to introduce any Bill he likes, and to vote as he pleases. This is the grand result of the operations

which have been proceeding for the last six months with the object of re-establishing constitutional government, and forming a solid party. Fortunately, there is one solid party in this House, and it is to be found on this side of the chamber. I hope that honorable members like the honorable member for Moira, the honorable member for Dalley, the honorable and learned member for Illawarra, and the honorable member for Eden-Monaro, whom we do not class with the Conservatives, will come to the conclusion that they are not in proper company. They must already be feeling very uncomfortable. They should leave the ultra-Conservatives to themselves, and take their proper positions in the House. We are going to do our best to bring about the truest form of responsible government—in fact, we shall insist upon it. We have not accomplished very much this session, but the Watson Government succeeded in settling within three months a question with which the previous Government could not successfully deal in three years. We may as well devote the rest of the session to an endeavour to place members in their proper positions in the House. I would commend that object to the very serious consideration of honorable members opposite whom we still class as democrats. If present conditions are allowed to exist much longer the bad company in which they now find themselves may have an unfortunate effect upon them. There has been a great deal of misrepresentation and misunderstanding with regard to the pledge which labour representatives in this House are required to sign. I have here a copy of that document, and I may as well read it in order to show the Minister of Trade and Customs how the *Argus* sometimes misleads the people. That newspaper has made it appear that every question is dealt with by the caucus, whereas the only questions upon which we are pledged to our constituents are embraced within what is called the fighting platform. Many of the platforms that are adopted in the States differ materially from the fighting platform adopted for the purpose of the Federal election. The former embrace proposals, some of which are admittedly socialistic.

Mr. McDONALD.—Ours is a socialistic movement, anyhow.

Mr. SPENCE.—Yes; but what I wish to emphasize is that, in relation to the pledge signed by members of the Labour Party, we go to the country upon what is called a fighting platform. There were seven

items in the last platform, and we were called upon to subscribe to those. Anything that may be done by outside bodies can have no effect upon representatives in this Parliament, who are pledged to their constituents upon the basis of the fighting platform. The pledge signed by members of the Labour Party refers only to the matters included in that platform. The fate of the Ministry is not included in that pledge. We can vote as we like upon matters affecting the fate of a Government, and we are very careful to act according to our constitutional powers. The pledge is as follows:—

I hereby pledge myself not to oppose any selected labour candidate. I also pledge myself, if returned to the Commonwealth Parliament, to do my utmost to ensure the carrying out of the principles embodied in the Federal labour platform, and on all such questions to vote as a majority of the Federal Labour Party may decide at a duly constituted caucus meeting comprised of members signing this or a similar pledge.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—That is pretty wide.

Mr. SPENCE.—The pledge is confined wholly and solely to the questions upon the printed platform, upon which we run our elections, and we are not affected by anything which Tom Mann may say or which may appear in a labour newspaper.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—Will the honorable member say whether the fate of a Ministry would not be remitted to the caucus and decided there?

Mr. SPENCE.—It might or might not. Our meetings are held for the transaction of business, and we can discuss anything we like.

Mr. HUTCHISON.—What is wrong with that, anyhow?

Mr. SPENCE.—There is nothing wrong about the caucus, so long as the truth is told. In fact, our system is so good that other sections of the community have been urged to adopt similar methods. I have been astonished to hear some men praise our methods in one breath, and denounce our organizations in another. We adhere strictly to our policy and principles. We are not like the Prime Minister, who did everything he could, at the last elections, to smash up the protectionist party, and afterwards gave way. Our party fights on—it never stops fighting. It does not matter whether we have one representative, or twenty, in Parliament, we stand or fall by our policy. The Labour Party in the New South Wales Parliament has not a majority

at present, but it has not given up its principles. It is because we have stood to our principles that we have gained ground. What is to be said in defence of parties like the protectionists and the free-traders who, under certain circumstances, do not carry on their fight. In cases where coalitions involve the giving up of principles, they must eventually result in the ruin of the parties concerned. The present Government will certainly go down before very long, and the reactionary forces behind them will fall to pieces, because public feeling will declare itself against them. The time has gone by for one-man rule, or class rule. As Harrison says, the day has come when the only class that is not a class is the working class. We are, in fact, all workers, and yet we are told that the Labour Party represents only a small section of the community. Many sneers have been directed against members of the Labour Party, but I would point out that those men who have received their practical training in connexion with trades organizations are called upon to exercise the highest abilities. They are required to work for others, and that in itself is calculated to widen their sympathies. The management of some of our organizations would tax the best abilities of some of those honorable members who apparently think little of our qualifications to take part in national affairs. Some of the most difficult problems of life have to be dealt with in the trades unions, questions involving the means of livelihood of thousands of men and women. The men who grapple with these subjects receive a training which fits them to deal with the larger questions of State in Parliament, and we can afford to ignore the taunts and jeers of honorable members who have not by any means shown themselves to be heaven-born statesmen. It has been persistently represented that one of the effects of labour legislation has been to drive capital out of the country. The honorable and learned member for Parkes, and other supporters of the Government, are never tired of making assertions of this kind. I now wish to present some facts which bear upon this question, and as I always prefer to select an opponent as an authority, I propose to quote certain figures given by the financial editor of the *Sydney Daily Telegraph*, who is a recognised authority, and who, when he does not happen to think of labour, which is a bugbear to him, may be relied upon. The financial statistics for the year 1903 show

that only three of the Australian banks were not on the dividend list. For the first time since 1892 the London Bank of Australia paid a dividend at the rate of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The Australian life offices did increased business to the extent of £3,163,117. During the March quarter, the amounts held by the banks of New South Wales at current account increased by £950,000, and the coin and bullion by £675,000. There was a decrease in the advances of £850,000, which showed that the public did not require to draw upon the banks as much as formerly. The June quarter showed some slight change. A considerable amount of money was transferred from current account to fixed deposit. The reports of the annual and half-yearly meetings of the various companies are also instructive. Tooth and Co. Ltd. declared a dividend of 8 per cent., the total amount being £61,942 for the half-year. The North Coast Steam Navigation Company paid a dividend of 6 per cent. for the half-year. The Wellington Meat Export Co. paid a dividend of 8 per cent.; the Australian Gaslight Co., 9s. per share. The A.A. Co. showed a profit for the year of £61,022, and paid a dividend of 25s. per share. The Hetton Coal Co. paid a dividend of 6 per cent. for the half-year; and the Colonial Sugar Refining Co., about which we have heard a great deal, paid a dividend of 10 per cent. It is interesting to note that at the meeting of the last-named company the chairman could not resist having a fling at the Labour Party, and saying something about Socialism. He said that it was not proposed, in the present unsettled state of politics, to lay out any more money; but when he came to give details with regard to the working of the company, he said that they had sufficient machinery for all their requirements. It therefore appeared that there was no necessity to spend any more money. Messrs. Elder, Smith and Co., of Adelaide, declared a dividend and bonus amounting to 9 per cent. The *Australian Joint Stock Companies' year-book* for 1903 shows the amount of capital invested in New Zealand and the Commonwealth to be £585,000,000. This was a smaller amount than was invested two years ago by about £6,300,000. The reductions in mining investments amounted to £12,300,000, in bank shares to £4,000,000, and in debenture issues of trading and other companies to £4,900,000, making a total of £21,000,000. The writing down of the capital of the Midland Company of

New Zealand, and the dulness in the mining industry, accounted for a great proportion of the reduction. The live capital of the whole of the investors of Australia increased by £3,900,000. Mr. Nash points out that it is very satisfactory to find that the dividends exceeded £23,000,000, irrespective of the £1,750,000 distributed by the banks on their interest-bearing deposits. The dividends paid were £1,267,000 more than those for the previous year, although they were declared in respect of a smaller capital. Apart from State debts, there is a clear average of 5 per cent. These figures show how ruinous progressive legislation must be to capital! The figures relating to the transactions of the very class which make an outcry against democratic legislation are a sufficient answer to their allegations. They prove that, in spite of the abnormal drought from which we suffered in 1903, capitalists found in the Commonwealth the best investments in the world. Every one knows what a very low rate of interest is paid in other parts of the world, so that all the talk of industry being ruined by labour legislation—by such measures as a Conciliation and Arbitration Act—is without foundation. The position is much the same in regard to the outcry against the granting of preference to unionists. Mr. Justice Cohen has shown that there is no foundation for the statement made from time to time that the preference section in the Conciliation and Arbitration Act of New South Wales has worked injuriously; and he has pointed out that in some of the agreements voluntarily arrived at between employers and employes, provision is actually made for preference to unionists. I do not intend to stop at this point. Let me give the House the following figures, showing the land tax and income tax returns for New South Wales—

LAND TAX.			INCOME TAX.		
£			£		
1895-6	...	...	...	27,658	
1896-7	...	...	141,022	...	305,316
1897-8	...	...	371,870	...	180,103
1898-9	...	...	272,028	...	182,220
1899-00	...	...	295,604	...	194,246
1900-01	...	...	202,188	...	222,453
1901-02	...	...	306,208	...	211,871
1902-03	...	...	320,654	...	224,306

If the people were not receiving dividends on their investments, and if land values were not increasing, there would be no such increase as is shown by these figures. Let me take another test, which is admittedly a very

Mr. Spence.

sound one, in determining the general prosperity of the community. I refer to the Savings Banks returns. I shall quote those relating to the Savings Banks of New South Wales, and I may add that a similar state of affairs is shown by the returns relating to the Savings Banks in other States. In 1893 there were 179,727 depositors in the Savings Banks of New South Wales, while the deposits amounted to £6,535,758, or an average of £36 7s. 4d. per depositor. In 1902—the latest year for which a return is available—the number of depositors had increased to 323,312, and the deposits to £12,425,464, or an average of £38 8s. 10d. per depositor. These figures do not show that those who lodge deposits with the Savings Banks are being ruined by labour legislation.

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—Was not the limit to deposits increased between the periods named by the honorable member?

Mr. SPENCE.—That does not alter the facts.

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—It certainly does.

Mr. SPENCE.—I recognise that it is a factor which must be considered; but these figures show that the people of New South Wales have money to place on deposit. The figures which I have quoted have been taken by me either from *Coghlan*, or from articles written by Mr. Nash, of the Sydney *Daily Telegraph*, who is admittedly a sound financial authority.

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—The increase of the limit allowed persons of larger means to become depositors.

Mr. SPENCE.—That does not alter the fact that this large sum of money exists in the country, and that the people are not being ruined, as has been urged, by democratic legislation. The number of dividend-paying banks has gradually increased, until there are now only three in Australia that are not on the dividend list.

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—The fact that the limit as to the amount of deposit has been increased throws out the honorable member's average per head.

Mr. SPENCE.—That is so; but I simply wish to get at the facts. The Labour Party has been constantly misrepresented purely because of political considerations, and I may say that Australia as a whole has been subjected to the same treatment. If we wish to ascertain one of the main reasons why many persons are not induced to come to Australia, we have only to turn

to the lying statements published by the great daily newspapers of Australia, as well as the false statements made by members of their staffs, who act as correspondents for the English press. It is our duty to put forward any facts which controvert the false statements to which I have referred. I have been carefully noting Mr. Nash's recent comments on finance and trade, but have no desire to quote the increase which has taken place in land settlement, or the immense increase in the shipping trade of New South Wales.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—Or the big increase in the public debt, which has given us much of the capital to which the honorable member has referred.

Mr. SPENCE.—That increase is not, after all, so very great. In any case, it is included in the investments to which I have referred. Full details are to be found in the *Investor's Year Book*. On referring to the *Sydney Morning Herald's* review of the operations for the year 1903, I find that within a radius of fifteen miles of Sydney a total of £3,020,793 was expended on buildings. Let me give honorable members the items which make up that total. Private enterprise—which the present Government specially represents—accounted for a sum of £2,489,500; the Public Works Department spent £257,871; the Harbor Trust, £141,715; the Tramways Department, £60,646; the City Council, £42,482; the Public Schools Department, £27,759; and the Fire Brigades Board, £822. These figures are in themselves a sufficient indication of the extent to which private enterprise has been influenced by recent legislation, and show that the assertions which have been made from time to time against the Labour Party have no foundation. They certainly prove that remarkable progress has been made, within a fifteen miles radius of a long established city, during a time of exceptional drought, and notwithstanding the operation of a Conciliation and Arbitration Act. Fortunately, the people are beginning to realize that the statements made from time to time against the Labour Party are put forward only to serve political purposes, and that they are not true. I cannot refrain, however, from quoting an article which appeared, some little time ago, in the *Sydney Daily Telegraph*. In one of those rare lapses from its ordinary line of policy, during which the truth slips into its columns, it published, in July, 1903, the following comments on a cablegram stating that capi-

tal had been frightened out of France by the socialistic tendency of legislation in that country:—

Owing to the socialistic tendency of legislation in France, the cable excitedly informs us that "capital is leaving the country." Parbleu! As if we were likely to go into hysterics about it. We are not going to scare over the alleged migration of capital from any country. We have heard about it too often. Never in the memory of the oldest inhabitant has any rational legislative proposal been made in this State without capital girding up its fat loins and threatening to leave by the next boat. In England, in America, in France, everywhere, it is the same. Capital is perpetually on the wing. The mystery is where it goes to when it leaves the country. Should French capital go to England, if current stories are true, it will meet on the way English capital in a similarly terror-stricken state fleeing from enfranchised democracy, which is suspected of lurking round the political corner waiting for a chance to bludgeon it with some objectionable law. Should it make for America, or Australia, or Germany, or Russia, it will be met by the same kind of outrush, due to the same cause. Of course it might go to one of the South American republics, which capital never seems to leave, it being all used up in the form of ammunition for the different parties who abstain from obnoxious legislation to shoot each other with. Capital, therefore, keeps away from those places, but, as it is always represented as bolting incontinently from everywhere else, where it goes to is quite impossible to guess. An equally perplexing conundrum is what it lives on when it gets there.

This article neatly summarises the position in regard to the boggy, which is from time to time trotted out in Australia. I have not much more to say. I have urged that, in the interests of Australia, and having regard to the well-being of all classes, the present Government should not be allowed to remain in office. I have referred to the attitude taken up by it outside this chamber; but we have not yet heard members of the Government say in this chamber what they have said outside. No explanation has been made of the charges levelled against the Labour Party. Nothing has been said of the assertion that the Labour Party is a gigantic conspiracy against the welfare of the community. That was a very serious statement, coming, as it did, from the Prime Minister of United Australia, and as persons charged with conspiring against the common weal, we are entitled to have a fuller explanation than we have yet had from him. I have proved that the right honorable gentleman is associated with outside organizations which, as representing a class, are dangerous to the welfare of the community.

Mr. HUTCHISON.—That is where the real danger lies.

Mr. SPENCE.—Undoubtedly. I have shown that the Government are not in touch with the people, and that on these, among other grounds, we are justified in desiring to oust them from office. I might have commented more fully on the fact that we have in the Prime Minister a right honorable gentleman who has made so many political somersaults that one is inclined to inquire whether, like one of the characters of which the late Robert Louis Stevenson wrote in so interesting a manner, he has a dual personality. One feels tempted to ask whether “Dr. Jekyll” or “Mr. Hyde” is to rule. Then we ought also to have some clear intimation as to who is to be the mouthpiece of the Government, in regard to all communications to His Excellency the Governor-General. I remember the late Sir Henry Parkes referring on more than one occasion to the importance of having but one head to a Government—one who will be the mouthpiece of the Cabinet, and consequently of Parliament, in all representations to the Governor, and through him to the British Crown. We have here a Federation of all Australia. I could make a quotation showing that there was a certain sensitiveness on the part of the Minister of Trade and Customs as to what his colleague, in the leadership of the Government, should be saying or doing without his authority or consent. In the circumstances, we ought to know exactly what the members of the Government propose to do, and on what principles they are going. They have told us that every one of their number is to do as he likes on everything but the Trades Marks Bill.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—They are solid on the Trades Marks Bill.

Mr. SPENCE.—They hope to gratify their ambition by putting the Trades Marks Bill through with their imprint—to show that they were in office for, at any rate, a short time. We have, however, yet to learn that they are solid on the Trades Marks Bill. I am prepared to prophecy that they are not solid on anything but what I have emphasized throughout my address, and that is on being anti-labour. “Socialism” is only a bogey. There is no more in it than there is in the statement we often hear about driving out capital. What we have a right to be judged by is what we do, and what we propose to do in our platform, and not by what certain people choose to say we propose to do. We do not go to a man's

enemy to get his character, or to find out his views. If we desire to know what his views are, we go to him direct, and it is unfair to the Labour Party, as a party, as it would be unfair to the Government, to ask our opponents what are our views. All that the members of the present Government have done so far has been to set up a bogey and then throw stones at it. The speeches which have been made by both heads of the Government, whether they are called half, or double Prime Ministers, have been devoted to an attack, not upon what the Labour Government had done, or proposed to do as a Government, but upon something founded upon misrepresentations which have been made outside Parliament, and, in some instances, in Parliament—something that has no existence, except in the imagination of some honorable gentlemen opposite, or of those outside who are attempting just now to prevent an accession to the numbers of the Labour Party in the event of a dissolution. They may as well attempt to stop the tide with a broom, as a celebrated character in fiction is supposed to have attempted to do, as to try to stem the tide of democracy in the Commonwealth. People are daily becoming more educated, and largely through the propaganda work of the Walpoles and Tom Manns, who are all doing some good.

Mr. McDONALD.—Tom Mann has been one of the best organizers we have ever had.

Mr. SPENCE.—That is so. We stand, however, on the economic basis, which I have quoted, and on that we shall score every time. Honorable members opposite are joined to the reactionary forces that are economically a hundred years behind the age—in the Imperialistic period, the period of the autocrat, of slavery, and of sweating. I by no means charge every honorable member opposite with being of these classes, but I speak of the organizations which are the mouthpieces of these classes. Between a Government representing a minority and people who believe in Imperialism, the difference is only one of degree, and not of principle. Government by a second Chamber, elected by a minority of the community, is Imperialistic and autocratic. It is only a question of degree. We in this Parliament have laid down a broad franchise for both Chambers, and it is wrong that any Government favouring class representation should be in power in this Parliament

for a day. Those who vote against labour men, honestly believing that they represent a class, do right; but we say that, since the Labour Party took an active part in politics, we have denounced class legislation, and we came into existence mainly because of class legislation, and for the purpose of abolishing it. We give intelligent and close study to these questions, and we are not likely to fall into the error of setting up something which we became organized to knock down. I may have spoken somewhat warmly, but honorable members will know that I have spoken politically, and that, personally, I have a great respect for all honorable members, and for all honest differences of opinion. I have felt that we have reached a time when serious developments external to this Chamber, and influencing the policy of Parliament within, are moving with great rapidity. I feel that the Labour Party are in duty bound now to make the departure which we are making, and that we should no longer say to the present Government, as we have said to past Governments—"If you put proper legislation through, it will be all right, and we shall not care by what name you are labelled." We contend that the present is an altogether exceptional case. The manner by which the present Government secured office, as well as the work they are doing, the people with whom they are associated, and their whole surroundings, must be taken into consideration. In our opinion, it must be detrimental to the best interests of the Commonwealth to allow them to retain office for one day longer than we can help, and chiefly because they propose to set up class rule and class domination, and to bring us back to past ideals from which we hoped we had for ever escaped.

Mr. ISAACS (Indi).—According to all laws of compensation, after the very able and exhaustive speech delivered by the honorable member for Darling, covering, I suppose, nearly all the ground that could possibly be covered at the present juncture, it ought to be my duty to limit my remarks as much as possible. I shall not venture to traverse the very extensive field the honorable member has so ably covered. I shall endeavour to confine my observations to matters not less far-reaching perhaps in their eventual results, but perhaps a little closer to our present circumstances. I feel that we are standing at a point of momentous importance to the whole continent of Australia. Not so very long ago there was one man who, not out of any love for

the Empire, and not out of any good-will towards its future, was yet, with a great amount of justice, said to be the man who did more to create and promote a manifestation of the sense of unity within it than any other man—I refer to the late President Kruger. In the same way, I think, the democracy of Australia can look in a certain sense with gratitude to the Prime Minister as being the man who has been indirectly at all events, the means of initiating a movement which I trust will eventually consolidate all the progressive forces of the Commonwealth. That right honorable gentleman told us yesterday that he claimed to have attained office legitimately. I venture to dispute that. I venture to repeat what I said not so long ago, when the amendment of the honorable and learned member for Corinella was before the Chamber, that there was no moral justification whatever for the way in which the late Government was turned out. I say, too, that the gloss that was put upon that transaction last evening by the Prime Minister is not justified by the circumstances as they actually occurred in this House. We know perfectly well that the Watson Government assumed office, not by its own desire, and not of its own choice. We know well that the Labour Party, led by the honorable member for Bland, gave most effective assistance to the Government I had the honour to support, and which was led by the honorable and learned member for Ballarat. I say that, throughout the whole course of this Commonwealth Parliament, the Liberals of this House and of this country must have observed with gratitude the great assistance that the Labour Party gave to us time after time, when we sat on the other side, and when we faced the Opposition that now comprises most of the Ministerialists in their antagonism, partly avowed and partly concealed, to the liberal measures we brought forward.

Mr. McCAY.—Honorable members have got their *quid pro quo* now.

Mr. McCOLL.—They lost us our duties.

Mr. PAGE.—Only on glue pots.

Mr. ISAACS.—From the laughter with which it has been received, I should say that that joke appears likely to stick. But on the merits of the observation, I do not agree with the honorable member for Echuca. I feel sure that my memory serves me aright when I say that without the assistance of the Labour Party, we should never

have been able to make the Tariff as protective as it is. I therefore say that on that question of the Tariff, as well as on other matters, we have a right to acknowledge with gratitude the assistance which the Labour Party gave to the Liberal Party in this House. I desire to say that shortly, because it leads to what I was saying before, that the amendment moved, not by the leader of the Labour Party, but by the honorable member for Wide Bay, and moved by that honorable gentleman so as to signify to the then Government that it was not a hostile motion by the Labour Party, was moved and carried—and I voted against it—merely because there was a conscientious belief in it, and not because the Labour Party wished to displace the Deakin Government.

Mr. FISHER.—We stated so at the time.

Mr. ISAACS.—The Government of the day, of course, had a perfect right to take the action they did take. The honorable and learned member for Ballarat, who was then leader of the Government, announced previously that he would retire if the amendment proposed by the honorable member for Wide Bay were carried, and the honorable and learned gentleman honorably kept his promise. I did not agree with him about the making of that promise, but, of course, we know that he always keeps his word, and he kept it honorably on that occasion. The honorable member for Bland was sent for. He assumed office gallantly and well, and he and his Government ought to have been judged by their policy and their work. But they were not. The present Prime Minister has asked that he shall be judged by his policy and his work. By his policy, such as it is, he may be easily judged, and I intend to devote a few words to it a little later on. The Labour Government was not fairly treated. They did not receive the fair opportunity which they were promised. They were not faced with a direct motion of want of confidence. They were not defeated upon a motion upon which they were openly challenged, and upon which they and their defenders could place before the country their merits. They succumbed to a side thrust.

Mr. LONSDALE.—They chose their own battle-ground.

Mr. ISAACS.—A motion was moved which has been said to have been a challenge upon the battle-field selected by the Government, but it was not. I was not here to-day when the leader of the Opposition made his speech, but I understand that

he has denied that assertion, and I venture to support what he said. The test of the matter is this: If he had never staked the official existence of his Government upon a particular question, the effect would have been the same. It is of no use to tell us, in the endeavour to throw dust in the eyes of the country, though that cannot be done successfully, that the late Government was defeated upon a battle-ground selected by the gentleman at the head of it. What he said was unmistakable: "I will ask that this question be reconsidered by the House." meaning, of course, that it should be dealt with in Committee on its merits. He did not for a moment anticipate, and we none of us anticipated, that a gross insult would be hurled at his Government, under which no Administration could maintain office. The late Government was defeated, not upon a field of battle selected by its Prime Minister, but upon a field of battle selected by those who acted irrespective of the Government and of the merits of the question at issue, and were moved only by the determination to turn out of office men whom they thought were usurpers of the Treasury benches, and almost interlopers in this House.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I do not think it troubled the honorable and learned member much.

Mr. ISAACS.—The Postmaster-General feels the prickings of conscience, and cannot keep quiet. His uneasiness shows the justice of what I am saying—that the Government was defeated because of the stern determination to eject at all hazards and at any cost what some honorable members contemptuously termed the Labour Government. That is unmistakably the whole truth of the matter. It has not been proved that the present Government came into office in a legitimate fashion. I say more than that. When the right honorable gentleman for East Sydney asserted that his Government came into office in ordinary legitimate fashion, he immediately proceeded to recognise the weakness of his position. He had not then disclosed how weak the internal position of the Government was, but he recognised that the House is evenly divided, and he threatened it with a dissolution.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—He did not do anything of the kind.

Mr. ISAACS.—That was a very bad way to begin. Those on this side of the chamber do not fear a dissolution. The

present leader of the Opposition asked for one, and we should have been only too pleased to allow the country to speak on the subject.

Mr. ROBINSON.—We know better than that.

Mr. ISAACS.—I venture to say that it was a source of intense relief to many of my honorable friends opposite when the Governor-General refused to grant a dissolution. Not only was the observation of the Prime Minister a weak one, but it may turn out to be a very fallacious one.

Mr. JOHNSON.—What about the telegram which was produced in the train?

Mr. ISAACS.—I understand that my honorable friend was very glad that that telegram was not true. It was a great relief to him.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—So it was to the Labour members.

Mr. LONSDALE.—And to the Liberal Protectionists.

Mr. ISAACS.—I do not wish to interrupt the speeches of other honorable members; but at the same time I should like to continue my own. Not only was the observation of the right honorable member for East Sydney a weak one, but it may prove to be a fallacious one, because I believe that before many days have passed it will be found that not only are there but two parties in the House, but that one of them has become much larger than it now is. I believe that before very long some of those with whom I have been proud to be associated will see that their proper place is on this side of the chamber, and will not longer remain away from those with whom they have worked for years. I have no word to say against them, but I believe they must feel, as was said by the honorable member who preceded me, that they are now in bad company, and are associated with a party against whom they have fought well and valiantly ever since the Federal Parliament came into existence. They must see that they cannot remain where they are without going back on their principles. I do not blame the Prime Minister for what he did. It was perfectly legitimate to him and for some of his colleagues, to attempt to gain office. From the moment that they first entered this Chamber, they have displayed in the most open and candid manner their intention to displace any Government exhibiting any tendency to liberal

principles, and they have twice succeeded in doing so. I very much regret that they have been assisted by some of my friends.

Mr. JOHNSON.—That is not a correct statement of the facts.

Mr. ISAACS.—It is a perfectly correct statement, and will be indorsed by the vast majority of the electors.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—Time will tell.

Mr. ISAACS.—If any proof is needed, we know the course which they adopted during the Tariff discussions, the attitude they assumed in regard to the lascars, and, lately, in spite of the extraordinary and almost impossible explanation of the Minister of Trade and Customs, in regard to the Chinamen.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—That is not worthy of the honorable and learned member.

Mr. McLEAN.—Does the honorable and learned member doubt the explanation given to-day?

Mr. ISAACS.—No; I do not doubt it.

Mr. McCOLL.—He did not hear it.

Mr. ISAACS.—I understand that the explanation was that nothing will be done without the approval of, and consultation with, the Queensland Government. Am I right in stating that that was the explanation?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Certainly not.

Mr. ROBINSON.—The honorable and learned member is entirely wrong.

Mr. ISAACS.—I have stated what I understood to be the explanation, and I say that it was improbable and almost impossible.

Mr. McLEAN.—Does not the honorable and learned member know that the Commonwealth Government has nothing whatever to do with the movements of Chinese from one State to another?

Mr. ISAACS.—I know that my honorable friend, who is a distinguished member of the present Government, made a very strong statement about the matter.

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—This is small.

Mr. ISAACS.—I am anxious not to do an injustice to my honorable friend; but I asked an honorable member what the explanation was, and I was informed that it was that nothing would be done without consultation with, and the consent of, the Queensland Government.

Mr. McLEAN.—Whoever told the honorable and learned member that was playing with him.

Mr. ISAACS.—My observation was made on the basis of that statement being correct. But while I do not blame the right honorable member for East Sydney for his objects, I blame him for his methods. The mode by which he obtained office, as honorable members know well, is a matter of exultation to all the Tories in Australia. That in itself should be a sufficient indication to those of my liberal friends who are unfortunate enough to be sitting on the other side of the Chamber, of the need for mistrusting the right honorable gentleman. The explanation which he has given we do not and cannot believe to be the true one. We were told that this is to be a Government of equality, the Prime Minister and the Minister of Trade and Customs being equal; but we do not and cannot understand it. If the fiscal question is dead and buried, what is the necessity for a double-headed Government?

Mr. KELLY.—Or a double-headed Opposition.

Mr. ISAACS.—There are more than two or three in the Opposition. If the fiscal question is dead and buried, why this selection of free-traders and protectionists as such, with an alleged equality? Why are the Prime Minister and the Minister of Trade and Customs acting like the two Dromios?

Mr. FRAZER.—And why has a sop been thrown to the people of Australia by giving a protectionist the portfolio of Trade and Customs?

Mr. ISAACS.—When we come to deal with this farce of a fiscal truce, we wish for an explanation of this supposed equality between two Ministers, an equality which we have evidence does not exist. Like the two Dromios, in the *Comedy of Errors*, they say—

We came into this world like brother and brother.

And now let's go hand in hand, not one before another.

And yet the first official act of one of these brothers was to issue a manifesto that the other brother said he knew nothing about. The least we could have had was a counter manifesto from the Minister of Trade and Customs. Why did we not have that?

Mr. JOHNSON.—Why did we not have three manifestoes from the three leaders opposite?

Mr. ISAACS.—We have had one manifesto, which I think will suffice for the people of Australia. If the leaders of the Government are equal in all things, are they

equal in their opinions? They are equal in one respect. My honorable friend, the Minister of Trade and Customs, referred to night to the subject of land taxation. Let me remind him that his leader—no, his equal—the Prime Minister, introduced a land tax into the New South Wales Parliament, and that he, whilst a member of the Government, to which I had the honour to belong, and which was led by the present Treasurer, made a very powerful and eloquent speech in favour of a land tax.

Mr. McLEAN.—A land tax may be justified for legitimate revenue purposes.

Mr. ISAACS.—Of course; undoubtedly.

Mr. McLEAN.—But not for confiscation.

Mr. ISAACS.—Certainly not. Orthodoxy is our doxy, heterodoxy is some one else's. Undoubtedly. When I heard my honorable friend reproach the Labour Party with wanting to impose a land tax, it struck me as remarkable that he should be associated with a free-trade league, one of whose planks is to impose a single tax upon the people of this country—upon the land-owners of this country. My surprise was the greater when I remembered also that my honorable friend almost electrified the Victorian Assembly in this very chamber by his eloquent support of the land tax—

Mr. McCOLL.—The honorable and learned member's Government introduced a land tax into the Victorian Parliament.

Mr. ISAACS.—I have just said so; and I think my honorable friend supported it. The Prime Minister and the Minister of Trade and Customs are, therefore, equals in so far as land taxation is concerned. Are they equals in Socialism also? I am not going to accuse my honorable friend, the Minister of Customs, of that. I propose to read the words of the Prime Minister with regard to Socialism. I quote from the *Argus* of a few days ago, 31st August, containing a report of a speech of the right honorable gentleman, addressed to farmers in the Assembly Hall in Collins-street. That was a typical "Yes-No" speech. But if he says he is opposed to Socialism I must refer him to this speech. This is what he said—

My belief contains two ideals. I believe that it is a true ideal of politics to use national power in every conceivable way to advance the happiness and wealth of the community.

What Socialist ever said more? That is ideal No. 1. Now I come to ideal No. 2, which is divided into two parts—Yes and No.

But I have another, and that is to leave individual energies and powers of the community—He did not say the word "free."

Mr. JOHNSON.—That is what he meant, though.

Mr. ISAACS.—I shall read what he said—

To leave individual energies and powers of the community as free as you can consistent with proper national legislation.

I should like to ask if any member in this House has ever said anything worse, or anything better than that?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Then why are the Tories jubilating, as the honorable and learned member said just now?

Mr. ISAACS.—I did not say they were jubilating over that. They may be jubilating over the "Yes" part of it, but not over the "No" part of it. We were told by my honorable friend that the desire for national legislation marked the Labour Party, and I want to ask what on earth the Prime Minister meant when he addressed the farmers of the country in those terms. Having achieved his object by turning out the Government, the Prime Minister in his anxiety to go on with the business, after having wasted the time of the country, asked for three weeks' respite, which was granted, in order to enable him to frame a policy. And what a statesman-like pronouncement we had yesterday. Surely, we expected something better. I venture to say that there was not a gleam of originality in it, and not a gleam of hope for this great continent.

Mr. HUGHES.—Except for a recess.

Mr. ISAACS.—Of course, we knew perfectly well beforehand that protection was sacrificed.

Mr. MCCOLL.—The honorable and learned member has done that.

Mr. ISAACS.—We have done that? We have heard of the fable of the wolf and the lamb, and on the Government side of the chamber we see the exemplification of it. We know perfectly well that the one great principle for which the honorable member for Echuca has stood up in this House and outside of it has been surrendered by him. We know perfectly well that the great principle which held the Liberal-Protectionist Party together was surrendered—to whom? To a defeated foe, to a leader, able, eloquent, and strategic—a man for whose power of overcoming difficult situations we must all have the greatest admiration. We all know perfectly well that he has acknowledged himself in this House to have been beaten on the fiscal question. Where was the necessity to enter into a truce with a beaten foe?

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—The honorable and learned gentleman went to the country on the truce.

Mr. ISAACS.—And we came back triumphant.

Mr. MCLEAN.—And then the honorable and learned member abandoned the question upon which he went to the country.

Mr. ISAACS.—I shall show my honorable friend who abandoned the question.

Mr. MCLEAN.—Those who went to the country, and advocated fiscal peace, and came back and advocated fiscal strife.

Mr. ISAACS.—I should like to know in what way I ever pledged myself to fiscal peace or fiscal strife. I am perfectly willing, although I am in no way pledged on the subject, to stand by my honorable friends of the protectionist party, and say that there was a proposal of fiscal peace. But I want to know what is the meaning of fiscal peace. I shall tell honorable members what that fiscal peace meant. It meant this, that the contest in Australia between the policy of free-trade on the one side, and the policy of protection on the other, was decided. There was to be no more struggling as to which policy was to be triumphant. We had erected the standard of protection, and that flag was to fly all over Australia. When the Prime Minister, in Sydney, taunted the protectionists of Australia, and said that they had that "tired feeling," and that they dared not raise the protectionist flag before the people of Australia, we dared to do so, and the people supported us. They declared that there should be a pause in the great struggle between the protectionists and the free-traders, and that the protectionist flag should still continue to wave. But they never said that in this declaration of peace between two warring camps any details of protection should remain unattended to. They never said that in this protectionist domain if wrong were done in any case it should not be righted.

Mr. MCLEAN.—The honorable and learned member should turn to the galleries, and not to the House, with that story.

Mr. ISAACS.—The Minister feels the pinch. He sees how thin is the covering over himself in this regard, and feels that this is cutting very close to him. I venture to say that in his calm moments he will admit that no one on the whole of this continent dreamt that any protectionist was sent here with a mandate to allow industries to bleed to death, machinery to remain

idle and rust, and people to starve. There was no such mandate as that, and I am going to prove it out of the mouths of the Prime Minister and our esteemed friend—for he is esteemed wherever he may sit—the honorable and learned member for Ballarat. I propose to prove out of their joint mouths that there was no mandate such as we have heard of.

Mr. JOHNSON.—The honorable and learned member's name appears in the list, published in the *Age*, of supporters of fiscal peace.

Mr. ISAACS.—In the sense I have mentioned, I agree to that. We were told by the Prime Minister and the Postmaster-General—who, no doubt, helped to frame that famous suggested convention between the Prime Minister and the honorable and learned member for Ballarat—that there was a mandate from the country that the protectionists were to ground their arms, and I shall prove from their own words that there was nothing of the kind. I shall read the terms of the proposed alliance between the protectionist and free-trade parties. They will be found in the journals of May 19th. One of the terms was a proposal for two years' fiscal truce. If the constituencies of Australia had ordered a fiscal truce, how could the two parties suggest an agreement for such a truce? How could the members of this House come forward and say, "True it is that the constituencies have commanded peace, but we shall deliberate whether or not there shall be peace." Now what was the proposal? It was—

The Tariff not to be altered in any respect during the present Parliament without the consent of both parties in the Ministry.

Mr. McLEAN.—What was the verdict in our room when this was announced?

Mr. ISAACS.—I shall answer that.

Mr. McLEAN.—The verdict was that the country had already decided the question.

Mr. SPEAKER.—Order! The Minister of Trade and Customs has already spoken. If he has been misrepresented he will have an opportunity to explain later on. I must ask him to refrain from interrupting the speaker in possession of the Chair.

Mr. ISAACS.—I shall answer the Minister's question. The verdict was that the protectionists had nothing to gain by such an agreement—that we had won the day.

Mr. McCAY.—Oh, no!

Mr. ISAACS. — I say unhesitatingly, that it was pointed out that we should gain nothing by it, but that the free-traders would.

Mr. McCAY.—Because the country had already decided that the Tariff should not be touched for three years. Every member at that party meeting said so.

Mr. ISAACS.—We said, undoubtedly, that we had nothing to gain, and that a beaten party was proposing terms. We refused to accept them.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Some members said that, but not every one.

Mr. ISAACS.—The decision was that the protectionist party should stand together in its full integrity, that it should not ally itself with one side or the other. That was the decision that was arrived at unanimously, and which ought never to have been departed from. I have no doubt that the Minister of Trade and Customs has stated what was in his mind. I am only mentioning what was in mine. At a meeting such as that various views are expressed, and one can only give his own impression as to what took place. But I have here something in writing. It shows the views of the two leaders.

Mr. FISHER.—Was it drawn up subsequently?

Mr. ISAACS.—No, it was made at the time of the proposed compact. It is remarkable that the words "fiscal truce" appear in this as well as in the present programme. Before I part from this question, I should like to refer to one matter that was provided for in the proposed programme, but which is not mentioned in the programme of this Liberal Government. I refer to the paragraph stating that—

It is highly desirable that a uniform system of old-age pensions throughout Australia should be adopted as soon as possible, and that steps should be taken to accomplish this in co-operation with the States.

It is remarkable that that very important question, which formed a prominent part of the proposed alliance, has been suddenly dropped.

Mr. KELLY.—It was not even touched during the régime of the Labour Government.

Mr. ISAACS.—I should like to ask a question in regard to a matter on which the country is entitled to have a declaration from the Government, although up to the present time we have not had one. If there is to be a fiscal truce between the protectionists and the free-traders, how long is

it to last? Is it to last during the life of the present Parliament, or over the next Parliament? Is it to last for ever, or is it to last until the Ministry has been beaten? Are we then to find the two equal sections of the Cabinet flying, like tigers, at each other's throats? Does this "fiscal truce" mean a truce to bury protection?

Mr. McCOLL.—How long is the Liberal-Labour alliance to last?

Mr. ISAACS.—There appears on the face of our agreement a statement as to how long it is to last. There has been no concealment on our part. We have placed the whole matter fairly before the country. We wish to meet the Government openly. We ask the same frankness from the other side. The question I have put has been asked before, but we can obtain no answer. Language apparently is made to conceal thoughts; but we wish to know from the Government, and especially from my protectionist friends, for how long they have consented to stifle protection.

Mr. JOHNSON.—The honorable and learned member assumes that he will be in the next Parliament.

Mr. ISAACS.—I should be sorry to assume that the honorable member will be a member of it. I repeat that the protectionists of Australia have a right to know from the protectionist members of the Government how long they have consented to bind themselves hand and foot, and to attempt to bind the people whom they represent, to the crushing down of protection. The free-trade baby was dead; the protectionist baby was alive. There was no reason, therefore, why they should combine their forces. How long are they going to "farm" the protectionist baby?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The honorable and learned member is making a babyish speech.

Mr. ISAACS.—Then I have reached the level of the honorable member. Before proceeding to consider the two items, and the only two, apart from colourless matters, that the Government have deigned to put before the country, I wish to emphasize the fact that there is no mistaking the society in which the protectionist members of the Government find themselves. There is no mistaking the desire and the designs of the leader of the Government and of his free-trade friends. We know that Australia has a great future; we know that its resources are great. Every one dreams of Australia becoming a

great country, and developing not merely as a sheep-walk or as the abode of herds and flocks, and not merely in the matter of primary production, although we all should do our utmost to promote that end. While we desire that it shall develop in this way, we wish at the same time to see a diversification of employment in Australia. It ought to be one of the highest aims of this Parliament, and of those who lead it, to make Australia an industrial country, and, if possible, an industrial centre of the world. We must have great manufactures here. We have all the materials to support them. We have been endowed with the fullest natural possessions necessary to build up these manufactures, and we have a right to look forward to a time when we shall be a great manufacturing community with a large output and a prosperous exchange between our primary and secondary producers. There is an outlook, according to the leader of the Government; there is a panacea for the great manufactures of Australia. What is the remedy? Let me read the right honorable gentleman's own words. In dealing with the matter, he himself asked a question. He said—

What is the hope of the great manufactures of Australia? How are we to manufacture cheaply, or to compete with the cheap labour of other countries?

He then proceeded to point out that we could not have a monopoly of mechanical appliances; that we could not have better machinery than the British or German manufacturers have. He pointed out, too, that the manufacturers of Germany and England could buy raw material all over the world, and then he added this strange commentary on free-trade England, although he linked Germany with it—

How are we going to compete with these underpaid sweated countries until our own labour is underpaid and sweated too?

That was his answer to the great question of how and when Australia is to be raised to the position of a great manufacturing country, and the means by which we can attain that eminence. This is the panacea which he offers, and I commend it to my honorable friends opposite—

In the plenitude of time, when our millions become tens of millions, we shall have a crop of misery which will solve the difficulty in regard to cheap manufactures.

In other words, when our men and women are reduced to starvation point, with no Tariff, no labour laws, no Conciliation and

Arbitration Acts, nothing which will conserve the interests of the worker—when we have a poverty-stricken race madly competing with each other to obtain a crust of bread—then, and then only, shall we solve the problem. We shall then have that “crop of misery” which will make Australia a great manufacturing country. That is the policy to which my honorable protectionist friends opposite have become linked, and from which, I trust, they will detach themselves.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The honorable and learned member dare not read the context of the speech to which he has just referred.

Mr. ISAACS.—What is the context?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Let the honorable and learned member read it.

Mr. ISAACS.—The honorable member makes what he considers a very wise assertion, but I ask him whether he knows what the context is.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I know that it is something which the honorable and learned member dare not read.

Mr. ISAACS.—It is a long tirade against protection; and the remedy which I have mentioned is the only one the speaker could put forward as being consistent with free-trade.

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—Will the honorable and learned member inform us what was the speech from which he has quoted?

Mr. ISAACS.—With pleasure. It is to be found in Vol. V. of *Hansard*, Session 1901-2, page 6800. What is the great policy of this great Government? They have told us that they are not going to bring in a Manufactures Encouragement Bill. The time has not arrived for the crop of misery that is to start Australian manufactures. The Government are not going to support preferential trade, or they are—I do not know what is the position they take up.

Mr. HUTCHISON.—They do not know themselves.

Mr. ISAACS.—Are they going to support a policy of preferential trade? If so, I presume they will provide for it on a free-trade basis.

Mr. WATSON.—No; the Prime Minister stated yesterday that it would be on the basis proposed by the Deakin Government.

Mr. ISAACS.—Then it will be on a protectionist basis, or is one half of the Cabinet to have it on a free-trade basis, and the other half on a protectionist foundation?

Mr. THOMAS.—They are to have it turn about; six months each.

Mr. ISAACS.—Are the two sections to be equal in all things? If the Prime Minister's statement be correct, that the Government are going to provide for preferential trade on the basis proposed by the Deakin Government, it will be brought about by means of an increase of duties. If it is to be established on a free-trade basis, I wonder how my honorable friends—and especially the Minister of Trade and Customs—will be able to support it. I do not believe that the Minister of Trade and Customs will do so. I honestly think that he will revolt against it. But this is not a Government measure. The Prime Minister stated yesterday, in effect, that the Government is going to take up preferential trade—that is “yes”—provided the British Government asks for it—that is midway—“but” he added, “we know the British Government never will”—that means “no.” When I heard that statement I began to wonder what was the position of the Government.

Mr. McLEAN.—We should have had this speech from the honorable and learned member when he was supporting the late Government. What was their attitude in regard to preferential trade?

Mr. ISAACS.—We never reached their attitude on that subject.

Mr. ROBINSON.—We waited four months to reach it.

Mr. ISAACS.—But whatever Government were in office—

Mr. McLEAN.—The late Government were in office longer than we have been.

Mr. ISAACS.—If the question had arisen on a declaration of policy on the part of that Government I should have said the same if they had made the same statement as the present Administration have done. I believe that whatever the late Ministry might have said on the subject, it would have said it plainly. Then, again, the Government have said nothing about the great question of old-age pensions.

Mr. McLEAN.—Has the honorable and learned member obtained a promise from the Labour Party on the question of preferential trade? He has sold himself to that party, and I wish to know whether he has obtained a pledge from them in regard to that question.

Mr. ISAACS.—I presume that my honorable friend reads the newspapers. He can read for himself in to-day's newspapers what we have done on this question.

Mr. McLEAN.—I have not read the statement to which the honorable and learned member refers.

Mr. McCOLL.—There is nothing in it.

Mr. ISAACS.—Let me deal with the other items in the Government programme.

Mr. McLEAN.—All I have seen in the newspapers is a statement which shows that the honorable and learned member has been absorbed by the Labour Party.

Mr. PAGE.—What about the Minister himself?

Mr. ISAACS.—I am afraid that I prove a very indigestible morsel.

Mr. McLEAN.—I would not barter my principles for the sake of not being opposed at the coming elections.

Mr. ISAACS.—Would the Minister do so for the sake of office? The Government have three colourless proposals in their programme—and I speak of them as being colourless, because they are of a non-party character—a Bill to amend the Electoral Act, the two measures relating to Trades Marks, and the Papua Bill. They are common to all of us, and no difficulty is associated with them. But the Government have also come out with two magnificent items—the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill, and a measure providing for the Transcontinental Railway survey. There are members of the present Government who were members of the Deakin Administration, which resigned rather than have anything to do with a Conciliation and Arbitration Bill that contained a clause extending its operations to States servants. Yet we now find them supporting that Bill, and taking all the responsibilities of the Government.

Mr. GROOM.—The present Prime Minister said that they were quite right in the attitude which they previously took up.

Mr. ISAACS.—That is so. Three members of the present Government have stultified themselves in regard to that measure. Although the Government say that they are going on with the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill, they do not condescend to tell the House which of the proposed amendments they are going to accept, and which of them they intend to reject.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The quotation which the honorable and learned member made a few minutes ago from a speech delivered

by the Prime Minister is an outrageous one. I say that with the full report of the speech before me.

Mr. ISAACS.—Then, my honorable friend is capable of saying anything.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I do say it, emphatically.

Mr. ISAACS.—I say that it is a fair and honest quotation. It has been quoted by me before in public in the Melbourne Town Hall, and never contradicted.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I say that it is an unfair and a dishonest quotation.

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—It is torn from its context.

Mr. ISAACS.—There is nothing in the context which qualifies it.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The man who would make that quotation, would say anything.

Mr. ISAACS.—I might read the words again, but I shall be satisfied if the honorable member for Parramatta will now read any words which he claims will show that I have not quoted the right honorable gentleman fairly. I challenge him to do it now, while I am here.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—It will be read later on.

Mr. ISAACS.—Then the honorable member refuses to do it.

Mr. SPEAKER.—The honorable member cannot do such a thing as the honorable member for Indi has suggested.

Mr. ISAACS.—The honorable member was not aware of that, because he refused my challenge before you rose, Mr. Speaker. Now, with respect to the Transcontinental Railway. That is a project which the Minister for Trade and Customs has designated as the "desert railway." How did the honorable gentleman come to give his assent to that?

Mr. McLEAN.—To what?

Mr. ISAACS.—To the survey of the Transcontinental Railway?

Mr. McLEAN.—Is the honorable and learned member opposed to ascertaining the facts?

Mr. PAGE.—They soon made a yes-no politician of the honorable member for Gippsland.

Mr. ISAACS.—We have been trying to ascertain the facts for some considerable time. We have ascertained this fact, that the honorable member for Gippsland, who when sitting on this side strongly opposed the proposal, is now, as a member of the Government, as strongly supporting it; and

having equal power with the Prime Minister, the honorable gentleman ought certainly to have vetoed it.

Mr. SPENCE.—The honorable member for Moira stonewalled even the proposal to make the survey.

Mr. ISAACS.—I think that before very long there may be an opportunity to again address ourselves to this question. I have no doubt that the alliance which we all know has been happily consummated between two great bodies in this Parliament will have an effect, and a beneficial effect, on the future of Australia. We have set up a standard under which I believe all the progressive forces of this continent may find a rallying point. I do not despair of some of my honorable friends opposite before very long agreeing with us to this extent. We have said as plainly as language can say it, that the door is open.

Mr. McCAY.—Yes, honorable members opposite have said that plainly enough.

Mr. ISAACS.—If they agree to a platform, as to which they can find no reasonable objection; if they can agree to leave a coalition which is not a coalition; if they at any time find that it is to the best interests of this community that they should return to the pledges and principles which they came into this House to profess and support, I believe it will be well for this country—I do not bring their personal position into the matter. I invite, and we all invite them, to support in the future the principles which they have supported in the past. But whatever they may do, it is our bounden duty to continue to adhere to the principles we were returned to support. As protectionists, we were returned to support protection, and we do not intend to desert that principle. We have resolved that, although no action can possibly be taken this session, such action shall be taken next session, and I say that we desire, and we intend, by all legitimate means, to enforce our desire to have an inquiry into such operations of the Tariff as we see are not merely in danger of doing, but are actually doing, damage to the industries of Australia.

Mr. McCOLL.—That inquiry has already been suggested. It was suggested last week.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—Honorable members opposite will now claim that as their policy.

Mr. ISAACS.—Suggested with a view to action?

Mr. McCOLL.—Yes.

Mr. ISAACS.—Then what has become of the fiscal truce?

Mr. McCOLL.—The inquiry will not disturb that.

Mr. ISAACS.—Either this fiscal truce is a farce, or it is not. If there is a fiscal truce, all we have heard is simply humbug; if there is not a fiscal truce, what are honorable members opposite going to do? What we say is that, whether it is true or not, we intend to see that the verdict of the country is adhered to.

Mr. McCOLL.—Who are "we"?

Mr. ISAACS.—The Liberal Labour Party, and the people behind them. That is who "we" are. I say that we intend to see that no evasion of duty on the part of the Government, and no simulation of a fiscal truce, will avail them to disregard the duty they owe to Australia. I say this also, that I trust that before very long there will be such steps taken as will evince to the people of this country that we cannot longer tolerate upon the Treasury benches such a politically sexless combination as we find there to-day.

Debate (on motion by Mr. ROBINSON) adjourned.

House adjourned at 10.25 p.m.

Senate.

Friday, 9 September, 1904.

The PRESIDENT took the chair at 10.30 a.m., and read prayers.

TRANS-AUSTRALIAN RAILWAY.

Senator PEARCE.—I desire to ask the Attorney-General, without notice, the following question:—

Will the Government procure from the Government of Western Australia copies of a report by the engineer in charge of the party sent out to bore for water on the proposed route of the Trans-Australian Railway, with a view to distributing them among the members of the Commonwealth Parliament, and for their information?

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—I think I can promise that we shall communicate with the Government of Western Australia, and that any information which can be obtained in respect of this matter will be communicated to the members of both Houses.

MINISTERIAL STATEMENT.

Debate resumed from 8th September (*vide* page 4401), on motion by Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON—

That the despatch from the Secretary of State for the Colonies, with regard to the adoption of the metric system of weights and measures, within the Empire, be printed.

Senator MATHESON (Western Australia).—I am reluctant to take up the time of the Senate on a Friday in discussing the features of the Government policy, but it is impossible to allow one or two matters to pass without comment, and I hope that I shall be able to deal with them fairly briefly. The utterances of the Government in regard to the transcontinental railway have really astonished me. I gather that it is their intention to pass a Bill for a survey of the line. If it were being introduced with a view to incurring further expenditure on the construction of the line, after the survey had been completed, I could perfectly understand the position of the Government, because in the past we have been led to understand that the Prime Minister was heartily in accord with its construction. My authority for the statement is Sir John Forrest, who, when he was a member of the Deakin Government, had occasion to attend a meeting of the Protectionist Society, held somewhere in this city. At that meeting he complained bitterly that his own Government were only prepared to say that they would see about the construction of the railway, and he said "Mr. George Reid will build the line." I quote from the newspaper reports of that meeting, and from an electoral "dodger" which was freely circulated in Western Australia at the time of the recent election. I do not understand that the statements made in the circular were ever contradicted. The people of that State were asked in the circular to vote for those who would support Mr. George Reid's policy. They were shown clearly that it was their only chance of getting this railway, because the Deakin Government were not prepared to support its construction.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—Whose dodger is that?

Senator MATHESON.—Well, I prepared the dodger, and from the best material available—the speech of Sir John Forrest.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—The honorable senator did not mention the authorship of the dodger.

Senator MATHESON.—I had no intention of mentioning the authorship of the dodger, as I am not bringing it forward as an advertisement. We always understood that we had only to look for Mr. Reid's advent to power to make a certainty of the construction of this line. But what do we find? We find that he advocates a survey, in order that he may discover whether the project is practicable or not. Nobody can know better than Mr. George Reid, and the members of his Government, that it is perfectly practicable. A flying survey has already been made.

Senator FRASER.—That does not give much evidence.

Senator MATHESON.—It gives every necessary evidence of the possibility of constructing the line.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—It is of very little value.

Senator MATHESON.—It is very likely that the Attorney-General has not read the report.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—I have, for in South Australia we are all deeply interested in the project.

Senator MATHESON.—If the honorable and learned senator has read the report, he will know that the route proposed to be traversed was described as being almost a flat prairie, and presenting no difficulty of construction, and that the only difficulty was in regard to the water.

Senator HIGGS.—Is not that a stupendous obstacle?

Senator MATHESON.—The honorable senator would have been right in making that remark prior to the result of certain exploratory work which has been carried on, and to which Senator Pearce has referred this morning. When Senator Higgs receives the report of that work, he will find that the water trouble has been solved, and that there will be no difficulty in constructing the line if the Commonwealth Government are prepared to find the necessary funds. In that case what is the good of talking of a survey to discover whether the project is practicable or not? What we want is a working survey on which a contractor might tender. What is the good of getting a flying survey unless the Government are prepared to go on with the work?

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—Will the honorable senator tell us how they can go on with the work without the consent of South Australia?

Senator MATHESON.—I understand that the consent of South Australia has practically been promised.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—Where does the honorable senator find that statement?

Senator MATHESON.—I cannot quote an authority for the statement. Am I to understand from the Attorney-General that South Australia objects to the construction of the line?

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—The Government of South Australia has objected; it is prepared to approve of a survey being made, but it pledges itself to no more at present.

Senator MATHESON.—Then I understand that it is not Mr. George Reid who is responsible for the difficulty, but the Government of South Australia.

Senator DE LARGIE.—The Constitution gives the Commonwealth power to construct a railway if it is considered necessary for the purposes of defence.

Senator MATHESON.—Unfortunately, the Constitution gives the Commonwealth no power to construct a railway without the consent of the State. I called attention to that unfortunate position when the draft Constitution Bill was being debated in the Legislative Council of Western Australia. I had only just been returned for the gold-fields, and I regret to say that I could not get any support in the Legislative Council, to an amendment I suggested, to make it feasible for the Commonwealth to build a railway, if it was considered necessary in its own interests. The amendment was poo-pooed, because the people on the coast were afraid that it might be applied to the Esperance railway, and the result was that the Constitution was left in its present shape. Do I understand, from the Attorney-General, that the Government of South Australia make the preparation of this survey a condition precedent to their discussing the question of authorizing the construction of the railway?

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—They do not pledge themselves, I understand, to anything except that they are prepared to facilitate the making of the survey.

Senator MATHESON.—That is a most extraordinary and most un-Federal attitude for the Government of South Australia to take up. It is just as well that the country should know that that is their attitude.

Senator MCGREGOR.—That is the attitude of the Government of South Australia, not of the people of the State.

Senator MATHESON.—The honorable senator cannot draw any distinction between the Government and the people of the State. With its most liberal franchise it is fair to imagine that the Government represent the people.

Senator DOBSON.—Can the honorable senator say what guarantee the Government of Western Australia are prepared to give against any loss?

Senator MATHESON.—The late Premier of Western Australia intimated his views on that subject to the Government of South Australia. I am not in a position to quote his communication, but I understand that he undertook to make up the loss.

Senator DOBSON.—Has he ever mentioned any amount that he would make up?

Senator MATHESON.—How can any person mention a specific amount when he undertakes to make up the loss?

Senator DOBSON.—He can mention a share of an amount.

Senator MATHESON.—The late Premier of Western Australia, I understand, undertook to make up any loss accrued during a certain number of years. I believe that the report of the State experts who were asked to look into the question indicated that for a certain number of years a loss was probable, and I understand that the late Premier, James, offered to make good the loss during that term of years.

Senator O'KEEFE.—Was it not Western Australia's share of the loss?

Senator DE LARGIE.—And South Australia's share, too.

Senator MATHESON.—I know that the loss far exceeded the amount for which Western Australia would have been responsible. I propose to leave that topic, and express my regret that the Government have not decided, in their programme, to make any provision to a Council of Defence. Some time ago, when the Attorney-General first addressed the Senate, as a member of the Government, I very shortly expressed the hope that he would be able to definitely state when he met us yesterday, what the policy of the Government would be on this question, but I regret to say that he has not seen his way to throw any light on the subject. I propose to deal with the question at some little length, because it is a subject which is most important, and does not seem to be very clearly understood by a number of honorable senators. When the Labor Party came into power, Senator Dawson, the Minister of Defence, looked into the whole question. To put it shortly,

pointed a committee of experts, who were trusted to report. We do not know at they actually did report, but the *Melburn Argus* apparently obtained some information on the subject. Whether it was gained officially or not, I cannot say, but appears from the *Argus* that the Committee recommended the appointment of a Board of Advice, a Council of Defence, an Inspector-General. According to this recommendation, the Board of Advice apparently corresponds with a body in England, which is called the Army Council. A local Committee followed up to this in the lines laid down by Lord Esher's Committee, which has lately sat in England, and made a very voluminous report in three chapters. I wish to explain the difference between the Board of Advice and the Council of Defence, because in what I have heard, both here and abroad, a considerable amount of ignorance exists as to the duties of the two bodies. They are entirely distinct. The Board of Advice, as recommended by a local committee, appears to be a rather fortunate substitute for the Army Council. In the Army Council, as recommended by Lord Esher's committee, consists of a board, which takes the place of the General Officer Commanding; in fact it is the General Officer Commanding, in committee. In a few remarks I intend to make I shall use the term "Army Council," because that conveys the exact meaning of what the word is, and the phrase "Board of Advice" does not.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—Does the honorable senator propose something in the nature of the Army Council now under suggestion in England?

Senator MATHESON.—I do for that specific purpose; but I propose now to deal with the Council of Defence, and to touch the Army Council incidentally. The Council of Defence, as recommended by a local committee, appears to be a consultative body to act as an advisory committee to the Minister. It is very much, in fact, the sort of council that I advocated in the end of last session, but with nothing like as ample powers. My suggestion was embodied in the following propositions:—

The Council shall receive and review all recommendations of the General Officer Commanding and Naval Commandant in respect to the organization, administration, and financial policy of their respective branches of the

Defence Forces, and shall, if thought necessary, obtain expert advice on any questions arising under such recommendations.

It shall be the duty of the Council, from time to time, to make such recommendations to Parliament as it may think desirable for most effectually securing the efficiency of the defences and Defence Forces of the Commonwealth, and to take such steps as may be necessary to secure effective compliance with the directions of Parliament in respect to all such matters.

The Council of Defence suggested by the committee of experts is not to have any powers of that nature. The proposal was set out in the *Argus* of 16th August in these terms—

The expert committee in its report suggested that two bodies should be constituted—one a Board of Advice, and the other the actual Council of Defence. The Board of Advice, it was recommended, should consist of the Minister, the Secretary for Defence, the Chief Staff Officer at head-quarters, and representatives of the Militia and Volunteer Forces and the Rifle Clubs. The duty of this board would be to secure uniformity of administration throughout the Commonwealth, and supervise the working of the Department in each State. Its meetings should be at least monthly. The Council of Defence, it was suggested, should consist of the same officers, with the addition of the Inspector-General and the Naval Commandant. This Council would be of the nature of an advisory committee to the Minister, who would preside over its deliberations. He would not, however, part with his prerogative to initiate the defence policy of the Commonwealth, although he would look to the Council for advice regarding any scheme he might put forward from time to time.

This council, constituted in that way, would be on an entirely wrong basis, that is, according to Lord Esher's Committee. I do not wish any members of the Senate to suppose that I set up as an expert. I have simply studied the report of Lord Esher's Committee, and applied the principles which it lays down as far as possible to the circumstances prevailing in the Commonwealth. I do not think that one could have a safer guide than the advice embodied in Lord Esher's report. Lord Esher's Committee point out that the Army Council should consist entirely of executive officers for the higher administration of the Defence Force, plus the Minister of Defence; but that the Council of Defence, being a deliberative and consulting body, should not include any of the officers who are charged with the administration of affairs. They are, in fact, like managing directors. They have the sole responsibility for carrying out effectively the decisions of the Council of Defence, and as such they ought not to be able to sit in the Council of Defence and frame suggestions for the control of the Army. Their duties are simply executive,

and their members should be renewed from time to time. Now I come to what the Council of Defence should consist of. I am dealing with this matter very briefly, because I understand it is desired to bring this debate to a determination this afternoon. The Council of Defence, as laid down by the Esher Committee, should consist of the Prime Minister, the Treasurer, and the Minister of Defence. Then we have to make a divergence, because the Esher Committee deals with a set of circumstances entirely different from the circumstances here. The Esher Committee suggest the appointment of the head of the Intelligence Department of the Navy and the head of the Intelligence Department of the Army. We have no equivalent officers in the Commonwealth. Therefore I would suggest that the technical members should be the Chief of the Staff, the Inspector-General and the Chief Naval Officer. The Esher Committee lays special stress upon the desirability of having a certain number of permanent technical advisers on the Council of Defence, because they point out that in no other way could continuity be secured in carrying out the defence programme of Great Britain. The same consideration would obviously apply to the defence programme of this Commonwealth. But, in addition, I propose, as I proposed last year, to have on the Council a certain number of members of both Houses of the Commonwealth Parliament—say, one from each House. And for this reason: As things stand at present in the Commonwealth, we get no parliamentary responsibility of any sort or kind in connexion with defence matters. We get a nominal responsibility on the part of the Minister, but when Ministers are changing, say, every six months or so, I put it to the Senate—what responsibility of any sort or kind can we get in connexion with the defence of the Commonwealth?

Senator HIGGS.—Ministers do not take any.

Senator MATHESON.—One Minister succeeds another. First we had Sir John Forrest; then we had Sir William Lyne; then we had Senator Drake; then we had Mr. Chapman; then we had Senator Dawson; now we have Mr. McCay. Under these circumstances, what can we expect from the defence system of the Commonwealth? The control practically drifts into the hands of the permanent officers of the Military Department.

Senator HIGGS.—Do not these remarks apply to all the Departments under the circumstances?

Senator MATHESON.—They do apply, as the honorable senator has said, to all the Departments to some extent, but in the Defence Department the difficulty is accentuated.

Senator PEARCE.—The policy of defence depends more upon the Minister than is the case in the other Departments.

Senator MATHESON.—The control of the Defence Department is more a matter of policy, whereas the control of a Department like the Post-office is more a matter of routine. When once the lines of policy are laid down in the Customs Department, or the Post-office, the Departments run perfectly smoothly. But in the Defence Department circumstances are changing from day to day, and the policy has to be changed to suit the ever-varying needs of the Commonwealth, and all the changes which necessarily take place in defence policy throughout the world. Under these circumstances it is absolutely necessary, to my mind, to bring Parliament more in touch with its actual responsibility. It is impossible to see how this can be secured unless the question of defence is entirely separated from party politics. That has been the trouble with the defence question from the very commencement. Whenever the party in power were attacked on any defence question they gave in sooner than force matters to an issue on a question about which members knew extremely little. Therefore the defence of the Commonwealth suffered more and more, every time an attack was made upon the Government, from the apathy of Ministers.

Senator HIGGS.—We ought to make every member of Parliament join some regiment.

Senator MATHESON.—I think it would do a good deal of good, but of course it is impossible. Now, I come to the Inspector-General. He can be left off the Council of Defence, or not, as the Parliament thinks fit. There are many advantages in including the Inspector-General in the Council of Defence. But the one place where he ought not to be is upon the Army Council. Because his duty is to report upon how the members of the Army Council carry out the instructions of the Defence Committee. That is his *raison d'être*. And though his advice would probably be extremely useful to the Council of Defence, I do not know

that it is absolutely essential that he should be a member of that body. The important point that I want again to emphasize is that the Council of Defence should arrange the policy of the Defence Forces, and should consist partly of Members of Parliament, and partly of experts, and that it should report to Parliament direct. That is where another trouble has arisen in connexion with this Department. Reports go in to the Defence Department, and unless they happen to please or suit the views of the Minister in charge of the Department, they get pigeon-holed, and it is impossible for Members of Parliament to ascertain what they contain. We want to know the truth, and the only way in which we can get the truth is to have this Committee reporting to us direct. Now I come to the question of the Army Council. I think I have made sufficiently clear to the Senate the difference that exists between the Council of Defence and the Army Council. What Lord Esher's Committee says of the Army Council is that it is not, and cannot be, a representative body as regards the several arms and departments. I want the Committee clearly to appreciate that, because according to the *Argus* report, it seems to be proposed that the Army Council or executive body should consist of the Minister of Defence, the Secretary of Defence, the Chief Staff Officer at Head-Quarters, and representatives of the militia, volunteers, and rifle clubs. This is absolutely at variance with fundamental principles. I have already stated that this Council ought simply to be a board of officers for carrying into effect the schemes approved by Parliament and by the Defence Committee. I do not wish to be entirely destructive in my criticism. I wish to be constructive as well. Because criticism is extremely easy. It is easy to say, "So-and-so is wrong"; but not always so easy to suggest what would be right. I have taken some trouble therefore to avoid that criticism being applied to myself. I have taken the trouble to analyze Lord Esher's scheme, and apply it as far as possible to the Commonwealth in connexion with this Army Council. Applying on a small scale the recommendations of Lord Esher's Committee to our needs, I would suggest that the Army Council should be constituted as follows:—First of all the Minister of Defence, the head of the Department; then four military men, who would be the executive chiefs of their various Departments, and upon

whom I have conferred the titles given to them by Lord Esher's Committee. They consist of the Chief of Staff, the Adjutant-General, the Quartermaster-General, and the Master-General of Ordnance. In addition to those we require to have a finance member and a naval member. But on no account—and on this point Lord Esher's Committee is most emphatic—should the Secretary of the Minister of Defence be a member of the Army Council, as apparently he would be under the scheme which has been prepared for the Commonwealth. His duties are to be purely secretarial, as between the Minister and Parliament, the other Departments of the State, and the law officers of the Crown. He ought to be responsible—which, apparently, he is not at present, as far as I can gather—for the actuarial and statistical returns in connexion with the Defence Department. I have had occasion several times lately to criticise the statistical statements furnished in various reports, and I have been told that those were statements emanating from Major-General Hutton, and that the Department was not responsible for them. That is not a position of affairs which ought to prevail. The Secretary of the Department ought to be absolutely responsible for all the statistical information placed before Parliament, and the Department ought to be responsible through him for their accuracy. Each member of the board, plus the Minister, would have specific duties to perform, and a specific Department to control. In order to prove to the Senate and to the public that that is advisable, and that there is no difficulty in applying Lord Esher's recommendations to our circumstances, as far as defence is concerned, I have taken a very useful table, which will be found at the end of Major-General Hutton's report for 1902-3, and which is called Appendix A. It sets out the duties of the various officers under Major-General Hutton's control, and I have allocated those duties more or less in accordance with Lord Esher's recommendations to the officers whose titles I have mentioned. They are as follows:—The Chief Staff Officer would have the following duties:—

General supervision as Chief Staff Officer, administrative questions involving action in Parliament, and decision of Minister of Defence. military intelligence. Topography. Schemes of defence. Defence system of Australia, and all details in that connexion. Basis of military organization. Plans of concentration for war.

Then we have the Adjutant-General, who would have to deal with—

Discipline, practical instruction, and training. Returns and statistics connected with the personnel. Enlistment and discharge. Drafting and issuing of general orders and instructions. Drafting of regulations. Appointment and promotion of officers, and their qualifications. Peace organization of forces. Mobilization. Military education, instruction, training, drill and examinations, rifle ranges and rifle clubs, rifle shooting. Supervision and instruction of the instructional staff. Schools of instruction of all kinds, and staff rides.

Then we have the Quartermaster-General, who would deal with—

Occupation and appropriation of barracks, &c. Supply of food, forage, fuel, light, and quarters. Movement of troops, and distribution of their stores and equipment. Land and water transport. Remounts. Patterns of dress and uniform. Organization of and instruction of the Army Service Corps. Medical service. Sanitation. Administration and command of the Army Medical Corps. As a temporary expedient the organization of an Australian Army Veterinary Department. Patterns and inventions. Care, maintenance, and distribution of warlike stores, arms, accoutrements, equipment, and clothing not in charge of the troops. Questions of armament and equipment other than artillery and engineers.

Then we have the Master General of Ordnance, who would deal with—

All armament and equipment. Personnel of the permanent and militia artillery. Stores. Experimental equipment. Artillery ranges and practice. Technical instruction of the artillery, &c. Inspection of warlike stores. Repairing workshops, control of magazines and store-houses not in charge of troops. Administration of the Army Ordnance Corps. Contracts for guns, ammunition, artillery stores. Defence works. Construction, maintenance and repair of fortifications, barracks, and store buildings. Preparation of designs of all military works. Military telegraphs. Custody of plans of works. Custody of lands in occupation of troops. Questions of engineer and submarine mining stores and equipment. Personnel and stores. Technical instruction of engineers, submarine miners, &c.

Then we have the Finance member, who would deal with the—

Preparation of annual estimates. Questions affecting pay of troops and allowances provided by regulations. Questions involving petty disbursements under the regulations. Minor questions of finance for recommendation to Minister. Collating data affecting annual estimates. Pay and allowances of the Head-Quarters Staff. Controlling and recording contracts, and obtaining stores from contractors. Custody of documents of all properties pertaining to the Department, and plans of all departmental properties not in occupation of the troops. Purchase and leases of the above. Custody of lands not in occupation of the troops.

Finance Department, supervision of all expenditure.

Senator Matheson.

Then we have one innovation of Lord Escher's recommendations. That is the Naval member. One has to bear in mind that there are only about 1,500 members of the Naval Forces of the Commonwealth, and it would be absolutely preposterous to have a full Naval Board, separate from the Army Council, to deal with the affairs of our extremely small Navy. Such a council might become necessary later on, when we increase our ships and increase the number of men enrolled. But at present it would be absolutely unnecessary. Therefore I suggest that a naval member should be included, who should be given general supervision as Chief Naval Staff Officer, equivalent to Chief of Military Staff. Control of entire Naval Force about 1,500 men. That practically embraces everything. As to the Inspector-General, I want to add a few words in connexion with Lord Escher's report. Lord Escher's Committee says—

The Inspector-General and his staff should have no executive or administrative functions. They are intended to provide the Secretary of State and the Army Council with eyes and ears, and their reports should deal only with existing facts, pointing out defects, commenting upon efficiency, and thus enabling the governing body of the army to know the practical results of the measures it adopts. . . . The Inspector-General should form an opinion, either personally or through his staff, as the Army Council may direct, on the efficiency of officers and men, on the handling of troops, on the standard and system of training, on the suitability of equipment, and generally on all that affects the readiness of the forces for war. He should act as an umpire at manœuvres, and have a small personal staff. He should prepare an annual report to the Army Council, and also send reports on matters requiring immediate attention to the Secretary of the War Office.

Under these circumstances I think it must be clear to the Senate that, as I said before, the Inspector-General ought on no account to be a member of the Army Council, as is suggested apparently by the report of the Committee with regard to the Commonwealth Forces. That completes what I have to say on the subject of the Army Council, and the Council of Defence. I have dealt with the question fairly briefly, but at the same time I hope that I have made the various duties of these bodies sufficiently clear to the members of the Senate. Now, I wish, as shortly as possible, to deal with the reasons why a Council of Defence, reporting direct to Parliament, is an absolute necessity. To do that I shall have to go back to a small extent over the history of the Defence Department.

Senator DAWSON.—Is it true that the honorable senator has been “slating” me in my absence?

Senator MATHESON.—No; I have nothing whatever to complain of so far as the honorable senator is concerned. On the contrary, it was not until Senator Dawson got into possession of what I may call an impregnable fortress like Port Arthur, that it was possible to get any information whatever. I was just about to come to that very point. The Senate will remember that in July, 1903, I had occasion to move for a report to be furnished on the deficiencies of armament and equipment. Major-General Hutton had made a speech in Adelaide, in which he pointed out that the defects in both respects were very great, and the Government were doing all in their power to prevent a disclosure of the absolute facts.

Senator DAWSON.—That was in regard to small arms.

Senator MATHESON.—It was in regard to all equipment—in regard to water bottles and other matters which I forget; it is not necessary to go into details.

Senator DAWSON.—The honorable senator's complaint is about the heavy guns, and Major-General Hutton spoke about small arms. Major-General Hutton was entirely wrong, because it was just a matter of distribution.

Senator MATHESON.—On the 2nd July, 1903, I stated that there was, at any rate, one battery at Albany, which was a shell trap, and that the principal armament of that fort consisted of 6-inch guns. On the 8th July of that same year, Sir John Forrest, in a press interview, characterized my charges as romances, but I shall prove that they were absolute facts. Sir John Forrest in the same interview asked what experience or knowledge I had to justify me in posing as an authority, and in the *Herald* of the 7th of that month he is reported as saying—

I don't think the place is as bad as he makes out. I have not been furnished with any report that it is not all right. They would have said so if anything were wrong. Notwithstanding that, however, I have asked for a report.

On the 17th of the month, there appeared in the *Age* a telegram from the General Officer Commanding:—

I consider the danger suggested as relatively insignificant.

The Senate will notice that the General Officer Commanding could not deny that the

facts were exactly as I had stated them; all he said was that the danger was “relatively insignificant.”

Senator DAWSON.—Contrast that with the last report of the General Officer Commanding.

Senator MATHESON.—The last report contains nothing about the state of the defences at Albany.

Senator DAWSON.—Yes, the General Officer Commanding refers to the great danger arising from the fort not being fully armed.

Senator MATHESON.—But on the occasion to which I refer, he was dealing with a specific statement that one of the batteries was a shell trap. There is a wall of rock behind, and any shell thrown must splinter and decimate the men in charge of the guns below. I wish the Senate to observe that Sir John Forrest, though head of the Defence Department, knew nothing whatever about the state of affairs at Albany. This is the more remarkable, in view of the fact that Sir John Forrest is a representative of Western Australia, and had, presumably, as Premier of that State, previously visited this battery. But the great point is that Sir John Forrest was in charge of this Department; and his want of knowledge in this instance emphasizes the necessity for the appointment of an intelligent Committee of Defence. When Senator Drake, as the representative of the Government, replied to me, he pooh-poohed my statements, which he said could do no harm, as they did not come from an authoritative source. Senator Drake further questioned the patriotism of my action, and said that no useful purpose could be served by bringing this matter up. In that I am quite willing to admit Senator Drake was quite right, for I certainly served no useful purpose, seeing that I got no satisfaction, and that matters to-day remain exactly as they were then. It will be remembered that my motion for a return was carried by the Senate; but, nevertheless, it was completely ignored by the Department. Month after month went by, and no attempt was made to furnish the information for which the Senate, and not, it must be observed, Senator Matheson, had called. Finally, on the 30th June, 1904, I received a note from the Secretary of the Department, stating that the annual report for 1903-4 would shortly be in the hands of the Minister, and would give all the information in regard to the deficiencies

of equipment which, in the opinion of the General Officer Commanding, it was advisable to make public. That note I received nearly twelve months after the report had been called for by the Senate. I submit, again, that if there had been a Council of Defence, the Senate would, within a month, have received the information to which we were perfectly entitled, and we should have been able to deal with the report when the Estimates were under consideration. But there is something even more interesting to be said in connexion with the forts. Turning up some old papers a few days ago, I came across a communication sent by Sir William Lyne, when acting Minister of Defence, to the *Age*, on the 30th June, 1902. My statements, it ought to be observed, were made on the 2nd July, 1903, and the Senate will be amazed when I read what Sir William Lyne said, as follows:—

Without specifying Queenscliff or any other place where forts are employed, I may say that certain forts are described to me as so many shell traps.

When a man says "without specifying Queenscliff or any other place" he obviously means his readers to infer that Queenscliff is the place to which he alludes.

Senator DAWSON.—What does the honorable senator suggest? That the Queenscliff fort is a shell-trap?

Senator MATHESON.—That is apparently what Sir William Lyne intends the public to conclude, and he went on to say—

They may be retained in some form as a decoy, and will be manned with brave men whose lives may be sacrificed for the country's safety.

It will be seen that the Acting Minister of Defence was, on the 30th June, 1902, perfectly well aware that certain of our forts were shell-traps, in which it would be dangerous for men to stand in time of war, and yet to this day no steps have been taken to rectify the defects.

Senator DAWSON.—Has the honorable senator seen the Queenscliff fort?

Senator MATHESON.—I have never been inside the fort.

Senator DAWSON.—If the honorable senator had seen the fort he would realize the absurdity of his statements.

Senator MATHESON.—The honorable senator speaks with the authority of an ex-Minister of Defence, whereas I am speaking simply as one of the public, of the public utterances of another ex-Minister of Defence, so that the Senate may place the

views of one as against the views of the other, both probably being equally competent to form an opinion. This instance only shows the extent to which opinions may differ on any one subject. We have arrived at the fact that quite apart from being a shell-trap, Albany is not defended in any sense of the word. The 6-inch guns are absolutely useless to protect the mine-field, for which, if honorable senators read Major-General Hutton's report, they will see the guns were intended. Those guns would be out-ranged by guns on any modern cruisers sent to attack the forts. Then at Albany, there is no search-light apparatus, no plant for generating electric light, and no staff of submarine engineers.

Senator DAWSON.—About a month ago submarine engineers were sent to Albany.

Senator MATHESON.—Of course I accept the ex-Minister's explanation, but so far as the reports and the Army list are concerned, no submarine miners or engineers are stationed at Albany, or, in fact, in Western Australia. I am sure the ex-Minister of Defence deserves the thanks of the Commonwealth if he was the means of having these men sent to the fort as a very necessary complement to the defences of that State. This is what the Colonial Defence Committee, the great English authority, had to say on fixed defences in their report, dated 30th March, 1901:—

The object of fixed defences is to deter the enemy's vessels from approaching within the range at which his fire would be effective.

That is to say, the guns in the fixed defences or forts should be able to out-range any guns likely to be brought against them, or otherwise the former are absolutely useless. There is no use whatever in paying thirty-six men, as we do year after year, to play at the defence of Albany, unless the guns of which they have charge are able to out-range any guns likely to be brought against them. What the result of such weak defences is we have seen in connexion with the Japanese war. The ships or batteries containing long range guns are out of the range of the defending forces, and are able to shell and destroy the latter. There are no guns that would be of any use in the defence of the Commonwealth for long range purposes except a 9·2 inch gun—no gun of a lower calibre would be of any value. I know that Senator Dawson holds views different from my own on this subject.

Senator DAWSON.—I do not hold different views as to the efficiency of the gun, but it is a question of cost.

Senator MATHESON.—The question of cost cannot be considered in connexion with defences, but must be put on one side altogether. We must make our defences efficient, or it is not worth while having any defences.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—That is a large proposition.

Senator MATHESON.—What would be said of a manufacturer who, in the face of competition, was satisfied with inferior plant?

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—That is another matter.

Senator MATHESON.—The positions are identical.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—If a manufacturer has not the money to get a new plant, what is to happen?

Senator MATHESON.—If we have not the means for adequate defences, why should we waste £700,000 per annum on plant which we know to be inferior?

Senator CLEMONS.—Must every manufacturer have the maximum of capital? Cannot a manufacturer get on with a little less?

Senator MATHESON.—Every manufacturer who is worth his salt throws out his old plant as soon as better plant is invented, as the honorable senator would know if he were a mercantile man.

Senator CLEMONS.—A manufacturer would have to be worth something more than "his salt" to do business in that way.

Senator MATHESON.—What is the alternative if a manufacturer cannot obtain the best plant? He must see his competitors beating him year after year, and ultimately he must become bankrupt.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—Does the honorable senator not think that some little consideration should be given to the element of cost.

Senator MATHESON.—I quite agree with the honorable and learned senator, but if we in Parliament consider that the cost is beyond us we ought to abandon the business altogether. Do not let us go on dragging £700,000 out of the Commonwealth each year for what we know to be a farce.

Senator CLEMONS.—Is it not possible to secure efficiency for that expenditure?

Senator DAWSON.—Cannot we secure efficiency without 9·2 guns, which cost about £30,000 each?

Senator MATHESON.—We cannot secure efficient defence without 9·2 guns in those places we wish to defend. We have to settle on what places we desire to defend, and if it be decided that Western Australia is not worth defending, well and good.

Senator CLEMONS.—No one would dare to say that.

Senator MATHESON.—I am glad to hear that remark, because I quite expected Senator Clemons to express a contrary opinion about Western Australia. If the Constitution is worth anything, and we desire to pay regard to that particular provision which makes this Parliament responsible for the defence of the States, those defences ought to be placed in an efficient condition.

Senator CLEMONS.—We cannot be asked to do that regardless of expense.

Senator MATHESON.—If proper defences cannot be provided, let us make no pretence at defences. Do not let us lead the British Government, the Admiral of the Station, and the people to suppose that Albany is defended, when it is defenceless. Even the 6-inch guns at Albany are not modern guns, and do not possess the penetrative power and other advantages which are possessed by guns of similar calibre turned out at the present day.

Senator DRAKE.—Has the honorable senator made any calculation of what would be the total cost of defending Australia on that basis?

Senator MATHESON.—I am not in a position to make any such calculation. That is why we want the Council of Defence. We are not in a position to arrive at a conclusion. The Minister will not make such a calculation, and, if the responsible adviser of the Minister does so, and the amount involved is larger than the Government care to spend, the Minister, as Sir George Turner did, takes his pen, and sweeps off half.

Senator DRAKE.—That was because he knew Parliament would not vote the money.

Senator MATHESON.—I speak subject to correction, but I think that last year Major-General Hutton stated that it was essential that £125,000 should be spent. Sir George Turner then took his pen, and reduced the estimate by 50 per cent.

Senator DRAKE.—That was because Parliament would not have voted the money.

Senator MATHESON.—Parliament never had the opportunity, and we all know

that Parliament cannot increase a vote. Why blame Parliament when the blame lies with the Government?

Senator DRAKE.—Because a general pledge had been made to Parliament that expenditure would be cut down.

Senator MATHESON.—I do not wish to contradict the honorable and learned senator rudely, but there was no such general pledge. The pledge was that the money spent on the Head-Quarters Staff, and so on, would be reduced.

Senator CLEMONS.—Does the honorable senator think that we could afford 9'2 guns at every port and harbor in the Commonwealth?

Senator MATHESON.—We ought either to drop any pretensions at defences or place 9'2 guns at the places we wish to defend. It is a farce to spend money, year after year, in supporting garrisons and places which could not be defended with the armament provided.

Senator CLEMONS.—Some of us might modestly suggest that there were other ports to be defended besides Albany.

Senator MATHESON.—Yes; there is, of course, Hobart, and also Launceston. I do not, however, wish to raise State questions, but to deal with the matter on as broad a basis as possible.

Senator CLEMONS.—Could we have 9'2 guns at all those ports?

Senator MATHESON.—I really cannot answer the honorable senator; that is a matter for the Council of Defence.

Senator DAWSON.—Such armament is not required in all the States, because there are only two points of entrance into Australia—Queensland and Western Australia.

Senator MATHESON.—That is a possible argument, with which, however, I do not quite agree, though I understand the drift of the honorable senator's interjection. I wish to lay further stress on this question of the 9'2 guns. On the 29th August, of the present year, a telegram came from England to the effect that the British Admiralty are abolishing 4'7 and 6-inch guns in favour of 9'2 guns; and I may say that my notes for this address were put together before that telegram arrived. At the same time, I do not wish to be misunderstood. The duty of 9'2 guns is to keep the enemy out of range, and prevent them from shelling the forts, but 6-inch guns are also absolutely necessary for the protection of narrow channels, where the enemy must come within short range.

I do not wish to be understood for an instant to say that the 6-inch guns are not necessary. In those places where we had not 9'2 inch guns, the enemy, after having shelled their batteries, and destroyed the 6-inch guns, would be able to send in their torpedo boat destroyers, and destroy the mine-field. The protection of all these ports, I understand, is the mine-field, which is laid down under the immediate protection of the 6-inch guns. Now, the 6-inch gun is a quick firer. A certain number of shots can be fired extremely rapidly, because the cartridge can be put into it by a man. But anything above a 6-inch gun requires machinery for loading, and therefore a very much reduced number of shots can be fired in the same time. I hope that up to that point I have the Senate with me in proving the necessity for a Council of Defence. We now come to the 13th of July of the current year. On that occasion Senator Pearce wished to know how many obsolete guns were being used by the field artillery, and Senator Dawson said that of his personal knowledge he could say nothing on the subject, but that he had made it his business to inquire at the Department, and that the reply he got was that the Department was utterly unaware of any obsolete guns being used by the field artillery at the present time. On the 28th of July, 1904, I moved for a return, which was laid upon the table on the 11th of August. It is an analysis of the schedule of field guns in present service, as shown in Appendix K of the General Officer Commanding's report of the 1st May, 1904. Of eighty-two guns, sixteen are 15-pounder guns with the modern breech action, and to that extent up-to-date; twelve are 15-pounder guns, with the obsolete breech action; sixteen are 12-pounder guns, which have the obsolete breech action, and are going to be converted; thirty are muzzle-loaders, fit for nothing but the scrap heap, or for parks; four are breech-loading howitzers, with the obsolete breech action, and four are breech-loading 40-pounder siege guns, with the obsolete breech action.

Senator DAWSON.—But they can be sent home and converted.

Senator MATHESON.—It is quite true that they can be converted, but what would be the cost of converting these siege guns?

Senator DAWSON.—About £1,500.

Senator MATHESON.—It could be done at a cost of £1,500, to say nothing of the freight. I wish to explain why the obsolete breech action completely puts the guns

out of account, as far as efficiency is concerned. At the barracks here a man is taught to work these guns on a one motion breech action. The object of the tuition is to teach the men to fire as many shots as possible in a given time, and to do that each man must become a mere machine in loading the gun. After he has become a mere automaton, he goes down to Queenscliff, where he finds himself placed in charge of a gun with the obsolete breech action, which requires three motions. What is the consequence? After he loads the gun, he slams the breech to, and does not give the handle the other two turns. When another man pulls a string, the cartridge goes off, the breech block is blown out behind, and if a man is there he is killed. It is reported in the press this morning that on one of His Majesty's ships of war a breech block blew out, and killed several men.

Senator DAWSON.—Is it the fault of the guns at Queenscliff, or the fault of the petty officer in not giving the requisite order?

Senator MATHESON.—It may be the fault of the officer, but it arises from the fact that after a man has been trained at the barracks here to the use of one gun he is put in charge of another gun, and he has become more or less of a machine in giving his orders, quite forgetting that three turns are necessary instead of one. These guns are more dangerous to people behind them than to people in front of them. I now come to another question, which the Council of Defence will have to deal with, and that is the cost of converting these obsolete guns. I question whether we are justified in spending a single penny in that direction. To begin with, the guns are absolutely obsolete from the point of view of the British Government. For their field artillery the British Government have now adopted the 18-pounder gun. Last year I called attention to that fact, and one would have imagined that in the interval some steps would have been taken by the Department of Defence to ascertain the cost of the new 18-pounder guns, which are described as being extremely efficient. and a great improvement on anything in use at present by Continental nations.

Senator DAWSON.—Only at long range.

Senator MATHESON.—The description reads as follows:—

The new guns throw 18-lb. and 12½-lb. projectiles, the former shell being the heaviest of

the kind in Europe. Great rapidity of fire can be obtained. The guns ride close to the ground, the breech mechanism is of the single motion pattern, and fixed ammunition—that is to say, the cartridge and shell are combined—is used. These characteristics have enabled as many as twenty-eight rounds to be fired with one gun in a minute.

When the Government of Great Britain are discarding all their 15-pounder and 12-pounder guns in order to adopt the 18-pounder guns, I ask the Senate whether it is a wise policy on our part to spend £523 in converting a 12-pounder gun into a 15-pounder? It is impossible for a private senator to express an opinion on the point, but to most business men it would certainly seem a very doubtful line of policy. Here, again, I wish to point out the absolute want of business capacity shown in the Defence Department in connexion with the valuation of their property. In a report made on the 21st June, 1901, a committee of experts advised that a complete schedule and valuation should be made of all the transferred military stores and property. It will be remembered that only yesterday I received a reply from the Attorney-General, to the effect that no such valuation has ever been made. Although the States will have to be paid for all these stores and guns, still no steps of any sort have been taken to assess their value, or come to any arrangement with the States.

Senator DAWSON. — New South Wales has already been charged for some of its obsolete guns.

Senator MATHESON. — I think that the honorable senator is mistaken, because we have the word of the Attorney-General, and of the Department, that the contrary is the fact.

Senator DAWSON.—Well, the fact is the contrary.

Senator MATHESON.—There, again, we get a little evidence of the necessity for a Council of Defence. We get the ex-Minister of Defence and the Attorney-General absolutely at variance on a point on which there ought to be no doubt.

Senator DAWSON.—I know that certain obsolete guns were charged against the Commonwealth, and that when we asked the Government of New South Wales if they would undertake the cost of distributing them to municipal councils and to public gardens they agreed to do so. That was done before I left the office.

Senator MATHESON.—The honorable senator is quite right. I can explain how it arose. The State Government agreed to distribute the guns, and not to make a charge against the Commonwealth; and no valuation has been made because none was necessary. I now come to the thirty muzzle-loaders in the schedule. Out of eighty-two apparently effective guns, thirty are obsolete muzzle-loaders, which, according to Major-General Hutton, are absolutely useless. At page 24 of his report of 1st May, 1903, he says—

The obsolete type of muzzle-loading guns now in existence in the various States is useless for service purposes.

When the municipalities in Western Australia applied the other day to have these guns distributed to them for ornamental purposes they received a reply to the effect that the guns could not be dispensed with.

Senator DAWSON.—Is that quite correct? Did not Mr. James absolutely refuse to bear the cost of the transfer of these guns from one place to another?

Senator MATHESON.—No; the honorable senator is mistaken there. The guns that were offered to Mr. James were two 7-inch muzzle-loaders—guns of position—which were sent out by the British Government in 1884, and have been lying in the sand at Karrakatta ever since, under a galvanized iron roof. The muzzle-loading field guns are absolutely useless for training or anything else, and are kept on the schedule of effective guns simply to deceive the public of Western Australia. We are told that the defence of that State consists of ten guns, when, as a matter of fact, only two of them are effective.

Senator DAWSON.—The fact remains that Mr. James refused to incur one penny of expenditure on the transfer of any obsolete guns to any garden or municipality.

Senator MATHESON.—The honorable senator is mistaken there.

Senator DAWSON.—Well, I read the papers.

Senator MATHESON.—I have also seen the papers, which show that Mr. James, in reply to a communication from the Federal Government, wrote:—

The military authorities inform me that there are at present only two guns which could be granted to parks, &c., namely, those stored at Karrakatta; but these would entail a heavy cost in removal and mounting. As the guns referred to have little interest, I question if any public body would care to pay the cost of removal, &c. There are eight smaller guns which will be avail-

able when replaced by ones of more modern pattern. These guns would, no doubt, be suited for the purposes indicated in your letter.

In view of the above facts, I think it wise to deal with the question as it arises, and do not to commit the Government as to its future action.

The municipalities, I may say, are perfectly prepared to take eight muzzle-loading field guns; but the Defence Department wishes to swell the list of apparently effective guns in Western Australia. I am not quite sure about Victoria; but in several of the eastern States muzzle-loading field guns are still kept on the effective list, although they are absolutely useless. When I moved my motion last year for a return of the deficient stores, Sir John Forrest, as usual, went out of his way to have an interview with the premier. He said that there were ten modern efficient field guns in New South Wales, and pooh-poohed my statement. When we get this return, after very great difficulty, we find that New South Wales has only four modern efficient field guns with the up-to-date single breech action, and that the other six guns have the obsolete breech action, and are not, as he terms them, modern efficient field guns. So much for the information that gets placed at the disposal of the Minister of Defence in the Department.

Senator DAWSON.—What branch of the Department does the honorable senator mean?

Senator MATHESON.—I have not the Minister of Defence, and therefore I do not know.

Senator DAWSON.—But the honorable senator is making charges against three or four branches of the Department.

Senator MATHESON.—I absolve the Minister, whom I regard as simply a mouthpiece of the Department. On the 30th of August last, in the fort at Sea Head, Sydney, the men were firing 80-pound muzzle-loaders, which would be absolutely useless in time of war.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—Is there some part of the training which might be carried on with even a dummy gun?

Senator MATHESON.—I do not know, as I am not an expert. Of course, the honorable and learned senator understands the distinction between a muzzle-loading and a breech-loading gun. It is perfectly obvious that the training of a man in the case must be different from the training of a man in the other case.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—I should think that the drill as to position would be the same in the case of the muzzle-loading gun as in the case of the breech-loading gun.

Senator MATHESON.—The honorable and learned senator will find on investigation that that is not so.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—There is no harm in a man knowing how to load an ordinary fowling piece; it does not injure him in learning how to load a rifle.

Senator MATHESON.—I never said there was any harm in it. I say that it is a complete waste of time and money. Even every breech-loading gun has a different throw of its projectile; and it is laid down in one of the reports of the Colonial Defence Committee, that it is extremely desirable that the captain of a gun should be attached to the gun he is going to use in time of war, in order that he may know its tricks, to such an extent do breech-loading guns differ. How useless must it be, therefore, to train artillerymen to use muzzle-loading guns! Now I come back to Western Australia, and in the position of that State with reference to defence I find one of my strongest arguments in favour of a Council of Defence. From the very commencement of the Commonwealth, we in Western Australia have suffered from systematic neglect.

Senator DAWSON.—Colonel Riccardo is there; what more does Western Australia want?

Senator MATHESON.—I find from the Estimates that in 1902, the Albany garrison figured at forty men; but as a matter of fact, they only had about 50 per cent. of the total number in the garrison. That is to say they had twenty. Senator O'Connor when Vice-President of the Executive Council, pooh-poohed my statement to that effect, and said that it was the imagination of a fevered brain. I passed over to Western Australia a fortnight later, and investigated the situation. I found that there were enrolled at Albany at that moment eight commissioned and non-commissioned officers, and thirteen men, that is to say, twenty-one men in all. So much for the imagination of my fevered brain! Of these men several were on leave. So that, as a matter of fact, on an average there were on the roll during one week in October, 1902, only five men per diem at that fort—not sufficient to clean the guns. The then Minister of Defence, Sir John Forrest, when the

question was brought before him, was of course not aware of the position. Proving that I was thoroughly right, sixteen men were sent over in 1902, including a sergeant. Then what happened? There was a most ridiculous position of affairs. These men were enrolled under the Victorian Act. When they reached Western Australia they were under no Act whatever. The Officer Commanding in Western Australia had no legal power to enforce any penalty or any discipline on any one of these men. The ex-Minister of Defence can confirm that statement. Until we passed the Commonwealth Defence Act, members of the Defence Force in one State, who were sent into another State, were absolutely free of all control, owing to the fact that they were enrolled under a State Act, which was in force only in the State from which they had come.

Senator DAWSON.—That is right, but it must be remembered that they were under the regulations.

Senator MATHESON.—These men were sent over simply to avoid enrolling men in Western Australia. Now the Department has gone to the other extreme. At Albany they have thirty men and no staff.

Senator DAWSON.—In Melbourne they have all staff and no men!

Senator MATHESON.—I say nothing about Melbourne, because I do not know, but I want to make clear the position so far as Western Australia is concerned. I want to show that Western Australia has suffered from systematic neglect from the beginning. On the 30th June, 1902, provision was made on the Estimates for £5,600 for drill halls in Western Australia. We find from the Estimates, dated 30th June, 1903, that only £640 of that sum had been spent. The rest had been saved. Then, again, when we come to the Estimates dated 30th June, 1904, as I pointed out last year, £13,270 was voted. At least £9,000 of that was never spent.

Senator DAWSON.—Was not that to be put into small arms?

Senator MATHESON.—No; only £5,000 was put into small arms, a very small proportion of which went to Western Australia. This treatment of Western Australia is not confined to the Defence Department. It is part of a systematic course of neglect of Western Australia on the part of the Commonwealth Government. I find in the Estimates for 1902 that a sum

of £2,300 was set aside for Customs buildings at Perth. In the Estimates for 1903 the same sum for the same buildings is set down. The buildings have not been erected. In the Estimates for 1904 we find the same sum over again; and, probably, when the Estimates for 1904-5 come along, we shall find the same sum upon them which we have had year after year. It seems to be nobody's interest to see that the money is spent. I went into the question of the defence of Fremantle on a previous occasion, so that it is of no use to deal with that again. I come to another point in connexion with the defence of Fremantle, and it is this: The present proposal, as I understand it, is to put 7½ inch guns into the Fremantle fortifications. I must insist that no arm is of any use for the defence of any of these forts and for keeping off an enemy but 9½-inch guns. That, again, is another question which a Defence Committee would go into and advise Parliament upon.

Senator DAWSON.—What time would elapse between the placing of an order and the delivery of the guns?

Senator MATHESON.—It is of no use to put such questions to me. What I am advocating is that our defences should be looked after in a business-like way. I say again that we shall have no satisfaction until we have a Council of Defence.

Senator DRAKE.—Where are we to get the money from?

Senator MATHESON.—If we cannot get the money we shall know our position. We shall know what it is necessary to spend when we have the money. But at present there is no responsibility of any sort. I insist that Parliament must take the responsibility.

Senator DRAKE.—The honorable senator has told us what is wanted.

Senator MATHESON.—But I know what every one will say. They will say, "But Senator Matheson is not an expert." I am making these statements in order to call attention to what I believe to be the true facts of the case, but to call attention to them will be of no use until we have a body of experts whose duty it will be to advise Parliament.

Senator DRAKE.—We cannot do any good until we have the money.

Senator MATHESON.—Very well, but let us know what is wanted.

Senator HIGGS.—Would it not be cheaper in case of invasion to let the enemy destroy Fremantle and rebuild it afterwards?

Senator MATHESON.—A member of the Legislative Council of Western Australia said exactly the same thing some years ago.

Senator STYLES.—It has been said here also.

Senator MATHESON.—I am aware that Senator Styles has said that there are so few people in Western Australia—only 200,000 or so—that it would be more advisable to bring them over to Victoria in case of invasion. That is the way that questions affecting Western Australia are treated in the Senate. The representatives of the eastern States sit together and poohpoo every claim that Western Australia has for consideration from the Commonwealth Parliament.

Senator HIGGS.—And Mr. Reid gives that State no representation in the Cabinet.

Senator MATHESON.—Mr. Reid, according to common report, offered an honorary portfolio to an ex-Minister in another House, but he, to save his pride, would not take it. That is the current report; I do not know whether it is true. If the interests of the State suffer, Mr. George Reid is not to blame, but the gentleman who would not pocket his pride.

Senator STYLES.—He wanted to pocket the fees; he did not believe in working for nothing.

Senator MATHESON.—Is it supposed that the risk of invasion in the case of Western Australia is less than in the case of one of the eastern States?

Senator DAWSON.—It certainly is not.

Senator MATHESON.—Yet the representatives of the eastern States are prepared to vote money for the defence of Queenscliff and Sydney Heads, whilst the Government simply allocate 7-inch guns for the defence of Fremantle.

Senator GIVENS.—What are the eastern States to which the honorable senator refers?

Senator MATHESON.—Queensland, Victoria, and New South Wales.

Senator GIVENS.—The honorable senator must not include Queensland in that criticism.

Senator MATHESON.—Then I apologize to the honorable senator. I am glad that he takes a more Federal view of our interests than other senators do. But I am accustomed to hear such interjections from Senator Styles in connexion with the Western Australian railway, and every other claim that Western Australia has upon the

Commonwealth. From a defence point of view, as showing the position which Western Australia occupies, let me quote what Major-General Hutton says—

The potential wealth of the gold-fields, and the vast extent of valuable and unoccupied land in the territories of Western Australia rendered the acquisition of that portion of the Australian Continent a most valuable prize to foreign nations. The strategical situation, moreover, of Western Australia, dominating, as it does, the southern side of the Indian Ocean, and the converging trade routes from the west, must be considered as of the greatest importance to British and Australian interests.

What have we to oppose to a well-equipped, well-trained, and well-organized expedition?

Senator GUTHRIE.—How are 20,000 men going to be brought here to invade Australia?

Senator MATHESON.—We have in Western Australia a field force of 107 officers, and 1,496 men. We have 2,704 men in all, who are charged with the defence of a State which is the most likely of all the States to be attacked, because it is a State from which gold can be taken at any moment.

Senator GUTHRIE.—Where is the attack coming from?

Senator MATHESON.—If there is not going to be any attack, why have we any defence whatever? We assume that an attack is likely at some time to be made when we make any arrangements for our defence.

Senator DE LARGIE.—Everybody admits that.

Senator MATHESON.—We have two modern field guns, but the men are suffering from want of instructors; and our artillery is trained to practice with muzzle-loaders. Major-General Hutton makes no pretence that we can defend ourselves. This is what he says—

Under the existing circumstances, Western Australia, for purposes of co-operative military assistance from the other States, is as far distant from direct means of reinforcement as New Zealand is from the eastern States of Australia.

That is what we in the west have got from Federation! We are denied the right to provide for our own defence, and the Commonwealth absolutely declines to provide for it. There can be no disputing that statement, because we have it on the authority of Major-General Hutton, who says that it is absolutely impossible under existing circumstances to defend Western Australia through the eastern States.

Senator HIGGS.—The honorable senator seems to have met with a similar reception in the Western Australian State Parliament.

Senator MATHESON.—I am not aware of that.

Senator GIVENS.—Who provided these obsolete guns in the first instance in Western Australia?

Senator MATHESON.—They were not obsolete when they were purchased. They have become obsolete.

Senator GIVENS.—Muzzle-loaders were obsolete thirty years ago.

Senator MATHESON.—But what do we find in the eastern States? We find that provision is made for 56,691 men in all, 28,000 of whom are in Victoria, and can be moved about by rail from one State to another. Honorable senators are agreeable to make adequate provision for the defence of their own States, but when it comes to the defence of Western Australia, the matter is of no importance.

Senator DAWSON.—Does the honorable senator think that is done designedly?

Senator MATHESON.—I do not suppose that it has been done deliberately, but it seems to have been a matter of complete indifference to Ministers of Defence that Western Australia ought to be defended. That I do say without fear of contradiction, and the proof of it is seen in the remarkable disparity between the provision made for Western Australia and for the eastern States.

Senator DRAKE.—Has the honorable senator worked out the provision in proportion to the population?

Senator MATHESON.—What has population got to do with the necessity for defence? It is locality that matters. It is the wealth that can be taken out of the country. It is the danger to the whole of Australia if Western Australia were seized and held by a foe. What have those considerations got to do with the relative number of men in the various States? I suppose Senator Drake would say that, as there were so many hundreds of people in one State, and so many hundreds of thousands in another, therefore, there ought to be ten men and a captain in Western Australia, and tens of thousands in other States. The Commonwealth has not contracted to defend the States in proportion to population. The contract is to defend the States regardless of population. Honorable senators will find the provision in section 119 of the Constitution.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—It does not use the words “regardless of population.”

Senator MATHESON.—Would Senator Sir Josiah Symon maintain that defence is to pay regard to population? The section to which I allude says—

The Commonwealth shall protect every State against invasion.

I quote that to emphasize the fact that Major-General Hutton says that it is impossible, under existing conditions, to defend Western Australia. And that is all the attention that the Commonwealth pays to our necessities in the West! The very scheme of defence that has been outlined, shows the absurdity of the whole business. When I came to look into this question, I found the following facts:—That our mounted infantry in Western Australia is brigaded for defence purposes with the mounted infantry of South Australia. That is to say, in time of war, they would be under one brigade staff. As a matter of fact, at the present moment, our infantry in Western Australia is brigaded with the infantry of Queensland, South Australia, and Tasmania. To have an effective field force under a mobilization scheme, you would have to bring all these regiments together under one commanding staff. I should like to ask how that is likely to be done effectually. That is another question that the Council of Defence would have to go into. The very basis of the Defence Forces of the Commonwealth would have to be reconsidered. The constitution of our defences is, as a matter of fact, based upon the idea of a force leaving Australia. It is based upon an offensive, not upon a defensive scheme. It is only under an offensive idea that the scheme becomes at all practicable, and then I question whether it could be carried out in an efficient way.

Senator DAWSON.—The proposal is that each State Commandant shall have representation on the Council of Defence.

Senator MATHESON.—It would be a difficult thing to have the States Commandants as members of the Council; though their advice should be asked for if necessary. I should like to read what Major-General Hutton had to say about organization, because then the Senate may judge how far he has been successful in carrying out his own schemes. In his report, dated the 1st of May, 1903, Major-General Hutton says—

The organization provides for the adequate local defence of the various States, and also for a sufficient field force for active operations in

defence of the whole Commonwealth. The conditions governing the defence of Australia are thus satisfactorily dealt with so far as organization is concerned.

The invasion of Australia for purposes of territorial aggression is under certain possible circumstances a military undertaking of no serious difficulty, but it could, and would only be, undertaken by a large force of the most highly-trained and best equipped troops, which an enemy or combination of enemies could place in the field. Military operations against such a foe could only be successfully carried out by troops well organized, ably led, and thoroughly equipped.

Under the circumstances that I have shown in connexion with the defences of Western Australia, can it be, for one instant, held by any reasonable man that the organization provides for the adequate local defence of that State? The conclusion is inevitable, that there must be some body, apart from political parties, to deal with defence matters—some body responsible and reporting to Parliament direct. In no other way shall we ever get any efficient defence organization. There is a great deal more that I should like to say, but I observe that it is now after mid-day, and I shall draw my remarks to a conclusion. I hope that what I have said is sufficient to convince honorable senators that unless the Government are prepared to constitute a proper Council of Defence some steps should be taken to force their hands.

Senator O'KEEFE (Tasmania).—One of the matters mentioned in the statement of the Government policy unfolded to us by the Attorney-General the other day is of particular importance to representatives of other States beyond those of Western Australia and South Australia. We have heard a good deal about the proposed Transcontinental Railway, but until I know more as to the practicability of the scheme—of the total cost, and as to the possibility or probability of the railway paying working expenses, if not the interest on cost of construction—I shall certainly not feel justified in voting for even an expenditure of £20,000 for the proposed survey.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—That was part of the policy of the late Government, and surely the honorable senator is not going to repudiate that policy now?

Senator O'KEEFE.—I did not say that I was in favour of the proposal when the late Government were in power. I was a supporter of the late Government in, I suppose, practically all their policy; and it does not lie well in the mouth of the Attorney-General to suggest inconsistency on my

part, seeing that he himself does not swallow everything which the present Government proposes.

Senator FINDLEY.—And, at any rate, Senator O'Keefe's remarks show that the Labour Party are not a bound party.

Senator O'KEEFE.—That is so. My position shows the hollowness of the charge that the Labour Party are a bound party.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—All they are bound to, is what they are bound to.

Senator O'KEEFE.—That is so; and the terms of the bond are publicly stated, so that they may be known by all. This scheme for a Transcontinental Railway is of prime importance to the smaller States. I hope I am as true a federalist as any man in this or the other chamber, but in a matter involving immense expenditure, it is the duty of representatives of the smaller States to see that the interests of those States are properly conserved. Tasmania staggers under a national debt, not so large as that of other States, but still large enough, and most of it has been incurred in connexion with the building of railways. Then, again, half the annual revenue of Tasmania is required to pay the interest on that national debt, and it seems rather unfair to the taxpayers of the small States, that they should be called upon to contribute towards the cost of a railway, the most direct benefits of which will go to Western Australia and South Australia. I do not say for a moment that this great railway will not prove of considerable convenience to all the States in providing quicker transit for mails and passengers; but no one can deny that the two States I have mentioned will benefit more than any of the other States of the Commonwealth. I think we are quite justified in looking at the project from this point of view, without laying ourselves open to the charge of being anti-Federalists. I now understand from the speech of Senator Matheson, and from interjections by Senator Pearce, and other Western Australian representatives, that the Government of that State have made a magnanimous offer. I knew that some offer had been made, but I thought that all it amounted to was that the Western Australian Government would make up any loss in interest on the cost of construction, or take a fair share of any loss, as divided between that State and South Australia. However, I am glad to hear from Senator Matheson that the offer made by the late Premier of Western Aus-

tralia is that all loss as between the earnings of the line and the working expenses, plus interest on the cost of construction, will be guaranteed by Western Australia for some period of years. If that be the case, no representative of any State need have much objection to supporting an expenditure of £20,000 for a survey.

Senator MATHESON.—What I said was that that is the offer, so far as I knew.

Senator GUTHRIE.—The only offer is that of Western Australia to indemnify South Australia for any loss.

Senator O'KEEFE.—But where would the other States "come in"?

Senator GUTHRIE. — The other States would pay.

Senator O'KEEFE.—We require some more information before we agree to the proposal for a survey of this line, and it has been suggested by Senator Pearce that we shall also have some details as to the water supply along the route. If the expenditure of £20,000 is undertaken for a survey, I presume that the construction of the line will follow. If the two States which are most directly concerned, and which will benefit most from the construction of the line, were willing to give to the taxpayers of other States some guarantee to make up even a portion of the loss, the representatives of those other States might be willing to come to some arrangement. Failing this guarantee, however, States with big public debts ought not to be asked to assist in building a railway to connect Western Australia and South Australia; and that is a view which I think cannot be regarded as anti-Federal. We have heard a great deal as to the reasons why the late Government were turned out of office. I do not wish to go into matters which might involve personalities, but I am justified in asking the reason for the delay there has been in Federal legislation for the last five or six months. Why is it that, although Parliament has been in session for six months, we have done so little business? I am sorry to say that, in my opinion, the whole of the blame must be laid at the door of Mr. Deakin. I admire that gentleman, not only for his charming personality, but his splendid abilities. I also admired Mr. Deakin for his statesmanship, but that admiration has ceased after what has recently occurred. Mr. Deakin likened the political position to three elevens in the cricket field, but I think his simile most unfortunate.

In the first place, it is impossible for three elevens to play together, and, in the second place, it is Mr. Deakin who has made legislation impossible during the last few months. What was the object of Mr. Deakin in taking the course he did, and how was his object achieved? His desire was to evolve two parties out of the three parties in Parliament; but surely Mr. Deakin was aware that for all practical purposes there were then only two parties in Parliament. He had known for three years that what was known as the third party had supported him and worked with him in the interests of the whole of Australia. What Mr. Deakin has succeeded in doing is to evolve four parties out of the three. It may be admitted that two of the parties sit on one side, and the other two on the other side, but each is a distinct party. Mr. Deakin has not been able to merge his protectionist followers in the free-traders; and the Labour Party, on the other hand, are certainly not merging their individuality in that of the Liberal or Radical Protectionists' wing. We have, however, formed an honorable working alliance, as the other two parties have done, for a term. On the part of Mr. Deakin there was a dream—or perhaps it had better be called a nightmare—as to the impossibility of carrying on constitutional government with three parties in the House of Representatives. He regarded the position as intolerable.

Senator PULSFORD.—So it was.

Senator O'KEEFE.—Is the position not as intolerable to-day, when there are four parties? As politicians, we must come down from the clouds to which Mr. Deakin has soared, and admit that for all practical purposes there were only two parties—that is, that the Labour Party and the Deakin Government were for all practical purposes one party. The alliance might not have been reduced to writing, but it was tacitly acknowledged by the people of Australia in the interests of progressive legislation. On the other hand, about one-third of the Parliament, representing, possibly, not one-third of the people of Australia, were banded together under Mr. Reid to stop progressive legislation.

Senator DRAKE.—It was the Labour Party which put out the Deakin Government.

Senator O'KEEFE.—Senator Drake knows very well that it was not the Labour Party which put out the Deakin Govern-

ment. Had it not been for the most treacherous political act we have seen in the Federal Parliament—the act of the men behind Mr. Reid—the Government would not have gone out.

Senator PULSFORD.—What treacherous act?

Senator O'KEEFE.—I do not see why a representative of New South Wales should ask that question. Some of the honorable senator's colleagues in another place stood on the floor of the House and shamelessly announced to the country that they were going to break the pledges they had given to the electors, their only reason being that Mr. Deakin considered vital a certain clause in the Arbitration Bill.

Senator DRAKE.—What Mr. Deakin said was that he would not consent to an amendment.

Senator O'KEEFE.—But for this political treachery, would the Government have been turned out? Did not Mr. Reid stand on the floor of the House and say that he agreed with Mr. Deakin that the inclusion of State servants under the Bill was unconstitutional and an infringement of States' rights? The present Prime Minister on that occasion turned his portly form round and said, "I am not going to cast black looks at any of my followers if they think otherwise." A number of them thought as Mr. Reid did, but they voted differently, announcing that they would break their pledges in order to displace Mr. Deakin, and make Mr. Reid Prime Minister. It is with politicians of that class that he finds himself associated to-day, and no one is more sorry for the fact than I am. At the last general election the people deliberately returned three parties. What mandate did Mr. Deakin then get from the people of Australia to come into this Parliament only a few months later, and cause all this hubbub, which is almost certain to lead to another general election within a very short time, and at a cost of £60,000 to the taxpayers?

Senator DRAKE.—Then we shall get two parties.

Senator O'KEEFE.—We may not get two parties then. What mandate, I repeat, had Mr. Deakin to cause the loss of all this time, and the expenditure of all this money, when the electors had deliberately sent in three parties, knowing when they did so that for all practical purposes two of them were working together as one? When Senator McGregor was speaking yesterday

about Mr. Deakin's action, Senator Drake interjected that the Labour Party had not said so and so prior to the late general election.

Senator DRAKE.—I thought he was attacking Mr. Deakin.

Senator O'KEEFE.—Whom have the late leader of Senator Drake and the protectionists in the present Coalition Government to thank for having put their Tariff on the statute-book? Have they to thank their present allies or their present opponents? The members of the Labour Party are twitted with being divided on the fiscal question. We do not make fiscalism the be-all and end-all of our politics, or the first plank in our platform. We put social legislation above fiscalism. I as a protectionist am very glad to be able to say that it was the protectionist members of the Labour Party who made it possible for us to have a protectionist Tariff. Will Senator Drake deny that?

Senator DRAKE.—Certainly not. It was not treated by them as a party question.

Senator O'KEEFE.—What happened when the Barton Government sent up their Tariff to the Senate which was almost evenly divided on the fiscal question? In their hour of trouble, when they wanted every vote which they could fairly look upon as their own, they found that Senator Fraser from Victoria, and Senator Douson from Tasmania, who had been returned to support their policy, were going over to the other side on almost every division. It was the presence of six protectionists in the Labour Party of eight senators, which made it possible for the Barton Government to get their Tariff through the Senate. Senator de Largie and I took a big political risk in voting for the Tariff, but we believed in protection, although it had not been made the first plank in our platform. The Barton Government were deserted not by the members of the Labour Party, but by two honorable senators who had been returned to support the whole of their policy. Yet the Deakin Party deserted the Labour Party and embraced the gentlemen who had bitterly fought them on every measure of progressive politics.

Senator DRAKE.—The honorable senator says that we deserted the Labour Party because we would not accept an amendment which they moved in our Bill.

Senator O'KEEFE.—The Deakin Party deserted a party which was always admitted to be their natural allies, not because they

would not accept an amendment in that Bill, but because after that amendment was out of the way, an agreement or understanding between the two parties was broken by Mr. Deakin.

Senator DRAKE.—I thought that we were beaten on that amendment.

Senator O'KEEFE.—That is so; but what did Mr. Deakin do after he had asked the Labour Party to form an honorable alliance with his party? Before his natural allies could consider his offer he asked the other party to join his party.

Senator DRAKE.—He said openly that he would receive proposals from either party.

Senator O'KEEFE.—Does the honorable and learned senator deny that before Mr. Deakin had received a reply from his natural allies he consented to a programme for a projected coalition, and put his name to it? At the time when he signed that programme he knew perfectly well that the Labour Party had not had time to meet and to consider whether they should form the working alliance which he had proposed.

Senator DRAKE.—Not time to consider the proposal! I forget how long they had; but I know that it was a long time.

Senator O'KEEFE.—I do not forget how long it was. Before Mr. Deakin went out of office, towards the end of April, he came to an honorable understanding with Mr. Watson that they both had to pursue their policy up to the breaking point, even if it involved his resignation, and keep their pledges to the electors quite irrespective of what some of the Reidites intended to do. But said Mr. Deakin, "After this clause is out of the way, then will be the time for this natural alliance to commence." Well, towards the end of April, Mr. Watson was sent for and formed his Government, and when he asked for an adjournment to the 18th of May, Mr. Deakin made a speech, in which he talked about giving the Government fair play. But what happened? Mr. Deakin knew perfectly well that the third party, with which he was willing to ally himself—

Senator FRASER.—On certain conditions, of course.

Senator O'KEEFE.—What were his conditions?

Senator FRASER. — That they would waive certain things.

Senator O'KEEFE.—I beg the honorable senator's pardon, Mr. Deakin did not say anything about that at that time. He said he was willing to consult with either

party as to the possibility of forming an alliance, and he added that the working alliance could only commence after a certain event had occurred—that is after a vital clause in the Bill had been considered. He knew very well that it was quite impossible for the members of our party to meet until the 17th or 18th of May. And yet in the face of that fact he took the leader of the other party into a small cottage in Richmond, and allowed himself to be drawn into a coalition of another kind. I blame Mr. Deakin not for having coalesced with the Reid party, but for having broken his understanding with the leader of the men whom he had described as his natural allies.

Senator DRAKE.—Was not the condition that there should be one party?

Senator O'KEEFE.—The only condition was that the two parties should meet and try to come to some honorable working alliance.

Senator DRAKE.—As one party.

Senator O'KEEFE.—It does not matter whether it was to be as one party or not. But supposing that condition was made, no one can deny that Mr. Deakin knew that his proposal could not be considered by the Labour Party until the 17th of May. Ten days before that date, however, he had drawn up and signed a programme for a coalition with another party. That was not fair political dealing.

Senator KEATING.—He had not done anything of the kind. He had consented to submit certain conditions which had been agreed upon by two of them, to their respective parties.

Senator O'KEEFE.—I accept the correction, although I do not see that it makes very much difference. My complaint against Mr. Deakin is that many days before it was possible for his proposal to be considered by his natural allies he drew up a programme for a coalition with Mr. Reid to submit to his own party.

Senator KEATING.—And he could not have refused to do it.

Senator O'KEEFE.—Does the honorable and learned senator say that Mr. Deakin did not try his hardest to get his party to accept the programme for the coalition?

Senator KEATING.—Yes.

Senator O'KEEFE.—Well, if he did not make the trial then he did a few days afterwards.

Senator KEATING.—He left it absolutely to his party to act.

Senator O'KEEFE.—Where does Mr. Deakin find himself to-day?

Senator DRAKE.—His object was to get rid of the three parties.

Senator O'KEEFE.—One result of his action has been that he has got a fourth party. A second result will be a loss of £60,000 to the Commonwealth, the cost of a general election, and a third result will be a delay of five or six months in passing useful legislation. I ask Senator Keating to consider whether even on fiscal grounds Mr. Deakin could not ally his party more naturally with the party which helped him to get his Tariff put through the Senate, after Senator Fraser, who was returned as a supporter, deserted him.

Senator FRASER.—I did not.

Senator O'KEEFE.—On a number of the most vital items in the Tariff the honorable senator broke his political pledges.

Senator FRASER.—Give me an instance of it?

Senator O'KEEFE.—The struggle over the Tariff was marked by many such instances. I cannot pick out a particular case at random. But I remember reading in a newspaper that the honorable senator attended a meeting of free-traders, and said that he was against the Barton Government.

Senator FRASER.—I attended a meeting in opposition to the then Government, but not as a free-trader.

Senator O'KEEFE.—The honorable senator came here as a supporter of the Barton Government, and I presume of all their policy.

Senator FRASER.—I did not. I was opposed all along to the construction of the Transcontinental Railway, and to other proposals as well.

Senator O'KEEFE.—I understood, from the *Age*, that the honorable senator was a strong supporter of the Barton Government. At any rate, it had a good deal to do with putting him into the Senate.

Senator FRASER.—So had the *Argus*, and so had my personal canvass.

Senator O'KEEFE.—Did the *Argus* claim the honorable senator as a free-trader?

Senator FRASER.—No, it could not.

Senator O'KEEFE.—Did the honorable senator say he was a free-trader?

Senator FRASER.—I did not.

Senator O'KEEFE.—Did the honorable senator promise to give a general support to the Barton Government?

Senator FRASER.—To their policy as announced at that time.

Senator O'KEEFE.—Now we are getting down to the truth.

Senator FRASER.—They did not announce rabid protection.

Senator O'KEEFE.—What nonsense the honorable senator talks. They announced a policy of revenue without destruction. They announced that no existing industries should be destroyed.

Senator FRASER.—And I did not give one vote to destroy an existing industry.

Senator O'KEEFE.—The honorable senator came in as a supporter of the Barton Government, and I suppose of their general policy, but when they were in difficulties here he deserted them.

Senator FRASER.—I did not come in as a caucus man, but as a free independent representative.

Senator MCGREGOR.—That is a lie.

The PRESIDENT.—Order! The honorable senator must withdraw that remark.

Senator MCGREGOR.—I shall not withdraw the remark, because you, sir, allowed Senator Millen yesterday to say something of that kind to Senator Henderson.

The PRESIDENT.—Senator Millen did not say exactly the same thing. I think that the honorable senator should not use such language as that here. I admit that Senator Fraser had no right to interject. He was being attacked, and, of course, it was very difficult for him to refrain from making an explanation, but I think that Senator McGregor ought to withdraw the remark he used.

Senator MCGREGOR.—I made the remark with the express purpose of getting a ruling from you, sir, different from that which you gave yesterday.

The PRESIDENT.—Perhaps the ruling which I gave yesterday was not a well considered one. I do not think that the use of language such as the honorable senator has given utterance to ought to be permitted in the Senate.

Senator MCGREGOR.—Nor do I.

The PRESIDENT.—I ask the honorable senator to withdraw the remark.

Senator MCGREGOR.—I withdraw the remark because I know that it is right that it should be withdrawn, and I hope that

whenever another honorable senator contravenes the rules in the same way, he will be called to order by the Chair.

Senator O'KEEFE.—We are merely talking politically now, and I am not making any personal attack upon any honorable senator.

Senator FRASER.—Then what is the honorable senator doing?

Senator O'KEEFE.—I am justifying the attitude of my party, and am trying to show that the present alliance is not a natural alliance. As for the honorable senator who interjects, I will say that he did not give the Barton Government anything like the assistance which they were entitled to expect from him when the Tariff was being passed.

Senator FRASER.—I do not object to that statement in the least, but I am entitled to hold my own view.

Senator O'KEEFE.—And the public of Australia are entitled to hold their view. That view has been pretty generally voiced since the honorable senator turned from being a protectionist to a free-trader, and announced himself as a straight-out supporter of Mr. Reid. But I am inclined to think that it was not so much a matter of free-trade and protection with him. What displeased him was that the Barton Government brought before Parliament legislation which he thought was introduced too soon. I refer specially to the legislation dealing with the kanakas.

Senator FRASER.—That was only a very small matter.

Senator O'KEEFE.—It seemed to be a large matter in Senator Fraser's estimation. He did not approve of the radical policy of the Barton Government, especially their White Australia policy.

Senator FRASER.—I did, and do now.

Senator O'KEEFE.—Senator Fraser would put the kanakas back in Queensland to-morrow, if he could.

Senator FRASER.—I would allow the State to deal with the matter.

Senator O'KEEFE.—Is it not a fact that Senator Fraser would repeal the Pacific Island Labourers Act, if he could?

Senator FRASER.—I would allow the kanaka question to remain as it was for a few years and test the matter.

Senator O'KEEFE.—I am entitled to believe, from the honorable senator's actions, that it was because he did not like the White Australia policy of the Barton Government, that he became an out-and-out free-trader.

Senator FRASER.—There were other matters of far more importance that I objected to.

Senator O'KEEFE.—I had the honour to be on the platform at Ballarat when Mr. Deakin delivered his Ministerial pronouncement to the country, and when he justified the action of his Government for the past three years. It had never been my pleasure, and I suppose it never will be my pleasure again, to hear a finer speech from an oratorical point of view. I was charmed in listening to Mr. Deakin for two hours, while he delivered that speech on the 29th October last. But let me quote a passage from it. Mr. Deakin said—

Free-traders have hitherto resented the appellation of "foreign traders." Their affection for the mother country has disappeared. They are also creatures of inconsistency. They favour treaties containing the most favoured nation provisions, but we must not make most favoured nation provisions with our own flesh and blood. They believe in reciprocity, provided it is not with citizens who live under the same flag. For the sake of foreign traders they are prepared to sacrifice all. Is it national trade or foreign trade? "National trade," says the Ministry—"Foreign trade," says the Opposition.

But since then Mr. Deakin has allied himself with the Coalition Ministry. He has refused to join it, but nevertheless he supports it. He puts himself in the position of the poor old gentleman who, hearing a burglar down stairs at night, went down with his wife, pushing her in front of him, and saying "You go first"—staying behind himself. While pushing Sir George Turner and Mr. McLean into the Coalition Ministry, Mr. Deakin says he has not sufficient faith in it to enter it himself.

Senator PULSFORD.—He never said that.

Senator O'KEEFE.—That is what his actions say; and actions speak louder than words.

Senator DRAKE.—Why misrepresent things like that? The honorable senator can draw any inference he likes, but he ought not to attribute language to Mr. Deakin.

Senator O'KEEFE.—If that does not represent Mr. Deakin's attitude, I am in a quandary.

Senator DOBSON.—He stated distinctly what he meant—that he did not want to be in the position of opposing his late colleagues or his late party.

Senator O'KEEFE.—Where is he now? Has he not said repeatedly that he is going to give a loyal support to Mr. Reid, who is being opposed by a section of Mr.

Deakin's late party? He is sitting in opposition to more men who supported him for the last three and a half years than can be found on his own side of the House. Without dealing at any great length with the reasons given for removing the late Government from office, I wish briefly to mention that, in my opinion, in the first place, the whole of the trouble sprang out of the resignation of Mr. Deakin over a detail in the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill. I take the view that, in that case, the then Prime Minister was absolutely wrong in making that detail vital to the life of his Government. It was not properly in accordance with the meaning of constitutional government, that a cabinet should go out of office on such a detail of a Bill. Of course, we are aware that there was a great difference of opinion on the point, and that, unfortunately, Mr. Deakin had practically pledged himself to resist the inclusion of State or railway servants. We are aware that the Labour Party went to the country and made the inclusion of those servants a point in its programme. We are also aware of the political treachery which marked the conduct of some of Mr. Reid's supporters in the House of Representatives. When Mr. Deakin decided to make the issue vital, he was the judge of his own actions, but the country and Parliament thought he was wrong. Now we come to a rather interesting stage of the question. When the Watson Government, in consequence of the advice which Mr. Deakin gave to the Governor-General, came into power, they took up the Arbitration Bill at the stage at which it had been dropped. What happened? We find that Mr. Deakin and, unfortunately, several of his late colleagues, voted repeatedly against important provisions in that Bill. Certainly Mr. Deakin himself supported the Watson Government to a certain extent. But it is worth while remembering that Sir Philip Fysh, Mr. Chapman, Sir John Forrest, and Sir George Turner by way of a pair—making four out of a Cabinet of eight—voted for almost every amendment proposed by the Opposition, which included a large number of those who were absolutely opposed to an Arbitration Bill in any form. In view of these facts, what about the cry of minority rule? That cry which has been raised against the Labour Party may very well be applied to those members of the Deakin Government. We can only infer, as four members of that

Government voted against clause after clause of the Bill, that when that Bill was being considered in Cabinet there was strong opposition to its provisions, and that it was only by a minority vote that it was allowed to be introduced.

Senator DRAKE.—A minority?

Senator O'KEEFE.—Yes. I hope that for the enlightenment of the people of this country upon this Bill—which has wrecked two Governments and is going to wreck a third very shortly—and for the credit of himself and his late colleagues, Senator Drake will not sit silent during the debate, but will inform the Senate what really took place in connexion with the Arbitration Bill.

Senator DRAKE.—Does the honorable senator mean what took place in Cabinet?

Senator O'KEEFE.—No; but I hope that Senator Drake will enlighten us about the conduct of four out of eight members of the Deakin Government, who, when the Bill was in charge of a succeeding Government, voted against clause after clause of it. Four out of eight members of the Deakin Government have shown themselves to be opposed to nearly every clause of the Bill, showing that they were opposed to that measure when it was being considered by their own Government, and that it was not the product of a majority of the Cabinet. If that be not the explanation, then those four members were wreckers, and immediately turned a somersault and voted against their own convictions. Either they voted in Cabinet against their convictions in allowing the Bill to be introduced, or, when they were out of power and another Government took up the Bill, they voted against their convictions when they opposed all its principal clauses.

Senator DRAKE.—There is always a difference of opinion in regard to details in connexion with every important measure.

Senator O'KEEFE.—But how many members of the Deakin Cabinet were in favour of the Arbitration Bill from the beginning? Apparently not a majority.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—The honorable senator's party have already declared that they are going to wreck the Bill if they cannot have their own way.

Senator O'KEEFE.—I leave the question with this further remark: that, with reference to the question of preference to unionists a great deal has been heard, and much more will be heard when the measure comes before the Senate. I feel sure that there is a majority of members of the Sen-

ate who are genuinely in favour of arbitration, and that there is a sufficient majority in favour of preference. Without preference to unionists, the Bill is absolutely useless. Without it Mr. Deakin, when asked for bread in the shape of industrial peace, gave us a stone in the shape of industrial strife, which is bound to occur if Mr. McCay's amendment remains in the Bill. It is only fair that members of the Labour Party should be allowed to say one or two words in reply to the old charge of Socialism which is hurled against us. Have honorable senators read the words which were uttered by the present Prime Minister only last week, when addressing a gathering of farmers in Melbourne? The quotation was used last night in another place, but it is worth repeating, because it cannot be too widely known what are the real views of the head of the present Government, who is constantly railing against the Labour Party, who, he says, are Socialists. Mr. Reid, on the occasion referred to, said—

I believe it is a true ideal of politics to use the national power in every conceivable way to advance the happiness of the community.

What greater evidence of Socialism has any member of the Labour Party ever given?

Senator CLEMONS.—That is the sort of Socialist the honorable senator ought to be.

Senator O'KEEFE.—That is the sort of Socialist I am, and the sort of Socialist which every member of the Labour Party is. I do not object to be called a Socialist; but I claim the right to say what particular brand of Socialist I shall be called. I belong to that brand of Socialism which would nationalize or municipalize any public service, as soon as that service, in the hands of a private individual or syndicate, becomes a menace to the welfare of the community.

Senator CLEMONS.—Are fixed deposits in banks a menace to the community?

Senator O'KEEFE.—Certainly not.

Senator CLEMONS.—But the Labour Party proposed to get hold of those deposits.

Senator O'KEEFE.—The honorable senator is just as much a Socialist as I am, because I am sure he would not now approve of handing over our railways, our posts and telegraphs, our hospitals, our water supply to the control of private individuals or syndicates. One of the most striking instances of successful municipal ownership is found in the city of Launceston, from which the honorable and learned

senator comes. At the very front door of that city is provided a magnificent water power, which is, and has been for some time, utilized by the local authority to generate electricity for lighting the streets and the houses of the citizens. Would Senator Clemons be pleased if that water power had, some years ago, been placed under the control of a private syndicate, which was then seeking to acquire it by Act of Parliament?

Senator CLEMONS.—I may say that I am not full of admiration for State-owned railways, if I may judge of these by the measure of their success.

Senator O'KEEFE.—Would the honorable and learned senator prefer to see that lighting service owned municipally or owned by a private syndicate?

Senator CLEMONS.—As the service is being run at present, it is very well.

Senator O'KEEFE.—It is one of the most successful instances of Socialism we have in Australia. The honorable and learned senator is a keen opponent of Socialism, who loses no opportunity of criticising the Labour Party in very strong terms; but I think that in his heart he feels glad that his own city was wise enough to municipalize this service.

Senator CLEMONS.—So long as it is well managed, I shall not quarrel with it.

Senator O'KEEFE.—That is all we ask.

Senator CLEMONS.—The honorable senator asks a great deal more.

Senator O'KEEFE.—We propose to convert only such services as are used by the community, and are likely to become a menace or an inconvenience to people while in private hands. That is the sort of Socialist that Senator Clemons is, and all his sophistry, argument, and eloquence cannot relieve him from his admission that the people of Launceston have done a good thing.

Senator CLEMONS.—I have not admitted that far. I admit that at the present time the service seems to be well managed, and, therefore, I approve of it.

Senator O'KEEFE.—Can the honorable senator show me a member of the Labour Party who says that such services should be other than well managed? Honorable senators can bring evidence in favour of Socialism or in favour of anti-Socialism, just as they think best suits their case.

Senator CLEMONS.—That is what the honorable senator is doing.

Senator O'KEEFE.—I have given a good instance of successful Socialism, and I am glad to have converted Senator Clemons.

Senator CLEMONS.—I am afraid the honorable senator has not quite succeeded in converting me.

Senator O'KEEFE.—In two years' time, possibly, when Senator Clemons and I fight the electors on separate platforms, I shall be able to point to the fact that I have converted him in some respects. I do not think that I need take up the time of the House by asking any anti-Socialists whether they are in favour of such services as have indicated being municipally or locally owned. It is the most empty and arrant humbug that we hear about the Socialism of the Labour Party ruining Australia. There is a kind of Socialism which appeals to some of the supporters behind the Premier, namely, the Socialism of which Mr. Walpole, the paid agitator of the Employers' Federation, is the advocate. The other day Mr. Walpole said that this Employers' Federation had by its action rendered the Factories Act harmless, and justified the existence of the organization. We are, therefore, justified in regarding Mr. Walpole, the representative of the federation, as one who believes that the conditions and conditions which existed prior to the introduction of the Factories Acts in this and other States should be allowed to continue — conditions which prevailed at a time when Tom Hood wrote his memorable *Song of the Shirt*. Is that the kind of anti-Socialism of which the Attorney-General or his leader approve? It is a kind of anti-Socialism which a number of the supporters of the Government in this other place approve. Let us see what a leading Melbourne paper says, for instance, in reference to the wages of dressmakers in the following paragraph, which is published under the headings, "Wages of Dressmakers," "Employers Dismiss Hands":

It appears that, as a result of the determination of the Wages Board in the dressmakers' trade, having come into force, a number of employers in some of the leading establishments have been dismissed. The scale fixed by the board appears to most people to be at least not a bad one—many will think it exceedingly low—and the employers and the trade consider it too low as a basis for the remuneration of their workpeople.

Let us see what the remuneration is—

The scale provides a wage of 2s. 6d. per week for the first year, 4s. 6d. for the second year, 7s. 6d. for the third year, 11s. for the fourth year, 14s. 6d. for the fifth year, and thereafter the minimum is 16s.

After a poor unfortunate girl has worked for five years she is allowed enough to enable her to keep herself from starvation, and cover herself with scanty rags, but not enough to enable her to keep herself in a decent state. That is the kind of anti-Socialism which is being advocated by the Walpoles and the Dobsons of the community.

Senator FRASER.—That is not true.

The PRESIDENT.—Order!

Senator O'KEEFE.—It is absolutely true. Is it the kind of anti-Socialism to which Senator Fraser subscribes?

Senator FRASER.—No.

Senator O'KEEFE.—I am glad to hear that, but he cannot deny that it is the kind of anti-Socialism which Mr. Walpole, and the organization he represents, advocate. The Employers' Federation, would like to abolish Factory Acts, Arbitration Acts, and all similar legislation. Will the Attorney-General, out of the plenitude of his knowledge and experience, tell me how by any possibility sweating can be prevented without such legislation?

Senator FRASER. — It was the Upper House which passed the Factories Act.

Senator PEARCE.—It was the Upper House which abolished the Factories Act, and reinstated it under public pressure.

Senator O'KEEFE.—One alleged reason for which the late Government was kicked out of office, without any charge against their administration, was that they represented minority rule. Here we are face to face with an interesting situation. Mr. Deakin said that the chief reason for the action taken was to bring about majority rule—a return to constitutional government. I apprehend that Mr. Deakin has achieved his desire in so far as there is a Government in power with a small majority.

Senator DRAKE.—That is a commencement.

Senator O'KEEFE. — Does Senator Drake say that they have majority rule now?

Senator DRAKE.—Yes.

Senator O'KEEFE.—Then I ask Senator Drake and his colleagues whether the Government are going to carry out their ideal. Are they going to alter the Arbitration Bill in accordance with their view, and strike out the provision including railway servants?

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON. — What has that to do with the question?

Senator O'KEEFE.—That was the rock which wrecked the Government.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON. — Discuss something that is relevant.

Senator O'KEEFE.—My remarks are too relevant for the honorable and learned senator. If Mr. Reid and his present colleagues believed three months ago that it is wrong to include States servants—

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—The Labour Party abandoned the State servants.

Senator O'KEEFE.—The Deakin Government went out of office, and dropped the Bill because States servants were included, and because there was not majority rule—because the position was "intolerable." Now that they have majority rule, are the present Government going to strike out the clause including railway servants?

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—The Labour Party were not "game" to take up the clause, but ignominiously abandoned it.

Senator O'KEEFE.—The Labour Party followed the wording of the Constitution, and would have been satisfied if that course had been followed by the Deakin Party.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—Did the Labour Party not abandon the States servants?

Senator O'KEEFE.—No; and the honorable and learned member knows that the Labour Party did not do so. All that the Labour Party did was to alter the phrasing of the clause—to first provide for railway servants, and then for all States servants who are engaged in industrial occupation. Does not the word "industrial" occur in the Constitution, and is it not the correct word to use? Mr. Reid told the Governor-General that he could get a majority with which to carry on the business of the country. Mr. Reid is going to do one of two things—he is either going to send up an Arbitration Bill, in which he does not believe, or he is going to suffer a defeat; and I think I know what he will do rather than meet the latter. I do not believe the present Government is "game" to put the question to the test in order to ascertain whether they have majority rule, after all their trouble. Another reason urged against the Labour Government was that the members of the party are professional politicians. If our experience in Australia, during the last three years of the professional and amateur politician is to be taken as a criterion—if we have to contrast the attendance and the work done by those politicians in both Houses—then it seems to me that the

professional politician is the better servant for the people. Who are the loudest in the denunciation of professional politicians? Mr. Bruce Smith, Mr. Norman Cameron, and one or two others in another place, who have the worst record for attendance. They draw their monthly cheque for only a few days' work. There are some honorable senators who have spoken here against the professional politician; but they are gentlemen who attend only occasionally, perhaps a day now and again, or for an hour or two in a day, when something of importance to them or to their friends is before the Senate. Week after week, and month after month, during the last three and a half years, the amateur politician has refused to sit here continuously doing the work of the country, although he was returned to do that work, but he has had no scruples about drawing £33 6s. 8d. per month as payment for doing it. But let us get away from the personal point of view, and look at the matter from a broader basis. Would any business man intrust the management of a large Department to an amateur? Would he not rather pick out a professional, a man who was competent to take charge because of his training, his special knowledge, his attention to affairs, and his diligence? Surely if that principle holds good in the management of private businesses, it should hold good in the management of the affairs of the country. The cry about professional politicians injuring the country is an empty one. One of the reasons why it is alleged that the existence of the Labour Party is inimical to the interests of Australia is that it is driving capital from the country. Senator Fraser has said that on more than one occasion.

Senator FRASER.—And it is destroying capital in the country, too. It is doing two bad things.

Senator O'KEEFE.—Let us examine the statement by means of statistics. I find that the Colonial Sugar Refining Company last half-year paid a dividend of 10 per cent., and the Colonial Bank of Australia a dividend of 5 per cent. The London Bank of Australia has this year paid a dividend of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., its first dividend since the great bank smashes of 1892. Twenty Australian banks are now on the dividend list, and are doing better to-day than during any other period since the bank failures.

Senator FRASER.—The honorable senator knows very little about banking.

Senator O'KEEFE.—I have taken my figures, not from the *Worker*, or any other labour organ, but from the *Sydney Daily Telegraph*, a newspaper which has never had much to say in favour of the Labour Party. During the March quarter the New South Wales banks increased their deposits on current accounts by £950,000, and their coin and bullion by £675,000, while there was a reduction in advances of £850,000. Yet this was done during a period in which there were labour parties in existence in all the States of Australia, with the exception of Tasmania.

Senator CLEMONS.—Does the honorable senator regard a reduction in advances as a sign of prosperity?

Senator O'KEEFE.—It is certainly not a sign of depression that people can afford to reduce the advances made to them by the banks.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—It is the other way about. The banks are reducing their advances.

Senator O'KEEFE.—A reduction of overdrafts does not mean depression.

Senator GRAY.—Yes, it may.

Senator O'KEEFE.—Then, to be logical, the honorable member would assert that Australia would be in a prosperous condition if every business man had an overdraft.

Senator CLEMONS.—When advances are reduced it is a sign that the employment for capital has decreased.

Senator FRASER.—The honorable senator's figures do not prove anything at all.

Senator O'KEEFE.—They are figures compiled by Mr. Nash, a recognised financial authority, and financial editor of the *Sydney Daily Telegraph*. It would take a great deal from this side of the Chamber to prove anything to Senator Fraser.

Senator FRASER.—Read what Mr. Nash wrote about Mr. Watson's proposed banking system.

Senator O'KEEFE.—I am not discussing that matter now; but if the late Prime Minister had remained in office for a few months longer he would have converted Mr. Nash to his scheme, as he would have converted the people of Australia to it. To quote from another financial newspaper, the *Financial Record*, seven life assurance companies show a net expansion of business during last year of £3,163,117. It will not be denied by any reasonable man that the expansion of life assurance business may be taken as evidence of increased

prosperity. Then I find that Tooth and Co., a big Sydney brewery, made a net profit for last year of £61,942, and declared a dividend of 8 per cent.

Senator CLEMONS. — Senator Pearce would not consider that a sign of prosperity.

Senator O'KEEFE. — Senator Pearce is a genuine teetotaler, and all honour to him for it. But even Senator Clemons will admit that the amount of money spent upon drink is generally regarded by financial experts as in some measure an index to the prosperity or depression of a community. If men have not money to spare, they cannot spend it on drink; but when there is a good deal of surplus money some of it will be spent on drink.

Senator GRAY. — The breweries have decreased in value by 15 per cent. during the last fifteen months.

Senator O'KEEFE. — That is because there is too much competition; but well-managed institutions, whose manufactures have a good name, have not declined.

Senator GRAY. — The value of Tooth and Co.'s business, which is the best in Australia, has gone down 15 per cent.

Senator O'KEEFE. — Well, last year that business made a large profit, and declared a dividend of 8 per cent. Then the Australian Agricultural Company, which has large landed properties —

Senator DE LARGIE. — And coal mines.

Senator O'KEEFE. — Yes. It made a profit of £60,000 in the half-year, and paid a dividend of 25s. a share. As the shareholders are absentees, I think that that company would be "fair game" for an absentee tax.

Senator CLEMONS. — The companies to which the honorable senator has referred are conducted by private enterprise; but what profits have been made by the socialistically managed State railways?

Senator O'KEEFE. — The State railways are not run primarily to make profits, but to open up the country, and to indirectly increase the revenue. But I ask the honorable senator to contrast the State owned railways with the privately owned railways in Tasmania. Let him, too, contrast the privately owned tramways in Melbourne with the State owned tramways in Sydney. In Melbourne one is charged 3d. for riding merely from one street to another, unless one buys a shilling's worth of tickets, in which case the charge is 1½d.

Senator CLEMONS. — Is that all one can do here for 3d.? The charge for a five-mile ride is only as much.

Senator O'KEEFE. — In Sydney a ride from one street corner to another costs only 1d., or one can go as far for that coin as one can go here for 3d. Furthermore, one can get there what one does not often get on the Melbourne tramways, and that is civility.

The PRESIDENT. — Does the honorable senator think that this has anything to do with the policy of the Government?

Senator O'KEEFE. — I am giving instances which, in my opinion, show that the charges of Socialism hurled at the late Administration are empty charges, and that State control is in certain instances preferable to private control.

Senator GIVENS. — The only policy of the present Government is anti-Socialism.

Senator O'KEEFE. — Yes. If it were not for that policy, three or four of those who are now sitting behind them would not be supporting them. I have here a few figures which must appeal to our friends the anti-Socialists, and they are gathered at random from statistics supplied in *Coghlan's* book, which is the statistical bible common to us all. I find that in 1901 the deposits in banks, including savings banks and in building societies, where the information has been available, amounted to £44,954,947; and in 1903 they had increased to £47,065,620. It will be admitted that that is a very considerable increase, and *Coghlan* explains that on these lines the increase in those three years was larger than the increase in the previous ten years. I find further that in 1891 the number of depositors in savings banks was 158,426, and the aggregate amount of money deposited by them was £5,342,135. In 1903, thirteen years later, the number of depositors was 323,212, or more than double the number in 1891, whilst the amount deposited had increased to £12,425,464. It will be seen that the amount deposited was also doubled in the same period. I direct the attention of honorable senators to the fact that during the last ten years the Labour Party had more power in the New South Wales Parliament than in any other State, but in spite of the figures I have quoted we are being continually told that the Labour Party is driving capital out of the country.

Senator DE LARGIE. — And the figures quoted also cover years of drought, bank smashes, and all the rest of it.

Senator O'KEEFE.—So much for the charge that the Labour Party are driving capital out of the country. If the party at present in power be so nearly allied to the Labour Party in matters of Socialism, as shown by the utterances of Mr. Reid, and if it cannot be proved that they have driven capital out of the country, and, further, if the present Administration are not going to establish the majority rule for which they have fought, and if they are not going to bring to an end minority rule—and I do not think they will try to do so on the question of the inclusion of State servants in the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill—what difference is there between their policy and the policy of the Labour Party? If there is no difference, I am entitled, on behalf of the people of Australia, who have to pay the piper, to ask what is the reason for the delay which has been caused by the change of Government, by the turning of one set of men off the Treasury bench, in order to allow another set of men to occupy their places to carry out the same policy?

Senator DOBSON.—They turned themselves off.

Senator O'KEEFE.—They went off, to the unutterable joy of the honorable and learned senator, and they went off on a matter of principle. It will be a good thing for parliamentary honour and dignity if the right honorable leader, for whom the honorable and learned senator has such a great admiration, proves to be equally scrupulous, and will retire, if defeated, on a principle of a Bill.

Senator GIVENS.—It will require a team of bullocks to drag the right honorable gentleman off.

Senator O'KEEFE.—Had the members of the present Ministry any charge to make against the administration of the late Government? Again, the answer is "no." Only the other day the present Prime Minister admitted that the late Government had left everything in apple-pie order, and the right honorable gentleman passed the highest encomiums on Mr. Watson for the manner in which he had grappled with the work of his Department, and on the fact that he had not only worked up arrears which had accumulated when he took office, but had left everything in apple-pie order.

Senator GRAY.—Hear, hear.

Senator O'KEEFE.—That is the general verdict of Australia. So much for Mr.

Watson in his capacity as Prime Minister. In his capacity as Treasurer we have it on the authority of Mr. Reid and his colleagues that Mr. Watson, by the application of intense energy, left matters connected with that Department in perfect order for his successor. Then with respect to Mr. Hughes, is there any charge against the administration by that honorable gentleman of the Department of External Affairs? Who was it that exposed the swindle of the fraudulent Chinese certificates? Who first burst up that practice which had probably been going on for some years in Australia, I do not say with the connivance of the Deakin and Barton Governments, but probably because there was not quite so much energy shown in the administration of the Department? Directly Mr. Hughes came into power he discovered the evil, or if he did not actually discover it he at all events grappled with it. In doing so he came into conflict with the State Premier of South Australia, and we know that some rather severe passages appeared in the press in connexion with the matter. Under the Constitution, where a State and a Commonwealth law come into conflict, the Commonwealth law must prevail. When the Premier of a State and the second in command in the late Commonwealth Ministry came into conflict the Commonwealth Minister prevailed; the Premier of South Australia had to admit that he was wrong, and he had to take a back seat. These instances show the capacity exhibited by the late Minister, and no charge has been levelled against his administration of his Department. Then we come to the Defence Department. I do not know whether it is next in order of precedence, but that does not matter.

Senator WALKER.—The Attorney-General.

Senator O'KEEFE.—The work of the Attorney-General is not patent to the public eye. I do not think that if we took a plebiscite of the people of Australia to-day, there would be a very large majority found voting to say that the late Minister of Defence made many mistakes in his Department. I believe that the majority of the people would say that he filled the bill very well, and possibly that he did better than any of his predecessors. The honorable senator was, at least, the first Minister in charge of that Department, who let one of the servants of the Commonwealth know that the Commonwealth is first, and that servants of the Commonwealth must obey. It was

the late Minister of Defence who told the General Officer Commanding that he was not the ruler of the Defence Department of Australia, but was the servant of that Department. I could quote other instances to show that the late Minister of Defence was, at least, as well able to administer the Department as any of his predecessors, and I venture to say that he left it with the good will of the people of Australia, because no charge has been hurled against his administration. Then I come to deal with Mr. Mahon, as Postmaster-General. Has any other honorable gentleman who has occupied that high and responsible position, taken the same stand? Was it not Mr. Mahon who first put an end to all the frivolous nonsense in the Department whereby a subordinate officer, if he were a volunteer holding a higher rank than a man above him in the Department, could insist that his official superior should address him by his full military title? Who was it that put an end to all that nonsense, and declared that when volunteers came into the Department they came in to do the work of the Department for which they were paid, and had to leave behind them all the titles connected with their military calling.

Senator GIVENS.—All their military frill.

Senator O'KEEFE.—When they come to do the work of the Post Office Department now they are not colonels, captains, or anything else, but have to answer to their proper names. Again, who was it who upheld the right of the employés of the Department to organize, so that their united voice might be heard by the highest authority in a proper way? It was Mr. Mahon. In that matter the honorable gentleman came into conflict with the Deputy Postmaster-General of Victoria, and I think that, in the opinion of the people of Australia, the late Postmaster-General got considerably the best of his deputy in the argument. Again, who was the first Postmaster-General to declare that, so far as he or the Public Service Commissioner could have it done, the public servants of his Department should not any longer continue to victimize their tradesmen. We know that a very great deal of opposition was offered to Mr. Mahon's proposal to make it a misdemeanour for the servants of his Department to be continually dunned by their creditors during office hours. In thus compelling them to pay their just debts, the honorable gentleman did what

was absolutely right in the interests of fair play to the tradesmen. Mr. Mahon is a member of a party who make it a vital plank of their platform to see that every man employed by the Government shall be paid a fair wage, which will enable him to pay his debts. If, after he has given a fair return, he is given a fair wage, so far as the Labour Party can do so, they are prepared to see that he shall pay his just debts. In that matter again Mr. Mahon showed that he had a grasp of the situation, and was well able to administer his Department. He probably administered it better than it had been administered before, and I may at least say that he administered it quite as well. No charge has been brought against his administration. I now come to the administration of the Home Affairs Department, by Mr. Batchelor. No sooner did the honorable gentleman take office than he started to grapple with its difficulties in a business-like way. He attended his office day after day for more than the regulation eight hours, in the endeavour to evolve from the chaos produced by the Commonwealth Electoral Act some state of order for the next elections. It was only to be supposed that passing an electoral law as we passed it, without full knowledge of the circumstances operating all over Australia, it would contain a number of defects. Those defects were made apparent at the last election, and all we could be expected to do was to try to remedy them. Directly Mr. Batchelor assumed office he grappled with the difficulty in a business-like way, with the result that the recommendations he has left on the subject are admitted by the present occupant of the office to be very valuable, and I think that they are certain to be adopted by him. I have said sufficient on the subject, and it is generally admitted, even by our opponents, that no charge can be brought against any member of the late Government in connexion with his administration of the Department committed to his care. In the circumstances, I may well ask why so much indecent haste was shown to turn the members of that Government out of office? It was certainly not because they were discourteous, or because they had not shown themselves to be honorable and fair-minded men. I intended to quote the opinion which Mr. Reid expressed of the Labour Party during the time when he was "in the hollow of their hand." But, if any inquiring person will refer to the pages of *Hansard*, he will

find that Mr. Reid has placed on record the statement that he always found the members of the Labour Party imbued with the strictest integrity, the greatest impartiality, and the finest courtesy, and that they were absolutely fair in every respect.

It is only fair to say this, and it is one of the things which stand to the credit of the Labour Party, that during the whole of my five years' connexion with them in the Parliament of New South Wales they never endeavoured to intrigue themselves into office.

That is what he said on one occasion when he was passing a most eulogistic commendation of their work as a party.

Senator PULSFORD.—And they were very proud of his certificate.

Senator O'KEEFE.—No; we prefer to have the certificate of the people of Australia. We know that a certificate of the Prime Minister is not worth a snap of the fingers, because next week he is likely to say something else. I propose to quote what he said about some honorable senators, because it will make it all the more difficult for him to state what was the reason for his indecent haste in ejecting the Labour Party from the Treasury bench. I now come to the peculiar connexion between Mr. Reid and Mr. Deakin; and I propose to quote what Mr. Reid said about Mr. Deakin and all his colleagues, incidentally. Addressing a great meeting in the Melbourne Town Hall on the 30th October last, he said—

The Government introduced the Electoral Bill in the Senate with a provision for minority representation. That was the main provision of the measure. The Senate knocked it out. Then the Senate put in a provision against plumping. The other House removed it, and the changes were running between the two Houses, in which several Ministers voted in several ways during the several stages of the Bill. Mr. Deakin said last night that that Bill gave manhood and womanhood suffrage to Australia. I say that this Government, to serve its political interests, robbed hundreds and thousands of electors of their just rights. (Loud applause.)

Senator Clemons said the same thing in the Senate, and I am sure that he thinks it now, if he does not say it.

Senator CLEMONS.—And what did the honorable Senator do—did he join in the robbery?

Senator O'KEEFE.—I held a different opinion.

Senator CLEMONS.—How did the honorable senator vote?

Senator O'KEEFE.—I voted in the opposite direction to the honorable and learned senator, and gave reasons for my vote.

Senator CLEMONS.—Then I was the robber, I suppose?

Senator O'KEEFE.—The honorable and learned senator admits now that he did think what Mr. Reid said was true—that the Deakin Government, in order to serve their political interests, had robbed "hundreds and thousands of electors of their just rights."

Senator FRASER.—Did not the Government throw over the report of their own Commissioner?

Senator O'KEEFE.—Did not the right honorable gentleman, who made this charge of pure corruption against the Deakin Government, crawl to Mr. Deakin a few months afterwards, and whine to him for a coalition? And does he not sit on the Treasury bench to-day equal in all things with Mr. McLean—only a half Premier? Mr. Reid goes on to say—

If the friendless wretch in the criminal dock is told that he is supposed to know the law, and if he breaks it he is sent to gaol; if this Electoral Act makes it penal to corrupt an elector or interfere with his vote, I ask you what do you think of the conduct of those who break every duty they owe to the integrity of the political suffrage of Australia. (Cheers.)

That is what he said about Senator Drake, and Mr. Deakin, and all their colleagues.

Senator DRAKE.—No, that is a general remark.

Senator O'KEEFE.—Although Mr. Reid spoke in that way about those gentlemen only last December, still, to-day, they are willing to sit under the shadow of his portly form, and to be overwhelmed by him, and in a little while they will be swallowed.

Senator CLEMONS.—Is the honorable senator willing to recall what the Labour Party did on that occasion?

Senator O'KEEFE.—The honorable and learned senator will have an opportunity to recall that, as I have no doubt he will. I have quite enough to do at present to deal with the political sins of the Prime Minister.

Senator CLEMONS.—The honorable senator has more than enough to do to look after his own sins.

Senator O'KEEFE.—Mr. Reid goes on to say—

This nefarious act in the interests of one political party may be committed in the interests of another. Let us, while we stand on the brink of the momentous developments of this Australian nation, try to keep it from the political corruption

we see in other great democracies. (Cheers.) My strongest charge against this Government is that they have broken their duty to the people, and broken the laws of the country for a selfish motive, and they have defiled and debased the ballot-box of Australia. (Applause.)

That is what Mr. Reid said in December; but, oh! how he loves Mr. Deakin to-day.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—Almost as much as Mr. Mahon did.

Senator O'KEEFE.—How highly Mr. Reid admires Mr. McLean! He says that the interests of Victoria are safe in the hands of Mr. McLean and Mr. Deakin. As Mr. Hughes said at Ballarat the other night, how the python loves the little mild-eyed gazelle, when he slimes him over before he proceeds to swallow him. I feel sure that Senator Symon would like to hear one or two more statements that Mr. Reid made at that meeting.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—Certainly; but they do not relate much to the policy now.

Senator O'KEEFE.—Yes, they do.

Senator CLEMONS.—Will the honorable senator tell us what Mr. Reid said about the Labour Party in that connexion?

Senator O'KEEFE.—For five years Mr. Reid had nothing but what was good to say about the Labour Party. So long as they were willing to keep him in power, and to be political fencers of wood, and drawers of water, they were a noble body, and even in England he preached about the merits and virtues of the Australian Labour Party. But when they wished to hew the wood, and draw the water for themselves, they became, in his estimation, another kind of party.

Senator CLEMONS.—Will the honorable senator tell us what Mr. Reid said about the Electoral Boundaries Act, in connexion with the Labour Party.

Senator O'KEEFE.—I wish to say that Mr. Reid has taken to his bosom one part of the combination which he stigmatized in this speech, because it has made him Prime Minister. He goes on to say—

Let me now deal with three measures which involve large questions of national policy. One was the Immigration Restriction Act. I believe in making that Act speak honestly and straightforwardly the determination of the Australian people that we should have a White Australia. (Cheers.) I stood side by side with the Labour Party on that occasion, but I was beaten. I think it was a hypocritical pretence when you wish to exclude coloured races to submit even your own countrymen to the language test.

When an elector interjected "but you did," Mr. Reid suddenly remembered that he had, but he said—

I did not; but if I did, I was very wicked. (Laughter.) There is one part of the Bill which provides that no one is to be admitted into Australia if there is a danger of his becoming a charge on the public funds. No one can object to that. But, at the dictation I have previously referred to, it was provided that another sort of person must be treated as a criminal—for that is what it really amounts to. The man who came with definite employment open to him, should be prohibited too.

After speaking about the case of the six hatters, he says—

Some of my friends don't agree with me.

However "Yes-No" his leader may be, Senator Symon is always consistent, and I wish to know if he believes in the sentiment which was expressed by Mr. Reid when he said—

Some of my friends don't agree with me, but if I ever have the power in Australia—(cheers)—I will make provision for the objects referred to—

That is to say, that he would knock out the contract provision in the Act—

but I would absolutely do away with the opportunity of stopping honest fellow-countrymen settling down here in honest employment.

Does he intend to ask the Parliament to delete that provision? If he does not take that course, he will stamp himself as the worst kind of political humbug, because he will have gone back on the pledges he made only six months ago.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—Will the honorable senator support him if he does?

Senator O'KEEFE.—No, and the honorable and learned senator is so consistent that if he did not believe in the provision two years ago he will not change his attitude now. I do not believe that he would ever jump Jim Crow like his leader does.

Senator CLEMONS.—Does the honorable senator wish to keep up the impediment against honest workmen coming here?

Senator O'KEEFE.—No member of the Labour Party desires to keep up an impediment against honest workmen coming here. Every man should come here as a free agent, and after he has acquired a knowledge of the local conditions he should be able to enter into a contract.

Senator FRASER.—But some men prefer to have a billet before they come.

Senator O'KEEFE.—Yes. A number of men got their billets before they came; they were brought here to interfere with the fair rate of wages paid to Australian workmen.

and that was the reason for that provision in the Immigration Restriction Act. Unless the leader of this Government asks the Parliament to repeal that provision he will stamp himself as the worst kind of political turncoat. And if he does attempt to keep his pledges to the people, and he is assisted by Mr. McLean, Sir George Turner, and Senator Drake, then they will break their political pledges. Either one half of this peculiarly constituted Government or the other must break the pledges given to the people only six months ago. When Mr. Reid was reminded by an elector at the meeting in the Town Hall, that he voted for the provision to keep out the six hatters he said—

If I did I ought to be kicked—

He really did not know whether he had voted for it. It is a just retribution for the stand which he took at that time, and the tarradiddles which he told the people of Australia, that the six hatters, for whom he tried to enlist so much sympathy, should work and vote against him at the last general election. He said—

If I did I ought to be kicked. But I say I did not.

Senator CLEMONS.—Was it impossible for the honorable senator to finish that quotation in the first instance? Was the sentence too long for him to quote?

Senator O'KEEFE.—I shall give the honorable and learned senator as much more of it as he likes.

Senator CLEMONS.—Does not the honorable senator think that it would have been fairer to finish the quotation in the first instance?

Senator O'KEEFE.—Does the honorable senator say that I have not quoted correctly?

Senator CLEMONS.—I say that the honorable senator quoted the first part loudly, and the second part as a sort of stage aside.

Senator O'KEEFE.—A voice interrupted Mr. Reid, and he said—

If I did I ought to be kicked. But I say that I did not.

Senator CLEMONS.—That is what I referred to.

Senator O'KEEFE.—Mr. Reid also said—

The democracy of Australia should beware of pushing its principles for a White Australia to a mean and contemptible extreme. I was with the Government on the kanaka question, and was willing to let the Bill pass. But we have to pay too heavily for it.

Then Senator Fraser echoed from the platform "Too heavily."

Senator FRASER.—I say so still.

Senator O'KEEFE.—The honorable senator is consistent in that. Yet he says he is in favour of a White Australia.

Senator FRASER.—Perfectly.

Senator O'KEEFE.—Yes, if he can get it for nothing.

Senator FRASER.—I do not grow crazy about it.

Senator O'KEEFE.—Mr. Reid said—

I do not grudge the amount, but it was still too heavy a price to pay.

Then he went on to deal with the Tariff, but I can leave that subject, because we know that he has sunk the fiscal issue entirely. I wonder how Senator Pulsford likes that. Mr. Reid sunk the only big political principle to which Senator Pulsford ever attached himself. I do not think that in his heart the honorable senator is a genuine supporter of the coalition.

Senator PULSFORD.—Yes I am.

Senator O'KEEFE.—Will Senator Pulsford tell us what in his opinion should be the duration of the fiscal truce? We should all like to know that. Some reason ought also to be given for the change of Government which has taken place, and for the delay in the transaction of public business, which has consequently happened. The present situation must stand condemned before the people of Australia as absolutely devoid of common sense. Those who have taken the reins of Government ought to tell the people what is the difference between their policy and ours. They found no fault with the administration of the late Government. They have copied our methods.

Senator DRAKE.—No.

Senator O'KEEFE.—They have copied them as well as they could. Mr. Deakin, in his great speech at Ballarat on the 30th October, made it a great complaint against the protectionists that their organization was not perfect. He said, "What we want is a solid phalanx of protectionists to be presented at the next general election," and he added in those splendidly flowing phrases of his that there was a plethora of candidates on the protectionist side, and that some of them must stand aside. He said, "We must have only one protectionist candidate for each constituency." That is what Mr. Deakin wanted. How was that object to be attained without a political machine? The very fact that our

opponents on both sides are willing to adopt our methods and that they can bring no charge against our administration, furnish reasons why they should justify the change of Government which they have brought about. Only lately the Reform League in New South Wales have copied our methods.

Senator DRAKE.—Not the methods of the Labour Party.

Senator O'KEEFE.—In what respect do the methods of the protectionists with whom the honorable and learned senator is associated differ from those of the Labour Party.

Senator DRAKE.—Very greatly.

Senator O'KEEFE.—Let Senator Drake give us an instance, when he speaks next week. The present Government have adopted our programme, or at least a miserable portion of it. I ought not to call it a miserable portion, but they certainly have adopted a small portion of it.

Senator DRAKE.—There is not a plank in the honorable senator's platform which was not taken from the platform of some other party.

Senator O'KEEFE.—There is not a plank in the platform of the Labour Party which has not been there for many years before the late Government came into existence. The greater part of our platform is derived from the brains of the members of the Labour Party. Mr. Reid calls our policy a crawling policy, but, nevertheless, he adopts it. I ask again: what are the reasons for bringing the coalition into existence? Can it be that honorable senators opposite object to the Labour Party, because they do not mix in the highest social circles? That is a deplorable thing to suggest, but I cannot explain the situation otherwise. I believe that some honorable senators opposite in their inmost hearts and consciences, subscribe to the ideal of Government which was expressed by an American millionaire the other day, when he said that "the rights and privileges of the working people of this great country will be best conserved, not by agitators, but by the Christian men and women, to whom God in his infinite wisdom has given the control of the property and interests of the country." Do honorable senators opposite subscribe to that doctrine? Do they say that the rights and privileges of the people of Australia will be best conserved only by the class of individuals who own the property?

Senator DRAKE.—Certainly not.

Senator O'KEEFE.—I am glad that my honorable and learned friend, who has been a democrat, does not subscribe to that ideal.

Senator DRAKE.—I am a democrat still.

Senator O'KEEFE.—Then the honorable and learned senator should get out of the present Government at once, because I can assure him that his friends in Queensland will not recognise him as a democrat so long as he remains a member of it. I am impelled to the opinion that the majority of the supporters of this Government do adhere to the ideal which I have described.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—The honorable senator is quite mistaken.

Senator O'KEEFE.—Our ideal, on the contrary, is that the rights and interests of any community should be paramount to the rights and interests of any individual or class, and that so long as human nature is constituted as it is, and until we reach the millennium, the rights and interests of the mass of the people must be paramount to those of any individual or class. After all, government in itself and in the abstract is not a good thing. Government is essentially a recognition of the weakness of human nature. While human nature is what it is, we must have some form of Government; and the Government in which I believe is that which uses every fair means to make individuals recognise the claims of the race to which they belong, and of the community in which they live.

Debate (on motion by Senator FRASER) adjourned.

ADJOURNMENT.

GOVERNOR OF WESTERN AUSTRALIA.

Motion (by Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON) proposed—

That the Senate do now adjourn.

The PRESIDENT.—Before I put the motion, I think it only right to mention to the Senate that His Excellency the Governor of Western Australia is present. My attention has just been called to the fact, or otherwise I should certainly have invited His Excellency to take a seat on the floor of the Senate. I am sure the Senate would have accorded so distinguished a visitor that privilege. I was not informed officially that His Excellency was here, or I should have taken action.

HONORABLE SENATORS.—Hear, hear.

Question resolved in the affirmative.

Senate adjourned at 3.32 p.m.

House of Representatives.

Friday, 9 September, 1904.

Mr. SPEAKER took the chair at 10.30 a.m., and read prayers.

MILITARY BADGES AND ORNAMENTS.

Mr. HUME COOK.—I wish to know from the Minister of Defence whether it has yet been determined to have the badges and ornaments used by our Military Forces made in Australia? Some time ago it was proposed to import these articles, but several honorable members raised a protest against that procedure. The matter has been before the Department for some time, and I should, therefore, like to know from the Minister whether a determination has been come to on the subject.

Mr. McCAY.—I should have been glad if the honorable member had let me know of his intention to ask this question, because then I should have been able to look at the papers bearing on the matter. So far as my memory serves me, the Department has been accepting contracts for the making of badges in Australia.

Mr. MAUGER.—There is a big item still undecided.

Mr. McCAY.—I cannot carry the facts relating to all these matters in my memory, and I am not sure that I have seen all the papers referring to the subject of the honorable member's inquiry; but if he will repeat his question next week, I hope to be able to give a definite answer.

OLD-AGE PENSIONS.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—I wish to know from the Minister of External Affairs what is the policy of the Government as regards old-age pensions, and whether he will consent to the appointment of a Select Committee to inquire into the working of the Old-age Pensions Acts of Victoria and New South Wales, with the object of obtaining data on which to base a Commonwealth scheme of old-age pensions.

Mr. REID.—The Government considered that matter in dealing with their policy for this session and afterwards, and, as stated by the Attorney-General in the Senate, the day before yesterday, the view we have taken in regard to it is that it is impossible for the Federal Parliament to bring into operation a Federal system of old-age pensions without the co-operation of the States,

because, although the Constitution empowers us to deal with it, it would be necessary, if revenue were raised for the purpose through the Customs—and that has been the policy of taxation common to, I think, all Federal parties—to raise four times the amount actually required, since 15s. in every £1 obtained through the Customs must be returned to the States. The Government, therefore, decided some days ago that they would make the subject one to be dealt with in a Conference with the Governments of the States, and we propose to use all the influence we possess to persuade those Governments to co-operate with us, so that we may be able to deal with the matter upon a national basis.

Mr. THOMAS.—Is this another part of the programme for the recess?

Mr. REID.—The matter was referred to by the Attorney-General two days ago in making a Ministerial statement in another place.

Mr. THOMAS.—Why was it not referred to here? Did the right honorable member forget to refer to it?

Mr. REID.—I did.

Mr. THOMAS.—The right honorable member forgot to refer to so important a question as the establishment of Commonwealth old-age pensions!

Mr. REID.—I had made a note of the matter, and intended to refer to it; but I never look at my notes during the delivery of a speech, and consequently the subject escaped my memory, as I had to deal with a large number of questions. In the Senate, however, the Attorney-General referred to the subject in this way:—

There is also the great subject which must be considered in connexion with the States, as suggested by Senator Higgs, namely, old-age pensions. That must necessarily be the subject of conference, and some kind of basis for common action, even to a greater extent than that which I ventured to indicate desirable in so comparatively small a matter as the appointment of a High Commissioner.

That statement was made two days ago, and no miracle can be worked with the *Hansard* report, although I hear that it is pretty freely revised at times. The subject was fully considered by the Government, and I regret that, having a large number of matters to deal with, I forgot to mention it when making my Ministerial statement.

Mr. FISHER.—The other Ministers might have advised the right honorable gentleman on the subject.

Mr. REID.—That is perfectly true ; but I ask my honorable friends to show interest in the main subject, which is of more importance than an act of forgetfulness on my part. I plead guilty to the omission through want of recollection ; but, as a guarantee of good faith, I am happy to say that the subject was referred to by the Attorney-General in another place while I was making my Ministerial statement. In reply to the question asked by the honorable member for Eden-Monaro, neither my colleagues nor I have any objection to the appointment of a Select Committee whose inquiries and report will help to pave the way for the proposed Conference. The subject in which he is interested has never been considered a party question, and I hope never will be so considered. It is a matter of too great importance for that. I shall, therefore, welcome any assistance from a Select Committee of this House preparatory to a meeting with the authorities of the States in Conference.

Mr. SPEAKER.—I have once or twice before called attention to the requirements of the Standing Orders in relation to questions. The rules in this regard are very strict, and I am bound to enforce them. I therefore ask honorable members who, during the making of any reply to a question, desire further information, not to indulge in running comment, which is quite disorderly ; but to afterwards ask, separately, supplementary questions upon the subjects upon which they desire additional information. To ask questions by way of interjection during the giving of answers to other questions is disorderly.

ALIEN RESTRICTION ADMINISTRATION.

Mr. CARPENTER.—It appears from the press reports that a number of Chinese, arriving by steamer from Singapore, have been detected in the act of trying to smuggle themselves into Fremantle. For some time past it has been strongly suspected in Western Australia that, in spite of the Aliens Restriction Act, Chinamen have been smuggled into that State in considerable numbers ; and in view of the fact that some thirteen of them have now been discovered on board one steamer, I ask the Minister of External Affairs if he will take special precautions to prevent the recurrence of this action. I should also like him to say what steps the Government intend to take in regard to the particular case to which I have referred.

Mr. REID.—I should like to have fuller information on the subject before making any announcement of the intentions of the Government, since correct information is the safe precursor of action. I have not yet received the papers, and I wish to satisfy myself of the facts before taking action. If my honorable friend will put a question on the notice paper for, say, Wednesday next, I hope then to be able to give him a satisfactory reply.

SUPPLIES: POSTAL DEPARTMENT.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I wish to ask the Postmaster-General, without notice, if it is a fact, as stated in this morning's *Age*, that he has decided to continue a practice in connexion with the supplies required by his Department, inaugurated, I believe, by a previous Minister, of giving a preference of 15 per cent. to local tenderers?

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I am sorry that my honorable friend has not given notice of the question. Some time ago tenders were invited for the supply of materials for the Post and Telegraph Department. Tenders were afterwards received, and certain recommendations were made in regard to them by an officer of the Department, in accordance, I understand, with the decisions of previous Ministers. The matter was then submitted to my predecessor in office, the honorable member for Coolgardie, who determined to accept tenders where no preference was involved. Upon his leaving office it came again before me, and I sent for the papers to ascertain what was the practice in force at the time the tenders were invited. I found that both the honorable member for Denison and Senator Drake had laid down a certain rule in connexion with preference to tenderers.

Mr. HUME COOK.—Was not that the result of a Cabinet decision?

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I presume it was ; the rule laid down by the Government for the time being was that certain preference should be given to local tenderers. That decision was communicated to the Deputy Postmasters-General in the various States, and it was in accordance with that decision that tenders were invited by my predecessors in office. The matter came under my notice for determination, because the honorable member for Coolgardie had determined that where no preference was involved the tender should be accepted, and had left me to deal with all other cases.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Did the tenderers know anything about the arrangement?

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—All I know is that the Secretary to the Postmaster-General was directed to send the decision of my predecessors to the Deputy Postmasters, and I concluded that a certain practice had been established, and that the tenderers had some knowledge of it. I made a minute to the following effect:—"The practice in force under Ministerial decision at the time tenders were invited to be followed."

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—If it was understood by the tenderers that preference was to be given to local tenders, the Minister was only carrying out what amounted practically to a contract.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—Of course, I cannot say for certain whether the tenderers knew of the arrangement. All I know is that the decision of my predecessors was communicated by order to the Deputy Postmasters-General.

Mr. MAUGER.—I desire to know whether the Postmaster-General will, of his own motion, continue the very admirable practice which has been referred to?

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I shall deal with that question when it arises.

Mr. SALMON.—I wish to ask whether the papers disclose any reason why the late Postmaster-General declined to deal with the very important question of allowing preference to local tenderers?

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—No; the papers do not disclose that. The late Postmaster-General left a minute to the effect that tenders were to be accepted where no preference was involved.

Mr. SALMON.—Then the matter of preference was hung up?

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—It was left in abeyance.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The late Postmaster-General very wisely shunted the responsibility.

Mr. HUME COOK.—Is it not a fact that the reason why the late Postmaster-General did not deal with the question of preference to tenderers was that fresh tenders were called, and that he was therefore unable to arrive at a decision?

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I do not think that that is the correct explanation. The papers were submitted to me, and I asked the Secretary to give me some information bearing on the question of preference. Then the decision arrived at by my predecessors was placed before me.

Mr. FISHER.—The Minister has made an excellent start by trying to take a point upon the previous Minister.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I wish to ask the Minister whether, in arriving at his decision, he did not assume that there was an understanding between the Department and the tenderers with regard to preference?

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I did not make any inquiries with regard to the tenderers. All I saw was the decision of my predecessors, which it was directed should be communicated privately to the Deputy Postmasters-General, I did not inquire as to the action which they had taken; but I arrived at the determination I have indicated.

Mr. HUME COOK.—Is it not true that the papers sent to the Deputy Postmasters-General with respect to the preference to be given to local tenderers were marked "private and confidential," and that no tenderers knew anything about them?

Mr. REID.—This is curious. The honorable member must have been an understudy for the late Postmaster-General.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I have already stated that it was ordered that the decision of my predecessors should be communicated privately to the Deputy Postmasters-General. It was that knowledge which made me hesitate to state that the tenderers were informed of the conditions. I determined the matter upon the papers submitted to me, and I am quite prepared to stand by my decision.

SALARIES OF TEMPORARY TELEGRAPH OPERATORS.

Mr. GROOM (for Mr. CROUCH), asked the Postmaster-General, *upon notice*—

1. Whether two expert telegraph operators of experience, named Lumley and Knight, have been recently employed at £90 per annum in the Department?

2. Are these men of mature years, with wives and families to support?

3. Does he propose to continue to pay these rates to men of experience under such conditions?

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—The answers to the honorable and learned member's questions are as follow:—

1. Yes. Lumley, from 28th November, 1903, to 26th July, 1904; and Knight, from 22nd February, 1904 (still employed).

2. Yes.

3. No special rates of pay have been determined by the Public Service Commissioner for temporary telegraphists; the salaries of those permanently employed are from £40 to £160

in the 5th Class. It is, however, the intention of the Postmaster-General that in future the minimum salary of £110 per annum shall be paid in such cases as those referred to.

I may add that when I found that these two men, who were married, and had large families, and were expert at their work, were receiving only £90 per annum, I felt that I should be perfectly justified in paying them the minimum salary.

PAPERS.

Mr. REID laid upon the table the following papers:

Statutory rules made by the Justices of the High Court under the Commonwealth Electoral Act.

Statutory rules made by the Justices of the High Court under the High Court Procedure Act.

MINISTERIAL STATEMENT.

Debate resumed from 8th September (*vide* page 4462), on motion by Mr. REID—

That the despatch from the Secretary of State, with reference to the metric system, be printed.

Mr. ROBINSON (Wannon).—Like most other honorable members, I listened to the honorable and learned member for Indi with considerable pleasure and interest. My interest was increased by the fact that his speech was of a character such as we are not accustomed to hear from him. It was palpably an address to the gallery, and to his constituents. I welcome the attitude which the honorable and learned member has taken up on this question, because it seems to me that if there is to be organized obstruction the sooner we face the music the better. For my part, I am quite prepared to abide by the consequences, although I know that many honorable members on the other side are not so ready to face the situation. The honorable and learned member for Indi, and the leader of the Opposition, dealt with the methods by which the late Government were defeated, and claimed that they were not ejected from office by fair and reasonable means—that the battle ground was not of their own choosing. I am of opinion that the battle ground was distinctly of their own choosing. The only way in which we could arrive at a fair and definite decision upon an important point was afforded by the method adopted. What were the broad facts of the case? When the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill was previously in Committee it was proposed to delete the sub-clause providing for unconditional preference to unionists. That

amendment was defeated. A further amendment was moved by the present Minister of Defence, with the object of limiting preference to the members of organizations which could show that they represented a majority of the persons interested in the award. That amendment was carried. Notice of it had been given some days before the division took place, and more than ten speakers discussed it. After the amendment had been adopted the then Government announced, through the press, their intention to seek a dissolution or resign office if the House did not reverse its decision. The Government chose to regard the question as vital, and I contend that it was far better that the whole matter should be disposed of in the full House, where every vote would count, rather than in Committee. The object of the late Prime Minister in seeking to recommit the Bill was to give that champion bridge-builder, the honorable and learned member for Indi, a further opportunity to display his powers. The intention undoubtedly was that, in the event of the Government amendment being defeated, the honorable and learned member should prepare some other amendment, or perhaps dozens and dozens of amendments if such should be necessary, with a view to enabling some slippery politicians to act contrary to their convictions. As it was, three honorable members changed their attitude upon the question of preference to unionists. Two of them were wise enough not to give reasons why they went over to the Government. Fortunately, most other honorable members had a sufficient amount of courage to stand by the votes they had given on a former occasion. What was desired by the Government was to revive bridge-building methods, which would enable weak-kneed politicians to evade giving a straight-out vote. The leader of the Opposition told us that the Government had made no effort to retain office. But I hold a very different view. There was a great deal of squealing and manœuvring by Ministers before they left office. When it was proposed to amend the clause in the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill relating to the rules of the unions, which the late Prime Minister declared to be vital, one honorable member who was opposed to the registration under the Bill of unions having anything in the nature of political objects, asked the Minister in a very meek tone if he would resign in the event of the Government being defeated upon the clause. A reply was

given in the affirmative. That threat had the desired effect, and the honorable and gallant member referred to changed his attitude, saved the Government, and ran home. The same tactics were employed on the last occasion.

Mr. WATSON.—Is there anything dishonorable or improper in the Government saying that they will make a certain question a vital one?

Mr. ROBINSON.—Pressure was applied to that honorable and learned member in the most open and flagrant manner. It was a matter of open comment. It was referred to in more than one speech delivered in this Chamber, and was the subject of many private conversations between honorable members. Honorable members on this side of the House take up a courageous attitude. They seek to check such practices, which bring Parliament into disrepute, and would have every man stand by his guns.

Mr. SPENCE.—The amendment was sprung on the House.

Mr. ROBINSON.—That is not so.

Mr. GROOM.—How many honorable members knew that it was to be moved?

Mr. ROBINSON.—If the honorable and learned member refers to the amendment against the recommittal of clause 48—

Mr. GROOM.—I do.

Mr. ROBINSON.—The honorable and learned member's parliamentary experience should surely be sufficient to teach him that if a Government announces that it considers that a certain clause or sub-clause of a Bill is vital, and that it will go out of office if it be defeated on it, it is for the Opposition to take the first available means to test the opinion of the House on that question. That is the course which we adopted, and, to my mind, the result was very satisfactory. The leader of the Opposition has told us that the Government party is composed of a number of incongruous elements. I frankly admit that there are wide divergencies of opinion, on certain questions, among honorable members on this side of the House, but I think that I shall be able to show that there are equally wide divergencies of opinion on the part of honorable members of the Opposition. We, at all events, have one principle in common.

Mr. HUME COOK.—What is it?

Mr. ROBINSON.—I shall be able to show that some members of the Opposition

and more particularly the honorable member for Bourke, have one principle very much in common with that which we favour. We object to caucus or machine-bound Governments.

Mr. WATSON.—And yet the Government use the machine.

Mr. ROBINSON.—I object to a caucus-bound Government—a system under which a Government is a mere detail in the hands of a machine. Such a system makes a man a mere puppet in the hands of wire-pullers outside the House. It destroys an honorable member's liberty and conscience, and reduces him to the position of a mere delegate. In order to show the House, and more particularly the honorable member for Bourke, the infamous nature of caucus or machine politics, I trust that I shall be permitted to quote from a speech made by that honorable member at the last general election. According to a report which appeared in the *Age* on 14th November, 1903, he took up a very vigorous attitude in opposition to the Labour Party. The report sets forth that he said—

Why was it the Labour Party was opposing him? . . . He did object to sign the party's constitution and pledge. Had he signed the pledge he would have put himself in the hands of twenty or thirty men who wanted his billet, and be compelled to support the candidate whom they selected, even if he were a free-trader. He would also have to give up 5 per cent. of his salary to the Political Labour Council; but he did not intend to do that. The position was that some twenty or thirty persons—a little clique at the Trades-hall—were to have the power to say whether they approved of a candidate, and if they did not approve of him he would have to stand down. Such things savoured of Tammany-hall and Russia—

That is the policy to which honorable members on this side of the House are opposed. Then he went on to say—

Any one who signed that pledge (*i.e.*, labour pledge), agreed to support a candidate before they knew who the man was. The caucus did not allow any liberty; they must vote for the majority. They clamoured for the liberty of minorities, but they did not allow any liberty to their own minority.

That constitutes the basic difference between the Opposition and the Government.

Mr. REID.—Did they run the honorable member for Bourke very closely?

Mr. ROBINSON.—They did.

Mr. HUME COOK.—He beat his opponent by over 700 votes.

Mr. ROBINSON.—But he had to call upon the then Prime Minister, the honorable and learned member for Ballarat, to extricate him from his difficult position.

The honorable and learned member went to Essendon in support of the honorable member, and made a rallying speech against machine government. According to a report which appeared in the *Age* on 25th November last, the honorable member for Bourke, in the course of another election speech, said—

The electors had to consider whether they would be represented by a person who was the nominee of a little clique called the Political Labour League, or whether they would send back their present member, who represented, not one section, but all sections of the community.

I come now to the honorable member for Melbourne Ports, for whom I have the greatest respect. I find that at the last general election he took up a position similar to that adopted by the honorable member for Bourke. Under the heading of "Mr. Mauger on the Labour Party," the *Age*, in its issue of 18th November, 1903, published the following report:—

If he were to be returned to the Federal Parliament it would be as a representative of the whole of the people, and not as a machine, to be worked at the dictation of a small portion. . . . If he did this—

That is, sign the labour pledge—

he would be abrogating the fundamental principles of the Constitution by handing over to a few men and a small section of the electors the right to say whether or not he should be a candidate.

Then, again, according to the *Age* of 24th November, 1903, he said—

He had been asked to "nominally" sign the platform of the Political Labour Council. (A Voice : Then the council is a failure).

Mr. MAUGER.—I say it is not only a failure—it is an absolute fraud.

I do not think that any words of mine could put the position more clearly than does the luminous exposition made by the two honorable members, whose utterances I have quoted.

Mr. REID.—Did the Labour Party run the honorable member for Melbourne Ports very closely?

Mr. ROBINSON.—They opposed him, but I am glad to say that his majority was not a small one. His popularity was so great that he was able to hold his own.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Did the then Prime Minister have to go to his assistance?

Mr. ROBINSON.—No. His popularity was so great that he did not require such help. We agree with these honorable members with regard to the position of the Labour Party, but the distinction between us is that we are prepared to give effect to

our opinions in a proper and legitimate way, while they, on the other hand, have sunk their views.

Mr. REID.—It is the biggest case of "yes-no" of which I have ever heard.

Mr. ROBINSON.—One reason why some of us object to the Opposition is because of the extreme, militant, aggressive Socialism preached by a very large section of that party. A most unfair attempt was made last night to foist on the Prime Minister the responsibility for the utterances of Mr. R. S. Walpole. I am fairly well acquainted with that gentleman, and think I can say that he would resent such an attempt.

Mr. WATSON.—But he uttered the statement to which reference was made.

Mr. ROBINSON.—I repeat that he would resent the suggestion that he was giving expression, in any shape or form, to the views of the present Prime Minister. I do not wish to defend him, for he is well able to take care of himself, but on one point he has been grossly misrepresented.

Mr. TUDOR.—No.

Mr. ROBINSON.—The interjection made by the honorable member for Yarra—

Mr. TUDOR.—The statement in question was made by Mr. Walpole, when speaking at Lilydale, and I have a copy of the report, which has never been denied by him.

Mr. ROBINSON.—He has shown me a letter from a clergyman, who heard the whole of his speech, and who, without concurring in his remarks, moved a vote of thanks to him for his lecture. That clergyman states that no such statement as that attributed to Mr. Walpole was ever made by him.

Mr. TUDOR.—Will Mr. Walpole himself deny it?

Mr. ROBINSON.—I believe that he will.

Mr. REID.—What have we to do with Mr. Walpole?

Mr. BATCHELOR.—A great deal; the Government exist by his agency.

Mr. ROBINSON.—He represents one section of the community, which is entitled to adopt whatever constitutional means it pleases to secure the propagation of the views that it holds, but there is no justification whatever for the suggestion that the views of Mr. Walpole are shared by the present Government. The socialistic party object to Mr. Tom Mann being regarded as their mouthpiece. That is a

most extraordinary position for them to take up. When I said last night that the Victorian labour members were partly responsible for the payment of the expenses of Mr. Tom Mann's mission, the honorable and learned member for West Sydney indignantly denied the statement. I do not make such assertions without being able to prove them.

Mr. BAMFORD.—The honorable and learned member was understood to refer to members of the Labour Party in this Parliament.

Mr. ROBINSON.—I said that some members of the party in this House were responsible, and can prove my assertion. Let me quote from a report which appeared in the issue of the *Tocsin*—the authorized political organ of the Trades Hall Council, of 30th June, 1904—

A meeting of the Trades-hall and the Political Labour Councils, sitting as a combined body, was held in the Trades-hall on Friday night, Mr. Hannah, M.L.A. (President of the Trades-hall Council), presiding.

Mr. SALMON.—Is that the Mr. Hannah who opposed the honorable member for Bourke?

Mr. ROBINSON.—Yes.

Mr. HUME, COOK.—And he was defeated by over 700 votes.

Mr. ROBINSON.—The report proceeds—

A number of Federal and State labour members were present. The meeting was unanimously of opinion that Mr. Mann's services should be retained, much of the success which had crowned the party's efforts in the late State election being directly traceable to his splendid capacity for organization, and to his strikingly forcible platform exposition of labour's aims and ideals.

In my opinion, Mr. Tom Mann is one of the best investments that the Labour Party have ever made, but I am surprised that they should have the effrontery to deny their association with him. The next paragraph in the report is as follows:—

The amount required to continue Mr. Mann's services is £40 per month, which includes salary, travelling expenses, hire of halls, and all other necessary outgoings.

That seems to me to be a remarkably small sum.

Mr. REID.—They are sweating him.

Mr. ROBINSON.—I shall read the next paragraph, because it absolutely bears out the statement which I made last night—

Of this monthly sum £22 is already assured, four Federal and eighteen State Labour members having agreed to contribute £1 per month each to the special organizing fund. The balance of £18 is to be subscribed by the unions.

We have here a clear and definite statement that the expenses of Mr. Tom Mann's campaign are borne by the Political Labour Council, the various political unions, and by various members of the Victorian Labour Party. It proves up to the hilt that the Victorian section of the Labour Party, at any rate, is responsible for Mr. Tom Mann's utterances, because he is their duly accredited paid agent and representative.

Mr. HUGHES.—What about Mr. Walpole?

Mr. ROBINSON.—I have already dealt with that gentleman's position.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—Does the honorable and learned member belong to the union which that gentleman represents?

Mr. ROBINSON.—I do not; I belong to only the parliamentary union. From the quotations I have made it will be recognised by the House that the Labour Party are responsible for Mr. Mann's utterances. I do not say, however, that because the Labour Party is supported by some anarchists it should therefore be branded as an anarchist organization. The Opposition have endeavoured to show that every grinding employer of labour is a supporter of the present Government. I do not think that is so, and it is just as improper for the Labour Party to make such a suggestion as it is for them to endeavour to avoid the just consequences of the utterances of their duly accredited agent, Mr. Tom Mann. Let us hear what the *Age* newspaper, which is the organ of the new alliance opposite, that is going to attain office, and save the country at a break-neck rate, says about the Political Labour Council and Mr. Tom Mann. I find this in the issue of the *Age* for the 25th November, 1903—

It is that a mischievous organization, calling itself a political labour council, nominated by self-seeking parasites of the labour cause, has captured the control of the machine and foisted itself into the leadership of the scheme. It may be, of course, that some members of this council have indeed become the disciples of anarchism which one or two have not scrupled to avow. We cannot afford to forget the meeting recently held in the old Trades-hall, at which certain labour leaders gloried in comradeship with the foul assassin of President McKinley. They apotheosize the man who sneaked up to the late President and fired a revolver bullet into his stomach; and they called upon their deluded followers to "Remember our comrades who died for anarchy." It is revolting to any one who cherishes a sense of decency and pride in the grand old name of liberalism to think that any section of that party—which in this State has gloried in the leadership of a Higinbotham, a Berry, and a Grant—can have left the fair

pastures of a clean progressive creed and policy to link itself with political leaders who uphold the cowardly doctrine of assassination.

That was a comment on a section of the Labour Party, and I am satisfied that it is so stringent as to be quite unfair. I do not believe that the members of the late Government should be charged with sympathizing with the cowardly attack on President McKinley in any shape or form. I have sufficient confidence in them to believe that they would reprobate it with all their hearts. But I do say that it is as justifiable to charge the Labour Party with sympathy with these ideas, as it is to endeavour to foist some of the extreme ideas given utterance to on the other side on the present Prime Minister and his associates. At the last election there was a free interchange of opinion on this question. I have already told honorable members what the honorable members for Melbourne Ports and Bourke thought of the labour caucus and the labour pledge, and any honorable member who has a few minutes to spare may turn up the records of the *Tocsin* newspaper for last November, to find some very interesting reading, and to learn how the labour organizations denounced the honorable members to whom I have referred as trimmers and traitors who sought to get into Parliament by cadging votes, that they might sell the Labour Party on the first opportunity. That was the opinion then held of those gentlemen by the labour organizations, but now they come together in a close embrace, as though they were long-lost brothers, who had met again—while each one is feeling to see that his knife is loose, in case of accidents. We have been told that an alliance has been completed between the Liberal Protectionist Party and the Labour Party, and the terms and conditions of the alliance have been published. The one thing which appears in the forefront of the terms of alliance is the evidence that it is based upon a shameless and open departure from pledges given by honorable members at the last election. If there was one definite question at the last election, it was that there should be a fiscal peace. The honorable and learned member for Ballarat, who was then Prime Minister, stood for fiscal peace, and asked that the Tariff should not be disturbed during the currency of the present Parliament. I followed one of the staunchest free-traders who ever sat in this or in any other Parliament, and who voted for every free-trade motion, and I

agreed with the honorable and learned member for Ballarat in his claim, during the election campaign, that the present was not the time at which to re-open the Tariff question, the people of Australia being sick and tired of it. I therefore took up the position of supporting fiscal peace, and I pledged myself to resist any attempt to reopen the tariff during this Parliament, even though the pledge might force me to vote against my esteemed leader the right honorable member for East Sydney. I propose to adhere to that position now, because I believe that a man who gives a definite pledge of that kind should adhere to it.

Mr. REID.—In common honesty, I should think.

Mr. ROBINSON.—Common honesty and common decency demand it. In order that there may be no misunderstanding as to the real question submitted to the electors at the last elections, I refer honorable members to what the *Age* newspaper had to say on the subject. I find in the issue for November 23, 1903, the following remarks in an article on the Tariff question:—

A reasonable public opinion recognises that this is not a fitting time for reopening the whole question, just after spending some seventeen months in dealing with it. Free-traders need not fear, but that after a few years, during which public opinion will have had time to ripen, protectionists will seek to do for Australia what they have done for America, Germany, France, and Russia. . . . But that time is not now. Public opinion claims a rest, and will have it. It is no more prepared outside Victoria to perfect protection than it is to return to free-trade. Protectionists have the insight to perceive this, free-traders have not, and they are doing to the Commonwealth the disservice of forcing a barren issue. . . . It is as vital to the protectionists to gain the battle for fiscal peace as it would be if their immediate object were further protective advances.

Mr. REID.—Hear, hear; and now that they have gained it, they wish to stain the white flag.

Mr. MAUGER.—Having gained it, it is ours to do what we like with.

Mr. REID.—To do what honorable members like with their pledges? That is the confidence trick.

Mr. ROBINSON.—On the 27th November, the *Age* said—

The issue which will decide the election is that of Australian trade or foreign trade: Is the Federal Tariff to be ripped up or let alone?

On the 30th November this appeared—

The first and foremost necessity of the time is a truce on the fiscal question. As long as that struggle goes on it bars the way to any progressive legislation on other national and social questions. The Opposition proposal for a new strife

over the Tariff is directly opposed to the Deakin policy of fiscal peace . . . There is a time to draw the sword, and a time to sheathe it. All the interests of trade, and industrial development demand for the present a cessation of fiscal hostility.

That was the view held by the *Age* newspaper.

Mr. MAUGER.—Yes, twelve months ago.

Mr. REID.—That accounts for it.

Mr. ROBINSON.—The issue which the honorable and learned member for Ballarat put before the electors was the issue of fiscal peace, and the honorable and learned gentleman bound his party, so far as a leader can bind a party, to that platform. Though I differed from the honorable and learned gentleman on nearly every other point, I agreed with him that it was not desirable that the Tariff should be again ripped up during the currency of this Parliament. That policy was indorsed by all sections of the community. The honorable member for Bland, when this House met made the same kind of statement. On 4th March, 1904, I find he is reported on page 147 of *Hansard*, to have said—

There is another feature of the elections to which I should like to refer, namely, the fiscal question. I share the feeling of gratification which has been expressed by the Prime Minister, that with the last election, the issue, as between freetrade and protection, has disappeared for some time to come.

That was the definite platform of the Labour Party and of the Deakin party. Honorable members may recollect, as I do clearly, the account of an interview between the honorable member for Bland and the press soon after the present Prime Minister made a speech in Melbourne advocating the reopening of the Tariff. When the honorable member for Bland was interviewed on the subject, he said that he was very much disappointed that the right honorable member for East Sydney should be trying to revive the Tariff question, because he thought it ought to be sunk until the end of the period fixed by the Braddon clause. That was the position which the parties opposite took up then, and it is, therefore, clear that the new alliance is based upon a shameless and open disregard of those pledges. The alliance has been formed, we are told, for the purpose of reviving the Tariff issue, which honorable gentlemen forming the alliance definitely pledged themselves to sink during the life-time of the present Parliament. It will be a matter of interest to us, who gave definite pledges not to

re-open the Tariff, to see how those staunch free-traders, like my honorable friend the ex-Postmaster-General, and the honorable members for Maranoa, Perth, Canobolas, Barrier, and others will vote on the question. Is it true that they have sold themselves body and boots to the new alliance?

Mr. REID.—No fear, they are too staunch on that subject.

Mr. MAHON.—Do not indulge any hope in that quarter.

Mr. ROBINSON.—If the honorable member for Coolgardie were to go over on a question of that kind, I do not know anybody in the world whose steadfastness I could trust on this or any other question. But the honorable member for Melbourne Ports also took up the same attitude. He was also a fiscal peace man at the last election. He is reported in the *Age* newspaper of 24th November, 1903, to have said—

The Tariff was by no means satisfactory to protectionists. He had no intention, however, of reopening the fiscal question.

Mr. CHAPMAN.—Who said that?

Mr. ROBINSON.—Mr. Samuel Mauger, the honorable member for Melbourne Ports.

Mr. REID.—No, a brother; not "66 Bourke-street," surely?

Mr. ROBINSON.—The honorable member went on to say—

More was to be gained at present by fiscal rest than by resurrecting the Tariff.

Mr. MAUGER.—Quite right, that was twelve months ago.

Mr. REID.—The honorable member is a regular body snatcher now.

Mr. ROBINSON.—The honorable member for Bourke, who, I am sorry to say, has flinched from my castigation and run out of the chamber, said much the same thing. He is reported by the *Age* of 12th November, 1903, to have said—

He would support the Government as regards the maintenance of the present fiscal protection and fiscal peace.

So that those two honorable members, who are now battling to resurrect the Tariff issue were definitely pledged, so far as words can be definite, to prevent any reopening of the Tariff question during the present Parliament.

Mr. MAUGER.—No, I did not say a word about the present Parliament.

Mr. ROBINSON.—It is extraordinary that honorable members who gave a pledge of that kind should have the effrontery now

to advocate the reopening of the Tariff question. I have shown that the alliance existing between the extraordinary elements of the present Opposition is based upon a shameless disregard of pledges, and an open breach of faith with the public of Australia. We should look at the agreement which has been come to to see what are the conditions of the alliance. They are very amusing, and to those honorable members who are asked to contribute 5 per cent. of their salaries, they should be very interesting also. Article 3 of the conditions reads in this way—

Each party to use its influence individually and collectively with its organizations and supporters to secure support for and immunity from opposition to members of the other party during the currency of the alliance.

The honorable and learned members for Melbourne Ports and Bourke will not be assailed from the Labour side. They will not be asked to sign a pledge, or to hand over 5 per cent. of their salaries to assist the Labour cause. For this Parliament and the next their positions will be safe from Labour attacks, and no levy will be made upon their purses so long as the alliance continues.

Mr. MAHON.—Does the honorable and learned member say that any section of the Labour Party pays 5 per cent. of its salary to support the Labour cause?

Mr. ROBINSON.—I quoted the remarks made by the honorable member for Bourke at the last election, when, I believe, the honorable member was absent from the chamber. At any rate, the proposition was made that every member of the party in the Federal Parliament should contribute 5 per cent. of his salary to assist the Labour cause.

Mr. REID.—I guarantee that it was not approved of.

Mr. ROBINSON.—I am informed that it was.

Mr. WILSON.—It was at the time; but it has since been withdrawn.

Mr. ROBINSON.—It is stated in the articles of alliance that the Arbitration Bill is to be put through as nearly as possible as originally introduced; but that members are at liberty to adhere to votes already given. What does that mean? Honorable members will recollect that on the very first division after the Watson Government took office an amendment was carried, on my motion, excepting farming and rural industries generally from the operation of

the Bill. The present leader of the Opposition then stated that he would use all his efforts and influence to defeat that amendment, and that he and his party would do their best to bring those industries under the Bill. Is it the intention of the alliance to go back on that vote, or are honorable members opposite to have freedom of action on so important a question? If the combination is successful, and the honorable and learned member for Indi is able to oust the honorable and learned member for Northern Melbourne, how will he vote on the question? He was one of those who originally voted to exclude the farming industries from the operation of the Bill. The honorable member for Hume voted in the same way. The first vote which he gave after the Watson Government came into power was against the application of the Bill to the farming industries. What does he propose to do in the future?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I shall do as I did before.

Mr. ROBINSON.—I am very pleased to hear it, and to notice that my honorable friends are not unanimous on this important point. We are told, however, that in another place there are fourteen pledged labour members. If they insist on applying the Bill to the farming industries, will the members of the Opposition in this chamber accept this amendment? That is a point upon which the people in the country desire enlightenment. When the honorable member for Bland made his Ministerial statement some four or five months ago, he told us that his policy included the Government manufacture of tobacco. The making of provision for such a step was part of his programme for the session of next year; but, on looking at the platform of the alliance, I find that paragraph 10 reads as follows:—

Tobacco monopoly. Appointment of the present Select Committee as a Royal Commission, with addition of members from both Houses of Parliament.

I wish to know if the united Opposition is in favour of the manufacture and sale of tobacco by the Government.

Mr. MAUGER.—That will depend upon the report of the Royal Commission.

Mr. ROBINSON.—The Labour Party are definitely pledged in the matter. What then will become of the joints in the Labour tail? Are they going to wag the dog, or will the dog wag the tail? I should like to know how the honorable and learned member for Indi is going to vote on the

question, and a great many others would also like a definite pronouncement from him on the subject. In the last Parliament the honorable and learned member for Corio would work himself up into paroxysms of indignation whenever mention was made of the Government taking over a manufacture, and the proposal to establish a Government clothing factory nearly drove him out of his senses. I should like to know therefore whether he will vote for the Government manufacture of tobacco. This question is a very vital one, because the attitude of the alliance in regard to it will show to what extent the Socialism of the Labour Party is to be adopted by it. Are the members of the alliance ready to vote for the manufacture of articles in every case where a monopoly might be created under private enterprise?

Mr. MAHON.—Will not the honorable and learned member give us his views on the single tax question?

Mr. ROBINSON.—I am at present giving my views on the Ministerial statement, and the programme of the Opposition. If my honorable friend wishes to hear me on another matter, I shall be prepared to give him my opinions in regard to it at some other time. I wish to know what is to be the attitude of the alliance in regard to the Iron Bonus Bill. Their platform in regard to it is as follows:—

Iron Bonus Bill.—Every member to have freedom of action as to method of control.

Does that mean that the whole party is pledged to the granting of bonuses for the manufacture of iron? If so, a number of the members of the Opposition are going back upon their written opinions. I have before me the report of the Iron Bonus Commission, which was presented to His Excellency the Governor-General in March last, and was signed by, amongst others, the ex-Prime Minister, and the ex-Minister of External Affairs. Both of those gentlemen signed a report which pronounces in the most vigorous terms against the granting of a bonus for the manufacture of iron. Are they going back on their opinions? Are they to have a free hand only in determining who is to get the spoil, or are they going to adhere to their pledges in the matter? The decision of the alliance on this question will throw further light upon their attitude in regard to State Socialism. Caustic reference was made last night by the honorable and learned member for Indi to the question of preferential

trade. He asked what was the attitude of the Government in regard to it, and stated that he would oppose any proposal which was not based on protectionist lines. But on looking at the programme, all I can find is, that preferential trade is to be discussed by the two parties at an early date. Prior to the last general elections, the honorable and learned member for Ballarat took up a definite attitude on this question, and I supported him in regard to it. He stated that we must wait for a request from the British Government before taking action, and the *Age* in a leading article published on the 30th October last, after the speech of the honorable and learned member for Ballarat, outlining the policy of his Government, said—

If the time for negotiations ever arrives in consequence of Great Britain accepting the new policy, then will be the occasion for saying in what particulars our Tariff shall be modified in favour of England. . . . Mr. Deakin's preferential policy is crystallized in a sentence. "Great Britain must make the first move."

That was the policy of the Deakin Government, and I understand that it is the policy of the present Government. When Great Britain makes a move, the House will be given an opportunity to discuss the matter, and honorable members can then express their views on the question. The attitude taken up by the honorable member for Bland, when speaking on the motion for the Address-in-Reply, was that the Tariff should not be re-opened under any circumstances. "unless proposals first come from the mother country." There are three or four points upon which we require information. We want to know to what extent the Socialism of the Labour Party is adopted by those allied with it. Have the stragglers from the Protectionist Party, who are allying themselves with the Labour Party, swallowed its socialistic principles, or have honorable members of the Labour Party abandoned their principles to please the stragglers from the Protectionist Party? Although the platform of the alliance contains about seventeen paragraphs, and deals with nearly every phase of legislation likely to be discussed during the next ten years, no reference is made to the proposal put forward by the honorable member for Bland to take £8,000,000 of the gold in the reserves of the banks, and substitute for it the I.O.U. of the Commonwealth Government. No reference is made to the banking policy of the Labour Party, a policy of deliberate theft from the banks. Have the liberal malcontents succeeded in getting

the Labour Party to drop that proposal, or is it to be brought forward again later? It would be a matter of interest to us, and to the whole country, to know whether the Labour Party and members of the Opposition generally intend to institute a system of spoliation of the banks the moment that they have a sufficient majority at their back. Whatever incongruity there may be about the coalition of honorable members upon this side of the House—and I do not deny that differences of opinion exist upon vital questions—there is still more incongruity to be found in the combination upon the Opposition benches. Many honorable members, who previously stated that the Political Labour Council is a perfect fraud, and who refused to surrender their liberties by allying themselves with the Labour Party, are now prepared to work with them. I do not think that any sacrifice of principles has been made by honorable members on this side, to compare with the abandonment of policy of which some honorable members opposite have been guilty. It will be interesting to watch how the present combination upon the Opposition benches works, and what strength the respective parties will be able to exert. When the leader of the Opposition approached the Protectionist Party with a view to effect a coalition, he offered to distribute portfolios in the Ministry in accordance with the number of members who allied themselves with the Labour Party. I should like to know if the same principle is to be followed in connexion with the present combination. Is one portfolio or more to be given to members outside the caucus, or are they to be equal in all things? Not the least amusing development to which we shall look forward is the Homeric struggle which is bound to take place between the honorable and learned member for Indi and the honorable and learned member for Northern Melbourne, as to who is to occupy the position of legal adviser to the Government. Is it to be the honorable and learned member who has drafted amendments in the Ministerial room, or the bridge-builder who has drafted amendments to save the Government in this Chamber? The struggle between these two honorable and learned members will be watched with the greatest amusement and the greatest zest. An honorable member has just placed in my hands an extract from a speech delivered by the honorable member for Hume upon the 15th March, 1904.

He is reported at page 535 of *Hansard* as having said—

The Government do not propose to raise the fiscal issue, but I intend to maintain my principles. At the same time, I shall adhere to the statement of the Prime Minister that fiscal peace is to be preserved.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Hear, hear.

Mr. ROBINSON.—I am very glad to have an opportunity of disinterring that statement of an honorable member who, until a few days ago, was the leader of the malcontent Liberals, and who has now given place to the honorable and learned member for Indi. I am glad that an alliance has been formed between the two parties sitting in Opposition, because their combination will tend to clear the political atmosphere. It will show the country that there are a number of honorable members who are quite prepared to play the part of the tail of the Labour Party—the tail of the caucus and socialistic party. We know now that we are fighting a party wedded to the system of machine politics, and to the methods of militant Socialism. If the threats that the Opposition will obstruct the business of the House to the best of their ability are carried out, I hope the Prime Minister will adopt a courageous attitude, and place a distinct issue before the electors at once, so that the responsibility for the present political upset may be laid upon the right shoulders, namely, upon the shoulders of those who are wantonly obstructing public business. We do not fear to face the electors upon the issue of free *versus* machine politics, but I know that many honorable members opposite are praying night and day that a dissolution may be a long way off.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE (Hume).—The honorable and learned member who has just resumed his seat has had a great deal to say about the head and the tail of the Liberal Party, but I think I might very well ask the honorable and learned member to tell me which is the head and which is the tail of the Government Party? At present it is difficult to ascertain which side is uppermost. The present situation is unique, and it behoves every honorable member to do his best to place the responsibility for this extraordinary condition of affairs upon the right shoulders. When the first Commonwealth election was held, a vigorous fight was carried on throughout Australia—at any rate, in New South Wales—upon the fiscal question. Although a majority of protectionists were returned to the

House, some of the members of the party did not, to my mind, support protectionist principles in connexion with the framing of the Tariff so strongly as might have been expected. The Free-trade Party adopted obstructive tactics, and very largely contributed to make the Tariff what it is, and what it should not be. Upon the occasion of the last election, the cry was raised by the Prime Minister that there should be no fiscal peace, and that the free-traders should fight for their own cause, in order to remove from the Tariff its protectionist elements. It is astonishing that, after having sustained a great defeat on the fiscal issue, the right honorable gentleman should be embraced by his political opponents, and permitted to enjoy those fruits of victory to which he is not entitled. When the right honorable gentleman was vigorously opposing me in my electorate, he said that he would ask his constituents to return him for this occasion only. He stated further that, whether by the result of the elections he was on the top or not, he would not remain in public life beyond the life of this Parliament. After being defeated upon the fiscal issue, he comes to this House, and by disgraceful intrigues and machinations, succeeds in usurping the position which he has no right to hold.

Mr. KELLY.—That is really wicked.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—Terrible.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Honorable members may make light of the situation. The little man from Wentworth has more assertiveness than anything else, and is continually interjecting silly remarks.

Mr. SPEAKER.—Order. Personal remarks with regard to an honorable member's stature are not in order, and I must ask the honorable member not to continue in that strain.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I was merely speaking of the littleness of the honorable member's interjections. It is not right that the arch-enemy of the protectionist cause should hold the position of Prime Minister of the Commonwealth in a protectionist Parliament. How did he achieve that position? In the first place he intrigued against the Deakin Government in a manner that was not reputable to himself, or to his followers. He publicly told his supporters to vote against that Government, whilst he saved his political skin by voting with them on the question of including public servants within the scope of the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—Can the honorable member show that the Prime Minister made the statement he has referred to?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Yes, I read the statement in the public press. He said that he would vote with the Government, but that he was not going to bind his followers to adopt the same course; they could vote against the Government if they felt so disposed.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—That is very different from what the honorable member stated.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Two honorable members stated that they voted against their consciences simply with a view to destroy the Government.

An HONORABLE MEMBER.—There were more than two who did that.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—There may have been a large number, but I heard two make that declaration. These were some of the tricks which the Prime Minister adopted to eject the Deakin Ministry from office. The late Government did not desire office. From the first, it was subjected to unfair treatment at the hands of the Prime Minister. The present Postmaster-General also was intriguing against it all the time.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—The honorable member endeavoured to secure my seat upon the direct Opposition benches.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—The Minister is not stating what is correct. I may have sat in his seat for a few minutes, but I have never been in direct Opposition to the late Government. The Deakin Government never received fair play at the hands of the Opposition, and the Tariff would have been very much worse had it not been for the support given to the Barton Government by the Labour Party.

Mr. MCCAY.—By the protectionist members of the Labour Party.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Yes, of course. Seventy-five per cent. of the members of that party are protectionists, and they constituted our main support in passing the Tariff.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Why should they not have supported the carrying out of the policy of which they approved?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I do not say that they should not have done so; but the free-traders and some of the right honorable member's bosom friends, whom he has been intriguing to bring into power, did not give us any assistance.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I have never intrigued.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—There is no greater intriguer or underground engineer in Australia than is the right honorable member. I was deceived for a time as to his capacity in that direction, but the scales have been removed from my eyes. There is a belief on the part of some honorable members that I occasionally resort to intrigue. Such a supposition is entirely a mistake.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—The honorable member is a pretty good hand at it.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—And the honorable member is a little better.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I do not think so.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—It was manifest when the Deakin Government were defeated that there was no desire on the part of the Labour Party that they should be so defeated. The party did not wish to take the place of the Deakin Government, and I know from statements made by many individual members of it that they had no desire to put that Government out of office. The Labour Party went to the country as advocates of the extension of the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill to the States railway servants. They were to a large extent returned on that issue, and were, therefore, perfectly justified in the course which they adopted in regard to the clause in the Bill dealing with that question. Had they not adhered to the principle on which they were mainly returned, they would not have been worthy of the position which they occupied. They stood by that principle, and the Deakin Government were turned out of office—not by the Labour Party, but through the agency of the leader of the present Government.

Mr. SALMON.—Does the honorable member think that an honorable member should keep his election pledges?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I know that the honorable member does not keep them.

Mr. SALMON.—I rise to a point of order. The honorable member for Hume, mistaking an interjection which I made, has charged me with having failed to keep election pledges. I think that such conduct would be unworthy of an honorable member, and I therefore ask, Mr. Speaker, that the honorable member be called upon either to prove his charge or to withdraw it.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I scarcely think that the point of order is a good one. The honorable member made an interjection, and I simply replied to it.

Mr. SPEAKER. — If the honorable member desires a statement to be withdrawn he is entitled to have his request complied with.

Mr. SALMON. — I wish the honorable member to prove his statement or to withdraw it.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—If Mr. Speaker says that that statement must be withdrawn I shall withdraw it. I may say that I have closely watched the honorable member for Laanecoorie's political career for some little time past. It had been so circuitous that I desired to see what would be the outcome of it.

Mr. McCAY.—If it were circuitous, it would be quite natural to the honorable member for Hume.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—The honorable member for Laanecoorie has been slightly wobbling. I have referred to the position of the Labour Party, because I think that their opposition to the Deakin Government has been dealt with in an unfair way. The right honorable member for Swan, as soon as he went into opposition, began to make vigorous attacks on the party. It was the first time that he had sat in opposition during a public career extending over twenty-one years. He informs me that he never had a contest during the whole of that time, and having held office for so many years, I think he might very well have sat quietly for a little time in opposition, instead of attacking the Watson Government as he did. As a matter of fact, his attacks should have been made not on the Labour Party, but on the present Prime Minister.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—My complaint was that the Watson Government had not a majority behind it.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—The right honorable member made an all-round attack on the late Government—an attack which, I am afraid, was due to some soreness on his part.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I hope not.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I may be wrong, but that was the impression which I formed. After being in office for twenty-one years, the right honorable member should have been fairly well satisfied to remain for a time in opposition.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—In some respects it was a happy release for me.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—And in others it was not. When the present Prime Minister and his supporters had by means of

intrigue secured the defeat of the Deakin Government, the Governor-General was advised to send for the honorable member for Bland—the leader of the Labour Party—and the present Prime Minister began to whine like a school boy, because the Governor-General had not sent for him. He even went so far as to accuse His Excellency of having taken a wrong course. He practically charged him with having acted improperly. I was surprised to hear the right honorable member say in the course of the speech made by him a day or two ago that if anything happened to prevent the present Government carrying on the business of the country, he would dictate to the Governor-General the course to be taken by him. I have no doubt that when the right honorable gentleman called on the Governor on that celebrated Saturday afternoon, before he was officially sent for, he gave His Excellency an assurance that he could carry on the Government of the country, although he must have known that that assurance was not true. In that way I think that the right honorable gentleman deliberately misled the Governor-General, and when he says, in effect, as he did, the other day, that he is going to set aside the discretionary powers of His Excellency, and to do certain things himself, I think he assumes a power that is beyond his rights. I should not be surprised, however, at anything the right honorable member attempts. He sought on one occasion to deal in the same way with the Governor of New South Wales, but was well snubbed for his pains. He was told to mind his own business, and that the Governor would look after his own affairs.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I had nothing to do with that, so that the honorable member need not look at me as he is doing.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—The right honorable member is such a striking figure in the House, and his characteristics are so attractive that I find it difficult to avoid turning towards him, more particularly as the Government benches are practically deserted.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Government supporters ought to be present.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—The right honorable member for East Sydney lost no time in setting to work to get rid of the Watson Government. I should like, at this stage, to quote a few words from a speech made by the honorable and learned member for Ballarat, which will live in history, and

will, doubtless, be referred to on many occasions. I refer to the speech in which he dealt with the attitude which the Opposition would take up towards the Watson Government. I must say, without any feeling of warmth, that, unless the honorable and learned member for Ballarat had intended to give support to the Watson Government, he should not have recommended the Governor-General to send for the honorable member for Bland. He knew, as well as did any one in this Chamber, that the Labour Party in itself did not constitute a majority of the House. In that respect they were in the same position as the Barton Government and the Deakin Government, and if the Governor-General was to be guided in arriving at a decision by the question of whether the Labour Party constituted a majority of the House, the honorable and learned member should not have advised him to send for the honorable member for Bland, unless he intended to extend some measure of support to him. Unless he was prepared to support the leader of the Labour Party he was leading that honorable member into an absolutely false position. What did the honorable and learned member for Ballarat say on the first available opportunity, after taking up his position as one of the leaders of the Opposition? In speaking for the Opposition he said—

I am charged to extend to the Government the assurance that the Opposition propose to extend to them the utmost fair play.

That was the first statement which the honorable and learned member made in this House, after recommending the Governor-General to send for the honorable member for Bland, and after that honorable member had formed a Ministry. Then he went on to say—

The secret history of Cabinets is not written, or to be written; but once in my life-time I made the fatal mistake—and it was in connexion with a State coalition Government—of failing to insist on the acceptance of the resignation I had tendered. I saw plainly enough that what I believed to be mistakes in policy were about to be made. I was entirely opposed to the particular policy then suggested, but allowed myself to be persuaded that consideration for my party and my colleagues, in which I hope I have never failed, demanded that I should sacrifice my own views to those of others. I did sacrifice my own strong views to those of others. I did so on that occasion, but shall not do so again.

Even at the time that this speech, in which the honorable and learned member admitted that he had made a mistake in joining a Coalition Government, was

made, he was advising his colleagues to join a coalition. The attempts to bring about such coalition were for some time unavailing, because it was considered to be a most unholy proposal. The final result was that several of his colleagues joined the present Prime Minister. I regret that the Coalition Government was ever brought into existence, not because of any personal considerations, but because of my regard for the Protectionist Party, and for those, calling themselves protectionists, who have given themselves away.

Mr. DEAKIN.—The mistake to which I referred was not in joining a coalition, but in agreeing to a policy to which I strongly objected.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I thought that the honorable and learned member was referring to the fact that he was a member of the Gillies-Deakin Coalition Government.

Mr. DEAKIN.—I was.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—And I understood that the honorable and learned member was referring to that Government.

Mr. DEAKIN.—I referred to the mistake made by me, not in joining the Coalition Government in question, but in allowing myself to be persuaded to remain in it in spite of the fact that I saw that what I believed to be mistakes were about to be made.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I take it that the honorable and learned member said, in his concluding sentence, that he made a mistake in remaining in that Coalition Government, but that he was not going to make another mistake of the kind.

Mr. PAGE.—The honorable and learned member will yet burst up the present Coalition Government.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I desire to say that, although I have considered it necessary to make these quotations from a speech delivered by the honorable and learned member for Ballarat, there is no one who holds him in higher estimation than I do, and that I trust that whatever may be our differences in political life, our private friendship will always continue.

Mr. DEAKIN.—Hear, hear!

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—In another part of the same speech the honorable and learned member said—

I think that we must all agree that it can only be maintained—

That is, the Watson Government—

even temporarily, by that honorable granting of fair play, to which I have already alluded; by that extension of consideration from one side of the House to the other, which enables us to discharge our common duties to the public.

Mr. McCAY.—Does the honorable member charge the honorable and learned member for Ballarat with having failed, so far as he was personally concerned, to carry out that promise?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE. — I have not made any charge against him. I have simply made one or two quotations from his speech, but I intend to show that the essence of the promise made by him on the occasion in question was not carried out. I repeat the statement, because I think it is necessary that it should be emphasized that the Watson Government, after being placed in power as the result of the action of the honorable and learned member for Ballarat, should have received a greater measure of fair play than was vouchsafed to it by the then Opposition. A large section of the community comprising the political enemies of the Labour Party feel keenly that it did not get fair play owing to the intrigues of honorable members led by the right honorable member for East Sydney.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—What did they expect?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—They did not expect anything from the right honorable gentleman. I am quite sure of that.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Why should they; they turned us out?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—They did not turn us out. I have shown that it was the right honorable member for East Sydney, and not the Labour Party, who turned us out. It was, in my humble opinion, an unwise thing for the honorable and learned member for Ballarat to have made the question of the inclusion of the railway servants in the Arbitration and Conciliation Bill a vital one. I fancied that I had felt the pulse of the people; I knew my own feeling on the subject, and I told the honorable and learned member for Ballarat at the time, that if he did not include the railway servants some other Government would, and that the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill would never pass this House without their inclusion.

Mr. SPENCE. — And now honorable members opposite have swallowed the inclusion of the railway servants.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I admit that it was a high minded course to adopt, but in my opinion it was Quixotic to make a stand as the honorable and learned member for Ballarat did. With

regard to the action of the combined Opposition, or a portion of the combined Opposition to the Watson Government, I feel that the statement made by the Prime Minister, to the effect that the battle ground was selected by the leader of the Watson Government, is absolutely incorrect. I may tell honorable members that, knowing the right honorable member for East Sydney as I do, I should not have been caught in the trap—because unquestionably a trap was laid for the honorable member for Bland. I heard the right honorable member for East Sydney, in an insinuating question across the table, lay the trap, when the honorable member for Bland said that if clause 48 of the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill were amended as proposed, he would take it as a vital question.

Mr. McWILLIAMS.—Was not that selecting the battle ground?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—No; that was a selection of the clause and not of the motion for its recommitment, there is a vast difference between the two positions. The division on the amendment, proposed by the honorable and learned member for Corinella, was taken at a late hour of the evening, and the amendment was not debated. I am aware that some honorable members who voted for the amendment regretted that they had given such a vote, when they came to understand what it was. The honorable member for Bland desired that we should go back again to the consideration of the clause with a view to its further discussion, and to the substitution of another amendment for that agreed to on the motion of the honorable and learned member for Corinella.

Mr. McWILLIAMS.—All the members to whom the honorable gentleman has referred voted for the recommitment of the clause.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—But the point is that the recommitment was made a combined test vote against the Watson Government, in order that honorable members opposed to that Government might obtain the vote of the Chairman of Committees, the honorable member for Laanecoorie. That was not a very reputable thing for those concerned.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—There was no gain in that.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—There was the gain of the vote of the honorable member for Laanecoorie.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—But there was the vote of the honorable member for Barker on the other side.

An HONORABLE MEMBER.—The Opposition did not know that at the time.

Mr. McCAY.—Everybody knew of it.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I desire to compare the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill as introduced by the honorable and learned member for Ballarat with that Bill, as it has been amended, that we may see if there is any reason why the honorable and learned member and other honorable members should take such great exception to it. As introduced by the honorable and learned member for Ballarat, the Bill contained these words—

but does not include a dispute relating to employment in the Public Service of the Commonwealth or of a State, or to employment by any public authority constituted under the Commonwealth or a State.

It was on the omission of these words involved in the amendment of the honorable member for Wide Bay that the Deakin Government went out, and not on the straight question of the inclusion of State public servants. In the Bill, as originally introduced by the honorable and learned member for Ballarat, I find also that there were included persons engaged in agriculture, horticulture, and other industries connected with the soil.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—We know all about that.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I objected to that; but I was only one in the Cabinet.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I also objected to it.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Probably the right honorable member did. The only persons excepted under the interpretation of "industry" in the Bill as originally introduced were "persons engaged in domestic service." The amendment moved by the honorable member for Wide Bay included public servants of the States, and the amendment moved by the honorable and learned member for Wannon carried the exemption of agricultural, horticultural, and farm labourers generally. I voted for that amendment. It will therefore be seen that there were provisions in the Bill, as originally introduced by the honorable and learned member for Ballarat, which were very much more stringent than those in the Bill as it now stands. Honorable members were supporting a Bill including farm labourers, and yet they afterwards combined to put out the Watson Government when farm labourers were no longer included in the measure.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—We have not to thank the Labour Party for that.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—With respect to the now notorious clause 48, as it appeared in the Bill as originally introduced, no attempt was to be made to decide by a ballot whether an application for preference or a common rule was approved by a majority of the persons engaged in the industry concerned. There was a hard and fast provision for preference in the Bill as introduced by the honorable and learned member for Ballarat, and yet it was on an amendment which modified the stringency of that provision that the Watson Government were put out.

Mr. KENNEDY.—It was upon a qualification of that clause that they were put out.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Both the qualifications of that clause submitted in the amendments proposed by the honorable and learned member for Corinella, and by the honorable member for Bland, made the clause less stringent than as it was introduced by the honorable and learned member for Ballarat.

Mr. BAMFORD.—The clause did not matter at all—the Watson Government were to be “biffed” out.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I am showing the unfair attitude which was adopted by the Opposition after the promise of fair play made to the Watson Government.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Those promises are always given.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I do not know that they are, but I know that the right honorable member for Swan said that the honorable and learned member for Ballarat was too easy, and ought not to say those things.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I said that the honorable and learned member was too complimentary.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Let us consider for a moment the difference between the amendment agreed to at the instance of the honorable and learned member for Corinella, and that suggested by the honorable member for Bland. The clause, as it stood in the Bill originally, provided for a preference to unionists, without any proviso. The proviso, which was the cause of the trouble, reads as follows:—

And provided further, that no such preference shall be directed to be given, unless the application for preference is, in the opinion of the Court, approved by a majority of those affected by the award, who have interests in common with the applicants.

That is held to mean that in order to decide the question a ballot would require to be taken, probably from Port Darwin to the south of Tasmania.

Mr. McCAY.—Who holds that?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—That is generally held, and I say that if discretion in the matter is taken out of the hands of the Court, there is no other way of arriving at a conclusion than by a ballot of those engaged in the industry, which may extend from Port Darwin to the south of Tasmania.

Mr. BAMFORD.—That would be so in the case of seamen.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—It would be so in the case of seamen or wharf labourers, or of any industry having connecting links in various parts of the different States.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—It is not fair.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I am aware that the right honorable member for Swan does not desire the provision at all.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I think it is unfair.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—The right honorable member did not desire that the Bill should be passed at all.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Why, I introduced and passed a Conciliation and Arbitration Bill myself.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—The amendment which the honorable member for Bland proposed to substitute for that agreed to at the instance of the honorable and learned member for Corinella, read in this way—

The Court before directing that preference shall be given to the members of an organization, shall be satisfied that the organization substantially represents the industry affected in point of the numbers and competence of its members.

Mr. JOHNSON.—What does “substantially” mean?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—It means that a discretion is left to the Court, and after obtaining information in any way it thinks fit the Court would decide whether or not those words were complied with.

Mr. HIGGINS. — “Substantially” is a word which the Judges themselves use.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—That is so. The amendment suggested by the honorable member for Bland in my humble opinion is safe, is practical, and is far and away a better amendment than that agreed to on the motion of the honorable and learned member for Corinella, if the desire be to tone the clause down.

Mr. JOHNSON.—The question was whether Parliament or a Judge should make the law.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE. — Parliament must depute some one to administer a law of this kind, and the proposal was that it

should be administered by a Judge of the High Court, who would be a man not brought up in the same way as those generally employed in any industry. His education would be different, his social surroundings would be different, and he would be likely, to deal in an absolutely fair way with those making an application under the clause, certainly not to unduly lean towards them.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—He would only be a human being after all.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I should be prepared to trust the Judge. I can well understand the interjection coming from a right honorable member whose desire is to destroy the clause altogether.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I do not believe in preference, and the honorable gentleman does—that is the difference.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—It is not preference, that is a misnomer. I remember that on the morning after the amendment moved by the honorable and learned member for Corinella was carried the *Argus* came out with a cross heading in large type, "Destruction of Preference to Unionists." There is no doubt in my mind that the clause does not specially provide for a preference to unionists; that was merely a misnomer suggested to please those who are opposed altogether to a Conciliation and Arbitration Bill. The right honorable member for Swan was opposed to the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I introduced and passed such a Bill, and the honorable gentleman knows it.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Yes, and it was no good either. It was an Arbitration Bill without any force in it.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The Labour Unions did not say so. They were very pleased with it, and they thanked me for it.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—At any rate it is not of very much use.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Did the honorable gentleman ever do as much?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I think I have done a little more. I was practically the instigator of the New South Wales Arbitration Act. The Government of which I was the Premier were the authors of the measure.

Mr. SPENCE.—Hear, hear! An effective measure!

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Yes. There has been friction in connexion with the administration of that measure; but whenever the old order of things is disturbed,

there must be friction, until the public learn to understand the new order of things.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The measure I introduced was a copy of the New Zealand legislation of the time.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—It may have been a copy of the New Zealand legislation of the time, but that legislation has since been seriously amended. Probably the New South Wales Arbitration Act requires some amendment. No one who frames a measure of legislation can say exactly how it will act until there has been practical experience of its working; but after the rough knots have been discovered and planed off, I think everything will go smoothly in New South Wales. At all events, I initiated the measure, and my Attorney-General passed it into law.

Mr. HIGGINS.—It is the best Act in force in the States.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I have quoted certain provisions from the Bill introduced by the honorable and learned member for Ballarat which are of a far more stringent character than those in the Bill as it now stands since it was passed through Committee by the honorable member for Bland. I think that both the House and the public have come to the conclusion that the honorable member for Bland was a most temperate leader, although he adhered to the policy which he was elected to support.

Mr. JOHNSON.—He was more temperate while on the Treasury benches than while on the cross benches, because he was compelled to be so.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Probably that was the case. When a man is in office he feels the responsibility of the position. That is one reason why I should have liked to see the honorable member for Bland and his colleagues remain in power for a longer time. Their sense of the responsibility attaching to office would have increased. I should like to know what there was to complain of in their attitude, since the Bill as they have passed it through Committee is a much less stringent measure than that originally introduced by the honorable and learned member for Ballarat. To my mind, the amendment proposed by the Watson Government, giving the power of decision to the President of the Arbitration Court, instead of creating an unworkable machine, was the better one of the two, and I think that the House acted most unfairly in putting the Government out of office in the way in which they did.

Mr. WILSON.—How could it be unfair if it was in keeping with the rules of the House?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—When the honorable member has been a little longer in Parliament, he will know that there are ways of doing things which are fair, and other ways which are unfair. For instance, the night before last the present Government could have been put out by a considerable majority if the Opposition had felt inclined to put them out.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—They would not have gone out on a snatch vote.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—My experience of some of the members of the Government is that it would take many teams of bullocks to haul them from the Treasury benches. On one occasion I heard it whispered, when an adverse vote had been given, that they would adopt what I think is the French system, of getting a friend to move a vote of confidence.

Mr. McLEAN.—We would move a motion affirming that we had no confidence in the Opposition.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I had much more confidence in the honorable member before he joined his present leader than I have now, or than I can have again. The Watson Government did not cling to office.

Mr. LONSDALE.—They chose their own battle-ground.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—No. They did not. An attempt was afterwards made to bring about a coalition. That coalition now contains a mutilated half of the old Protectionist Party.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—More than half.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Very little more—only one or two.

Mr. JOHNSON.—What does the Opposition coalition contain?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Our coalition is in earnest, and it will be loyal.

Mr. LIDDELL.—What about the Ballarat Labour League?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I do not know about it; but I dare say that there are a few malcontents in the honorable member's electorate, and he will probably hear from them presently. I may be wrong in my ideas of consistency, but I have tried to be consistent during my political life. I cannot understand how those who have professed to be strong protectionists could join the leader of the Free-trade Party, who has many times expressed his determination to destroy the Tariff if he gets the opportunity. Whilst they are

reaping the fruits of office, what is taking place outside? What are the free-trade leagues doing? In New South Wales they are making every preparation for a free-trade fight at the next elections. Has there not been a meeting of the Central League for that purpose, and are not its agents travelling all over the State at the present moment?

Mr. WILSON.—What are the protectionists doing in Victoria?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—The protectionists would be doing nothing if it were not for those who have shown loyal.

Mr. KENNEDY.—Loyal to what?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I have the greatest regard for the honorable member, but I differ from him on this matter. He has allowed the Protectionist Party to be weakened and partially destroyed.

Mr. KENNEDY.—What has the honorable member done to keep it together? He was the cause of the split.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—No; I have done my best to keep it together. The right honorable member for Swan was the chief cause of the split.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I have done nothing.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I may be wrong in my interpretation of loyalty, but I cannot understand how a loyal protectionist can join the arch free-trader of Australia, who has said times without number that his mission in this southern world is to bring about free-trade. The Free-trade Leagues are at present working as hard as they can in preparing to sweep the weakened Protectionist Party out of existence at the next general elections.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The honorable member is joined to a party—the Labour Party—which has no fiscal faith at all.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—When I was in Western Australia, the right honorable member had no fiscal faith. He, on one occasion, inquired what arguments ought to be used by a protectionist.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Was that at Kalgoorlie?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—No; at Fremantle.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I do not remember the occurrence to which the honorable member refers. Is he alluding to a private conversation?

Mr. McCAY.—Did the honorable member for Hume tell the right honorable member what arguments to use?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I dare say that I did, though if he listened to one of my speeches he would find there plenty of arguments. Let me quote one or two words which have been said in regard to this coalition by the Rev. Dr. Bevan—

I have no faith in coalitions. The working out of great principles is best done by means of the opposition of great parties. This is so, not only in politics, but also in the church.

That is the opinion of a man who does not keep his eyes shut to politics. Although he is a free-trader, he is an able, and, I think, an honorable and conscientious man. In the same paper is the following report of a speech made by that great free-trade propagandist, Mr. Max Hirsch:—

He admitted that the Federal crisis was touching free-trade principles most acutely. During the last three years there had been an informal coalition between the Labour Party and the protectionists. Mr. Deakin practically said, "Give me protection, and I will give you the socialistic measures you demand." That alliance would continue unless another alliance took its place. "We have," the speaker continued, "to choose between two evils, and we must choose the lesser."

Mr. Max Hirsch is diametrically opposed to the views of the Labour Party. But when reference is made to the socialistic tendencies of that party, I would ask someone to say what Socialism is. Last night the honorable member for Darling quoted some dozen claims made by the Western farmers on the Government of Victoria.

Mr WILSON.—No, the North-eastern farmers.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Our public life, and also our private life, is largely regulated by the operations of State Socialism. It is well known that I do not agree with the extreme socialistic doctrines preached by some individuals. In reference to the tobacco industry, I say unhesitatingly that I am not at present in a position to decide whether the monopoly is of such a character that State interference would be warranted.

Mr. WILSON.—What does the honorable and learned member for Indi say about it?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—He may know more about it than I do. I am not sufficiently well acquainted with the circumstances to justify me in deciding that a State monopoly should be created, but certainly I think that the fullest possible inquiry should be made, and that a Royal Commission should be appointed with that object in view. A Parliamentary Select Committee would not suffice, because the

fullest authority must be given to obtain information from all sources. If the present tobacco monopoly is operating to the injury of the general public, it must be prevented. Those honorable members who complain of the attitude of the Labour Party in regard to the tobacco industry are themselves in favour of introducing legislation for regulating the operations of trusts. Therefore I fail to recognise the consistency of their attitude. The Prime Minister has shown himself to be an opportunist of the most pronounced type. After having attacked the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill, and having joined with others in expressing his disapproval of many of its provisions, he is now prepared to take it with all its alleged faults, and to adopt it as a Government measure. The right honorable gentleman is apparently prepared to swallow all his own statements, and to reverse the votes which he gave when he was sitting in opposition. He says that he is anxious to put an end to all friction between the Commonwealth Government and the States Governments, but at the same time he is prepared to adopt the Arbitration Bill with the provision relating to the railway servants, which has, perhaps, caused more friction between the States and the Commonwealth than anything that has occurred in this Parliament. I voted for that provision, and I intend to remain firm in that attitude. I opposed the inclusion of farm labourers within the scope of the measure, and I shall act consistently in that regard also. The honorable and learned member for Wannon has endeavoured to show that under the alliance which has been entered into with the Labour Party, it will be necessary for some honorable members to reverse their former votes; but if he had read the terms of the arrangement he would have seen that there was no necessity for anything of that kind. The Prime Minister tells us that he has determined to re-establish responsible government upon a firm basis; but I would ask how his position in regard to the Manufactures Encouragement Bill can be regarded as consistent with that declaration. If I were the leader of a Government, and I believed in the Manufactures Encouragement Bill, I should adopt it as a Government measure at all costs. The right honorable gentleman sneered at the Labour Party because of their attitude towards that measure, but he is pursuing a similar course. The leader of

the Labour Party agreed to allow me as a private individual to take up the Bill, and to afford me every opportunity for passing it through the House. I do not suppose that the present Prime Minister will extend to me a similar courtesy.

Mr. McCAY.—Does the honorable member want it?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Yes; of course I do.

Mr. McCAY.—I thought the honorable member said that he would not accept anything from the Prime Minister.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I said that I would not accept any favour at his hands. I was speaking of personal favours. I regard the Manufactures Encouragement Bill as a most important one, and I am glad to say that the members of the Labour Party have taken up a commendable attitude with regard to the measure. Notwithstanding all the statements of the honorable and learned member for Wannon as to their insincerity, they are prepared to loyally support the Bill. When it reaches the Committee stage, those who desire that the industry shall be nationalized, will have a perfect right to do their best to make provision to that effect. If, however, they do not succeed, they will not seek to wreck the Bill.

Mr. McCAY.—That is rather a change of front.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I hope that I am not divulging any secret when I make that announcement.

Mr. WILSON.—Will the honorable member vote for the nationalization of the iron industry?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I shall vote for the matter to be dealt with by private enterprise, but I shall not attempt to destroy the Bill in the event of that proposal not being agreed to. I desire to see the Bill passed.

Mr. WILSON.—Then the honorable member is prepared to swallow one plank of the socialistic platform?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I do not know that the proposal to nationalize the iron industry would commit us to any greater degree of Socialism than is involved in the nationalization of our railways, our tramways, and our waterworks. Fortunately the New South Wales tramways are in the hands of the Government.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—The honorable member was in favour of selling the railways and tramways some time ago.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I was in favour of selling the railways about twenty-two years ago.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—It is not so long ago as that.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Yes, it was; I know, because the party to which my honorable friend belongs was in power. I was a comparative novice in public life at that time, and, having watched developments since, I have come to the conclusion that it is a matter for great congratulation that the railways of Australia are in the hands of the States. In Melbourne the tramways are in the hands of a private company, and are not worked to the same public advantage as are those of Sydney, where the travelling public derive the benefit of the interest which would otherwise go into the pockets of the proprietors of the tramways. If we cannot secure the development of our iron industry by private enterprise, there is no reason why the State should not undertake the work, so that we may derive the benefit of our national resources in the shape of iron deposits. If we were involved in war at any time, and were unable to import war material from abroad, we should be absolutely helpless, because we should have no means of manufacturing our own arms.

Mr. PAGE.—We cannot make a gun barrel yet.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—We cannot yet produce a sufficient amount of steel to manufacture even one gun barrel; therefore I think it is highly desirable that we establish the manufacture of iron and steel at the earliest possible opportunity. The Prime Minister has made a declaration of the policy of the Government with regard to the question of preferential trade. When I stated that I intended to propose a resolution with reference to preferential trade, the Postmaster-General dared me to bring it forward, and threatened me that it would be kicked out of the House. The Prime Minister has also more than once expressed himself as entirely opposed to the idea of establishing preferential trade relations with the old country. Now he has accepted the principle. His promise, however, is only a piece of political padding. If we are to deal with the subject of preferential trade upon practical lines, we must impose fresh duties upon foreign goods in order to enable us to give an appreciable preference to British manufactures. If I had been in a position to do so, I should have made an

offer to Great Britain without waiting for her to approach us.

Mr. FULLER.—That comes very well from the honorable member, who all his life has been in favour of imposing taxes upon British imports.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I am a protectionist, and not a revenue-tariffist.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—How would the honorable member raise revenue?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—If revenue cannot be obtained in one way, it can be secured in another. If it be desired to encourage the industries of Australia, we must have an effective protectionist system. We cannot encourage our industries if we sweep away our Tariff walls. I do not believe in imposing duties upon small lines of imports, but upon goods which can be manufactured and consumed here upon a large scale. The present Tariff is more in the nature of a revenue than a protectionist Tariff. Honorable members have twitted me with having stated that I was in favour of fiscal peace. The fiscal question was raised not by the party to which I belong, but by the Prime Minister. I had to fight the right honorable member, and some of his principal supporters very bitterly in my own electorate, which was simply swarming with free-trade speakers during the last campaign. Sir William McMillan, the honorable and learned member for Parkes, the Prime Minister and others, did their best to secure my defeat.

Mr. WILSON.—The honorable member said he would not raise the fiscal issue.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I said that I did not wish to re-open the Tariff, because it had been in operation such a short time that we could scarcely judge of its practical working. Therefore, I was prepared to allow matters to rest for a time. Now, however, it has been proved that the Tariff is doing infinite harm to a large number of industries, particularly in Victoria. I have investigated the circumstances connected with from twelve to fourteen of our principal industries, and I find that imports are rapidly taking the place of locally-manufactured goods. The products of cheap and prison labour in other parts of the world, are being imported to the disadvantage of our own manufacturers, and workmen, and I have been informed by one large manufacturer that, unless some adjustment is made which will prevent the present large influx of imported goods, he will have to close his factory.

Mr. THOMAS.—I desire, Mr. Speaker, to call attention to the state of the House. A quorum not being present,

Mr. SPEAKER adjourned the House at 2.4 p.m.

House of Representatives.

Tuesday, 13 September, 1904.

Mr. SPEAKER took the chair at 2.30 p.m., and read prayers.

PERSONAL EXPLANATIONS.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I desire to make a personal explanation. I had been speaking for about an hour before the luncheon adjournment on Friday last, and when I re-entered the Chamber after luncheon, and found that there was not a quorum present, I asked the honorable member for Barrier if he would direct attention to the state of the House. I did so because the leader of the Government had been away from the Chamber for the whole of the time that I was speaking. He is seldom in the House, except when he is speaking himself, and many of his followers take the opportunity—

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I rise to order. I submit that the honorable member may not cast reflections upon the actions of another honorable member while making a personal explanation.

Mr. SPEAKER.—I understand the honorable member for Hume to be explaining the reasons why he desired the honorable member for Barrier to call attention to the state of the House on Friday last. So long as he confines himself to such reasons, he will be in order.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—That is exactly what I was doing. The leader of the Government, as soon as he heard that I was about to speak, took the opportunity to walk out of the Chamber, and he remained away during the whole of the time that I was speaking.

Mr. REID.—I really must object to these statements.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—The front Government benches were empty during nearly the whole of the time that I was speaking.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—So were the Opposition benches.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—It was not so with the Opposition benches. Putting aside my personal feelings in the matter, I say that such conduct was disrespectful to the House. I had not much to say after the luncheon adjournment, and would not have taken more than about twenty minutes to conclude my speech.

Mr. REID.—The honorable member's leader was also absent from the Chamber.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I felt that in justice to the importance of the subject, and to myself, the leader of the Government should have been present in the House, instead of being at the other end of the building, as I understand he was. My object was, not to count out the House, but to bring other members into the Chamber. I regret that the House was counted out; but I could not help it. My object was to compel the members who sit on the Government side of the Chamber to attend to their duties.

Mr. REID.—Since my name has been introduced into the explanation made by the honorable member for Hume, I think that I shall not be out of order in making a personal explanation. He stated that I went out of the Chamber just before he began his speech. That may have occurred; but I wish to say that he did not influence my movements on the occasion, and that my absence from the Chamber was due to some call of public duty. My experience is that my presence influences the honorable member as a red rag does a bull, and that the only way to preserve his mental equilibrium is for me to occasionally go out of the Chamber when he is speaking.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I desired the right honorable member to hear what I had to say. I did not wish to speak behind his back.

ALIEN RESTRICTION ADMINISTRATION.

Mr. HIGGINS.—I wish to know from the Minister of External Affairs whether, having regard to his declarations last year as to the six hatters case, he intends to bring in a Bill to amend the Alien Restriction Act so as to remedy the state of affairs of which he complained. If this is not his intention, why is it not?

Mr. REID.—I should like to remind the honorable and learned member of the declaration which I made upon the subject before the people of Australia. I placed

the matter before them as every sensible politician places a matter before the public. If I have the power to alter the Act in a certain direction, I will do so the moment I discover the fact; but an alteration of the Act is not part of the policy of this coalition Government. I should like to say that one of my strong objections to the painful incident referred to was the unjustifiable delay which occurred in dealing with the case, during which the men concerned were kept in durance vile. I guarantee that there will be more prompt administration, so far as I am concerned, and that no such painful experience will occur in the future.

FORMATION OF THE MINISTRY.

Mr. FRAZER.—In last Friday's *Herald* an honorable senator is reported to have said—

Mr. Reid offered a portfolio to a Western Australian; who would not pocket his pride and accept the office.

Is it a fact that a Western Australian representative was offered a portfolio in the coalition Government?

Mr. REID.—I can understand the question of the honorable member, in view of the peculiar circumstances in which he has recently been placed.

Mr. FRAZER.—Do I understand that the right honorable gentleman refuses to answer the question?

Mr. REID.—Absolutely.

Mr. FRAZER.—And he is the self-appointed representative of Western Australia!

Mr. REID.—I absolutely refuse to enter into these matters.

MILITARY ORNAMENTS AND BADGES.

Mr. HUME COOK.—I wish to repeat the question which I asked of the Minister of Defence on Friday last. Has he yet come to a determination to have the ornaments, buttons, badges, and so forth, used by our Military Forces made in the Commonwealth?

Mr. McCAY.—I have made inquiries, and I have ascertained that, during the term of office of my predecessor, Senator Dawson, the buttons were ordered from England, but the badges have not yet been ordered. I am now making inquiries to ascertain if it is not possible, as I believe it will be found to be possible, to obtain as good an article at as cheap a price from Australian workmen as could be obtained abroad.

MINISTERIAL ATTITUDE TOWARDS SOCIALISM.

Mr. WATSON.—I wish to ask the Prime Minister a question which I presume he can answer for his better half as well as for himself. Is the statement attributed to the Postmaster-General, that it is the intention of the Government to interfere with the exploitation of the butter industry by certain gentlemen who are engaged in private enterprise, correct? If so, how does he reconcile it with his own statement that he does not believe in Socialism, or the extension of its principle?

Mr. REID.—I regret to say that I have not yet received any communication from my honorable colleague the Postmaster-General upon the subject to which my honorable friend refers. In the absence of any information as to my honorable colleague's utterance, I am not in a position to answer the question.

TENDERS FOR DEFENCE SUPPLIES.

Mr. MAUGER.—I desire to ask the Minister of Defence whether he will take steps to have applied to the other States regulations similar to those in force in Victoria, which make it imperative that the tenderers shall manufacture the goods supplied to the Department upon their own premises, and shall not sublet their contracts in any way?

Mr. McCAY.—The honorable member was good enough to inform me that he proposed to ask this question, but I have not yet had time to make inquiries. I can promise, however, that the fullest inquiry shall be made, and that everything shall be done to insure that the workmen, as well as the contractors, receive every consideration.

PAPER.

Mr. REID laid upon the table the following paper:—

Report of the Royal Commission on the Affray at Goaribari Island, British New Guinea, on the 6th March, 1904, together with the proceedings, minutes of evidence, and appendices.

Ordered to be printed.

COUNT OUT OF THE HOUSE.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—I desire to know from the Prime Minister whether he is accurately reported in this morning's newspapers as having stated that his party, when in opposition, refrained from such tactics as attempting to count out the House; and,

if so, whether he is aware that during one sitting his party attempted to count out the House no less than twenty times?

Mr. REID.—If any such thing occurred I can only say that it affords sufficient proof that I was not present.

Mr. McDONALD.—The right honorable gentleman was present.

Mr. REID.—I do not remember the circumstances referred to.

HIGH COMMISSIONER.

Mr. CROUCH.—I wish to ask the Prime Minister, in reference to his announcement that the Government did not propose to appoint a High Commissioner until after a conference had been held between the Commonwealth and the States Governments, whether he will assure the House that he will not attempt to appoint the High Commissioner without previous legislation?

Mr. REID.—I not only will not, but I cannot do so.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Yes, the Government could appoint the High Commissioner without salary.

VENTILATION OF THE CHAMBER.

Mr. LIDDELL.—I desire to ask you, Mr. Speaker, as chairman of the House Committee, if any measures have been taken to improve the ventilation of this Chamber, and, if so, what means have been adopted to increase the circulation of the air.

Mr. SPEAKER.—Immediately after the honorable member for Hunter had called the attention of the House to the subject of the ventilation of the Chamber, some time since, a meeting of the House Committee was held, and it was decided that, instead of the fresh air being forced into the Chamber at a point just above the wood-work, and thereby, as was pointed out by the honorable member, leaving undisturbed a body of vitiated air near the floor, the air should be forced in through openings beneath the seats all round the Chamber. The work was immediately put in hand, and was completed some three or four weeks ago, since which time the new system has been in full operation. As I had not heard any complaints, and as I was aware that circulation of air in the Chamber had been rendered much more complete, I presumed that success had been achieved. I was, however, informed on one occasion that in at least one portion of the Chamber the air was very bad, and I have taken steps

to-day to have a further quantity of fresh air forced into the Chamber, and to ascertain whether there are any corners in which the air still stagnates. If honorable members will inform me from time to time as to the condition of the atmosphere, I shall be able to deal with the matter more thoroughly. If there are causes for complaint, and they are not mentioned to me, naturally they will remain unremedied. I shall be pleased if honorable members will mention to me any matter which, in their view, requires attention.

TELEGRAPHIST AT JERVIS BAY.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS asked the Postmaster-General, *upon notice*—

Whether the position of telegraphist at Jervis Bay, where messages involving the safety of life and property are frequently sent and received, is to remain "non-official," with a salary of £72 per annum?

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—The answer to the honorable member's question is as follows:—

The position of the telegraphist at Jervis Bay is now being inquired into, with a view to a full reply being given as soon as the necessary information can be obtained.

DARLINGTON POST-OFFICE SITE.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS asked the Minister of Home Affairs, *upon notice*—

Whether it is correct—

1. That the State of New South Wales is debiting the Commonwealth with £280 for land at Darlington upon which a post-office is being erected by the Government?

2. That the land in question was vested in the Darlington Borough Council, and that the said council, being desirous of getting a post-office suitable to the locality, freely ceded the rights they possessed to the land for that purpose subsequently to the control of the Post and Telegraph Department passing to the Commonwealth?

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—The answers to the honorable member's questions are as follow:—

1 and 2. The Municipal Council of Darlington offered, as a site for a post-office, part of the area vested in them for Town Hall purposes. This was accepted, but it was found that the council had no power to dispose of the land, and the State Government was moved to resume the part desired for postal purposes. The resumption has taken place, but the State Government now intimate that they have no power to alienate, but they will have no objection to the Commonwealth acquiring the land under the compulsory acquisition provisions of the Property for Public Purposes Acquisition Act, at a valuation of £280

CONCILIATION AND ARBITRATION BILL.

Debate resumed from 17th August (*vide* page 4264), upon motion by Mr. WATSON, *as amended*—

That the Bill be now recommitted to a Committee of the whole House for the reconsideration of clauses 4, 37, 38, 39, 46, 52, 67, 68, and 90 and Schedule B, and the consideration of proposed new clauses 52A, and 95A.

Mr. REID (East Sydney—Minister of External Affairs).—I did not happen to speak when this debate was initiated. Possibly, by some prescience, I thought it would be more convenient that I should be in a position to make a few remarks at the present stage. I wish to say that the Government have considered the proposals embodied in the motion, and are perfectly prepared to go into Committee for the purpose of considering them. As to, I think, all the propositions but one, we are in a position practically to approve of them. Many of them are unimportant, others are intended to remove drafting difficulties, and the only one of serious importance, to my mind, is the first. We have not had the advantage of a discussion, either upon the second reading of the Bill or in Committee, upon the precise matter involved in the first proposal, and I shall be interested to hear the reasons which influenced the late Administration in suggesting this alteration.

Mr. HIGGINS.—What is the first proposal?

Mr. REID.—To eliminate from clause 4, paragraph *b* of the definition of "industrial dispute." The clause provides that, apart from disputes between organizations of employes and employers, or organizations on both sides, the Registrar can certify that existing disputes extending beyond the limits of any one State are disputes which in the public interest ought to be brought within the jurisdiction of the Court. The proposal of the late Administration was that this provision should be omitted.

Mr. WATSON.—Such cases are provided for in another sub-clause.

Mr. REID.—That is the point with regard to which I should like to hear an explanation by my honorable friend. I intend to suggest an alteration in the paragraph as it stands, which, I think, would effect a great improvement, but I should first like to hear, in Committee, the reasons to be advanced for omitting the provision.

Mr. GROOM.—What is the right honorable gentleman's proposal?

Mr. REID.—I think that it would be only fair to the late Administration if we were to first hear what were their reasons for suggesting that the paragraph should be omitted.

Mr. PAGE.—What do the Government propose to do with regard to clause 48?

Mr. REID.—That is not now embraced in the motion.

Mr. SPEAKER.—As a matter of practice, I would point out that, if there is no objection to the recommittal of clause 4, and if the question is simply as to what shall be done with clause 4 upon its recommittal, that matter could be most appropriately dealt with in Committee. If there is any difference of opinion as to whether the clause should be recommitted, that matter should be debated at the present stage.

Mr. WATSON (Bland).—I am not quite certain as to the exact stage we have reached in this debate. If the effect of my speaking now would be to close the debate, I do not wish to bring about that result.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS (South Sydney).—I desire to move an amendment providing for the recommittal of clause 32A to enable me to again bring before the Committee a new clause which was partially discussed in my absence on a previous occasion.

Mr. SPEAKER.—As there seems to be some uncertainty as to the rights of honorable members to speak to the motion, I may inform the House that the position is that the motion we are now discussing was moved by the then Prime Minister, the honorable member for Bland. The only other member who spoke to that motion was the honorable and learned member for Corinella, who concluded with an amendment, and the whole of the debate which followed, and which extended over several days, was upon that amendment. That being so, the only honorable members who cannot speak to this motion, if they now desire to do so, are the honorable member for Bland and the Minister of Defence.

Mr. CROUCH (Corio).—I wish to move the recommittal of clause 92, in order to enable me to submit a new sub-clause, to be known as sub-clause 2. I gave notice of my amendment to the late Government, and when the Bill was originally discussed in Committee, the honorable and learned member for Ballarat supported a proposition

which I then made to so amend the clause as to enable a witness to give evidence *in camera* if there was any danger of the disclosure of a trade secret. The then Government promised to recommit the clause if I desired them to do so, and I am glad to say that I subsequently prepared an amendment which the late Attorney-General was able to accept, and which met, not only my own wishes, but those of the honorable and learned member for Ballarat. I think that when it is put forward the Committee will agree to it.

Mr. McCAY.—What is the amendment?

Mr. CROUCH.—I understood that when I first mentioned my proposal it also had the support of the honorable and learned member for Corinella.

Mr. REID.—I do not object to the recommittal.

Amendment (by Mr. G. B. EDWARDS) agreed to—

That after the word "clauses," line 5, the figures "32A," be inserted.

Amendment (by Mr. CROUCH) agreed to—

That after the figures "90" the figures "92" be inserted.

Mr. GLYNN (Angas).—If the amendment of which notice has been given by the leader of the Opposition be carried, it may be necessary to reconsider clause 28, because the Bill as it now stands gives no power to an employer to submit a dispute to the Court. That evidently is due to a mistake on the part of the draftsman. The difficulty is partly overcome by paragraph *b* of clause 4, which it is now proposed to excise, and if that provision be omitted it may be necessary to reconsider clause 28. I therefore move—

That after the figure "4" the figures "28" be inserted.

Amendment agreed to.

Mr. McDONALD (Kennedy).—I move—

That after the figures "52" the words "62, paragraph *b*," be inserted.

My object is to secure the amendment of paragraph *b*.

Mr. REID.—In what way?

Mr. McDONALD.—It will be time enough to discuss the matter when we go into Committee.

Mr. REID.—I merely desire to know the nature of the proposed amendment.

Amendment agreed to.

Mr. WATSON (Bland).—The feeling I entertain towards these proposals and the Bill generally may be simply stated. A

majority in this House has carried provisions which in my view render the Bill absolutely unworkable and valueless, and I therefore do not consider that any responsibility in connexion with it rests upon my shoulders as a friend of the measure. I contend that the Bill will not be availed of.

Mr. REID.—Will the honorable member mention in what respect he considers it valueless?

Mr. WATSON.—I hold that the amendment, carried on the motion of the honorable and learned member for Corinella, is absolutely unworkable, and, so far as I have been able to obtain any indication of the position from the unions, they are not likely to register under it. That being so, the Bill must fail in the object for which it was ostensibly introduced. It can hardly be claimed that that will be the result simply because preference is denied to them; but, as I indicated when the main question was being discussed during the late crisis, it will be rather because it is absolutely impossible in many cases to prove when a union comprises a majority of those engaged in the trade to which it relates. The honorable member for Moira, speaking in Committee, before the question was made a party one—and therefore I presume when he was free to express an opinion based on the practical knowledge which he undoubtedly possesses—

Mr. KENNEDY.—When was I in a different position?

Mr. WATSON.—When party considerations came into play the honorable member seemed to lose sight of those aspects of the matter which he had put forward whilst speaking in Committee. According to *Hansard*, page 2640, he said on the 23rd June last, when discussing the amendment moved on clause 48 by the honorable and learned member for Corinella—

I have said that I have not studied the amendment proposed by the honorable and learned member for Corinella; but, from what I have heard of it, it would appear to be open to objection, inasmuch as it would make it necessary to secure the opinion of the majority of the workers in any particular industry.

Although the honorable member had not studied the amendment at that time, he had become seized of the crux of it, namely, that it insisted upon a majority of those affected by an award approving of any request for preference. The honorable member is a practical man, and particular at-

tention should therefore be paid to his opinions. On the occasion to which I have referred, he went on to say—

In the earlier clauses of the Bill we have laid it down that 100 members may constitute an organization having a right to submit a proposal to the Court. If people are compelled to go beyond that to find out the absolute number of workers in any particular industry, that they may be able to prove to the Court that they have a majority of those employed in the industry behind them, their task would appear to me to be an almost impossible one.

I said that the honorable member was absolutely right. If there is a majority of honorable members honestly anxious to pass a measure which can be taken advantage of, this provision must be altered. Honorable members have so far decided not to alter it, and it seems to me that there is now no course open to those who are in favour of an effective measure, other than to throw the whole responsibility for the failure to pass such a measure upon the shoulders of those who have put this Bill in the shape in which it now appears. The honorable and learned member for Ballarat is another witness whom I desire to call. The honorable and learned gentleman said—

The Attorney-General urged that the clause proposed by the honorable and learned member for Corinella was open to objection, because it imposed difficulties upon the Court in the way of interpretation. I admit that it does. But, I say deliberately, without any hesitation, that it imposes on the Court a smaller burden than would be imposed by the clause which the Government have asked to substitute for it.

The latter part of that opinion certainly gives some reason why the proposal submitted by the late Government should not have been accepted, but it does not at all answer the fact that the difficulty exists in regard to the interpretation of the amendment proposed by the honorable and learned member for Corinella. As one who was anxious to see this Bill passed in such a shape that it could be taken advantage of by the people generally, and believing, as I do, that, in the shape in which it now is, it cannot be effective, and that, so far as the great majority of unionists are concerned, no attempt will be made to take advantage of it, I say that our duty is to put the whole responsibility for this state of affairs upon honorable members opposite, the wreckers of the measure.

Question, as amended, resolved in the affirmative.

In Committee—(Recommittal).

Clause 4 (Interpretation).

Mr. REID (East Sydney—Minister of External Affairs).—The honorable member for Bland apparently does not propose to move the amendments given notice of by the late Government.

Mr. WATSON.—I propose to take no further part in it.

Clause agreed to.

Mr. WATSON.—We will not be parties to putting a fraud on the people.

Mr. REID.—The honorable member appears to have accepted what he says is a fraud.

Clause 28 (Disputes of which the Court has cognisance).

Mr. GLYNN (Angas).—I mentioned this clause as requiring to be reconsidered on the assumption that the amendment, of which notice had been given by the leader of the Opposition, would have been persevered in. I do not intend to move any amendment myself, but I should like to draw attention to the fact that as the Bill now stands an employer has no power to submit a dispute to the Court—it must be submitted by an association of employers or an association of employes. It is necessary in the case of employes that an association should act for the whole, because one man could not do so; but there may be only one employer who may have a thousand hands in his employ, and as a matter of right that employer should have the power of submitting to the Court a dispute between himself and his workmen. As the Bill now stands, no such power is given.

Clause agreed to.

Clause 37—

The award of the Court shall be binding on—
(a) all parties to the industrial dispute who appear or are represented before the Court;

(b) all parties who have been summoned to appear before the Court as parties to the dispute, whether they have appeared in answer to the summons or not, unless the Court is of opinion that they were improperly summoned before it as parties;

(c) all organizations and persons on whom the award is declared by the Court to be binding as a common rule; and

(d) all members of organizations bound by the award.

Mr. REID.—In connexion with this clause I propose to adopt the amendment suggested by the late Administration. I therefore move—

That after the word "is," line 13, the words "at any time," be inserted.

Paragraph c will then read—

All organizations and persons on whom the award is at any time declared by the Court to be binding as a common rule;

There is an obvious utility in the insertion of these words, as otherwise technical objections might arise as to the powers of the Court in enforcing its own orders.

Amendment agreed to.

Clause, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 38—

When an award or order of a State Industrial Authority is inconsistent with an award or order lawfully made by the Court, the latter shall prevail, and the former shall, to the extent of the inconsistency, be invalid.

Mr. REID.—Two amendments suggested by the late Administration in this clause are, in my opinion, very proper amendments to make. I move—

That after the word "When," line 1, the words "a State law or," be inserted.

Amendment agreed to.

Amendments (by Mr. REID) agreed to.

That after the word "award," line 1, the word "or," be left out.

That after the word "order," line 1, the words "or determination" be inserted.

Mr. CONROY (Werriwa).—I point out to the Committee that by inserting this clause in the Bill we are going far beyond our powers under the Constitution. This point was previously taken by the honorable and learned member for Angas, but honorable members did not see fit to accept the honorable and learned member's view. I desire now to express my thorough agreement with the position then taken up by the honorable and learned member. I think this provision is beyond our powers and it should not be included in the Bill. I formally record my objection to the clause.

Clause, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 39—

Subject to the Constitution, no award of the Court shall be challenged, appealed against, reviewed, quashed, or called in question in any other Court on any account whatever.

Mr. DEAKIN (Ballarat).—I notice that the first words of this clause, to which attention was drawn when the Bill was last discussed during the time of the late Government, have not been withdrawn. It was, I think, the honorable and learned member for Indi who first called attention to the fact that the words "Subject to the Constitution" might convey a very serious implication. The clause, without those words, is clear; and I was able to inform honorable members, when the Bill

was last before us, of the circumstances under which the words were introduced. The object was to satisfy the lay members of the Barton Cabinet that there was no intention to override the Constitution. For that purpose only were the words introduced; and I pointed out at the time that the clause, as it stood, would suffice. In the subsequent discussion in Committee, it was stated that "subject to the Constitution" having been introduced, the implication on the part of the Court probably would be that it was intended that, even if the Court created under this Bill were to override, to ignore, or to contravene some of the express provisions of the Act, its action could not be called in question in any other Court whatever. In point of fact, from the insertion of these words the implication would be that the Court would not be subject to anything except the Constitution, not even to the Bill under which it was created. That was a very serious consideration, and I followed the honorable and learned member for Indi in asking that special attention should be given to the point. I presume that attention was given by the late Government; but their inaction seems to me sufficiently momentous to, at all events, call for explanation. I think it would require a good deal of argument to satisfy the Committee that, when we are passing a Bill for the purpose of creating a Court with certain very large and definite powers, we, at the same time, intend that any illegal action of the Court, so far as that action would be made illegal by transcending or violating part of this Bill, shall not be called in question in any other Court. The additions which are to be proposed at the end of the clause are a decided improvement, and with them I entirely agree; but those additions appear to be called for quite independently of the words "Subject to the Constitution." The proposal is to add two sub-clauses which allow the President, if he thinks fit, to obtain the opinion of the High Court, and authorize the High Court to hear and determine the question and remit the opinion to the President. That is a very useful and proper provision, but it does not affect the prior issue. The question is whether we intend, by the insertion of the words, "Subject to the Constitution," to set the Court free from the obligations which we ourselves have so carefully and elaborately set out in the Bill, or whether we do

not mean what the clause originally said, namely, that no decision of the Court is to be challenged, appealed against, or called in question by any other Court, unless the decision is contrary to the Constitution—a restriction which, even if we wished, we could not evade or disqualify—or contrary to this Bill. I take it that the intention was—I know it was my intention when the clause was drafted—that the Arbitration Court was to possess the powers set out in the Bill, and no others—just those powers for a specified purpose, and was not to be set free from any obligation, or to be allowed to create an authority for itself without the sanction of Parliament, as expressed in the Bill. I move—

That the words "Subject to the Constitution" be left out.

Mr. REID.—It is evident that the words "Subject to the Constitution" may lead to confusion, and as they are absolutely unnecessary in any of the Commonwealth Acts, which are, every line and word, subject to the Constitution, I accept the amendment of the honorable and learned member for Ballarat.

Amendment agreed to.

Mr. REID.—In regard to this clause, the late Government made certain suggestions which I propose to adopt, if the Committee are agreeable. I move—

That the following new sub-clauses be inserted:—

"(2) The President may, if he thinks fit, in any proceeding before the Court, at any stage and upon such terms as he thinks fit, state a case in writing for the opinion of the High Court upon any question arising in the proceeding which, in his opinion, is a question of law.

"(3) The High Court shall hear and determine the question, and remit the case with its opinion to the President, and may make such order as to costs as it thinks fit."

It is obviously desirable that the President should have the opportunity to take the course which this amendment would empower him to take in the interests of all parties, so that the law may be ascertained at the earliest possible moment on perhaps some vital point.

Mr. HIGGINS (Northern Melbourne).—Although the members of the late Administration do not take any responsibility for the Bill as it stands, still I think that in courtesy to the Prime Minister, I ought to state that the words which he proposes should be inserted were adopted by the late Government in pursuance of the promise

made to the honorable and learned member for Corinella in the course of the discussion.

Mr. McCAY.—I think the promise was made to the honorable and learned member for Darling Downs.

Mr. HIGGINS.—The honorable and learned member for Darling Downs also may have spoken on the matter, but I was not aware of the fact. At all events, the desire was to, as far as possible, prevent litigation in the ordinary Courts with regard to the proceedings of the Arbitration Court. So far as the late Government were concerned, they did not recommend this proposal, but simply promised to submit it in pursuance of the generally expressed wish of honorable members, and, of course, as we promised so we performed. I should myself prefer to omit the words, inasmuch as the Judge of the Arbitration Court will be a member of the High Court, and it is very improbable that he will make a mistake in the law of any matter before him. However, the Committee now understand how these additional words came to be proposed.

Amendment agreed to.

Clause, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 46—

- (c) to fix maximum penalties for any breach or non-observance of any term of an order or award, not exceeding One thousand pounds in the case of an organization or Ten pounds in the case of any individual member of an organization.

Provided that in the case of an organization of employers consisting of less than one hundred members, the maximum penalty may be fixed at any sum not exceeding such sum as would, when multiplied by the number of members, amount to One thousand pounds.

- (d) to impose penalties, not exceeding the maximum penalties mentioned in the last preceding paragraph, for any breach or non-observance of any term of an order or award proved to the satisfaction of the Court to have been committed, and to specify to whom such penalties, in whole or in part, shall be paid.

- (f) to declare, by any award, that any practice, regulation, rule, custom, term of agreement, condition of employment or dealing whatsoever determined by the award in relation to any industrial matter shall be a common rule of any industry in connexion with which the dispute arises.

- (g) to direct with due regard to local circumstances within what limits of area, if any, and subject to what conditions and exceptions, the common rule so declared shall be binding upon the persons engaged in the industry, whether as employers or employees, and whether members of an organization or not, and to fix penalties for any breach or non-observance of the common rule so declared.

Mr. REID.—I move—

That after the word "organization," line 4, the words "or an employer, not being a member of an organization bound by the order or award."

The effect of the amendment is to make a single employer liable to any penalty up to the maximum, always subject, of course, to the discretion of the Court.

Amendment agreed to.

Amendments (by Mr. REID) agreed to—

That after the word "of," line 8, the words "members of" be inserted.

That after the word "penalties," line 17, the following words be inserted, "fixed (or if maximum penalties have not been fixed not exceeding the maximum penalties which could have been fixed) under."

That the words "mentioned in," line 17, be left out.

That the words "and to specify to whom such penalties in whole or in part shall be paid," paragraph d, be left out.

That after the word "award," line 25, the words "or order" be inserted.

That the word "the," line 29, be omitted with a view to insert in lieu thereof the word "an."

That the words "and to fix penalties for any breach or non-observance of the common rule so declared," paragraph g, be left out.

Clause, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 52—

Where any organization or person bound by an order or award has committed any breach or non-observance of any term of the order or award for which the Court has fixed a maximum penalty, proceedings for recovery of the penalty may be taken in any Court of Summary Jurisdiction constituted by a police, stipendiary, or special magistrate.

Amendment (by Mr. REID) agreed to—

That all the words after the word "award," line 3, be left out, with a view to insert in lieu thereof the words "any penalties which the Court has power to impose may be imposed by any Court of summary jurisdiction constituted by a police, stipendiary, or special magistrate."

(2) Any such penalty may be sued for and recovered by—(a) the registrar; or (b) any organization which is affected, or whose members or any of them are affected, by the breach or non-observance; or (c) any member of an organization who is affected by the breach or non-observance."

Mr. CONROY (Werriwa).—It appears to me that this clause, even as amended, goes rather too far.

Mr. REID.—The object of the clause is to give power to the Court in a particular case to give part of the penalty to a member of an organization which comes before the Court, as distinct from giving the penalty to the organization. The object is to meet the ends of justice in particular cases.

Mr. CONROY.—Does it not go rather farther than that? I am satisfied if it goes no farther than the amendment indicates.

Amendment agreed to.

Clause, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 62—

(1) Any of the following associations may, on compliance with the prescribed conditions, be registered in the manner prescribed as an organization :—

(b) Any association of not less than one hundred employees in or in connexion with any industry.

Provided that no such organization shall be entitled to any declaration of preference by the Court when and so long as its rules or other binding decisions permit the application of its funds to political purposes, or require its members to do anything of a political character.

Mr. McDONALD (Kennedy).—I move—

That all the words after “industry,” line 7, be left out.

When clause 48 was under discussion and was carried, the general impression was that it was going to be recommitted, and in those circumstances this proviso was inserted in clause 62. In any case, the words of the proviso are only downright hypocrisy, so far as the operation of the Bill is concerned.

Mr. McCAY.—Did not the honorable member vote for their insertion?

Mr. McDONALD.—In the peculiar circumstances in which the Committee was placed at the time, I could not do anything else. I did not get a chance to vote against them. I had to accept either the honorable and learned gentleman's amendment or the other. I had to accept the lesser of two evils. It is no use to say that this is a Conciliation and Arbitration Bill, when it bears upon its face the stamp of fraud and hypocrisy. I desire the omission of the proviso because it would be impossible to put it into practice; for everything which a trade organization may do, must depend on political organization. Under these circumstances, even if this proviso were carried, it would be practically useless.

Mr. McCAY (Corinella—Minister of Defence).—I must confess that I am a little at a loss to understand the proposal

of the honorable member for Kennedy to omit a proviso for which he voted. He says that it was the lesser of two evils. Well, it was a proviso which the late Government accepted.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—As the lesser of two evils.

Mr. McDONALD.—They were in the same position as I was.

Mr. McCAY.—When it was being discussed the late Government did not say anything about the proviso being the lesser of two evils. Not one of them said at that time that it was anything but a good amendment.

Mr. HIGGINS.—I beg the honorable and learned gentleman's pardon.

Mr. SPENCE.—How simple the Minister is to suppose that they would!

Mr. McCAY.—I am surprised at the interjection of the honorable member for Darling, because I was certainly under the impression—obviously a false one—that at any rate the principle of this proposal was one which he favoured. I suppose that I misunderstood him.

Mr. SPENCE.—I should think so; I was strongly against it the whole time.

Mr. McCAY.—What was the position at the time this amendment was carried? There was before the Committee a proposal that I happened to move containing exactly the same words as now appear in this proviso, with the exception that it went a good deal further, and proposed practically to say to unions that they should not be plaintiffs in arbitration court proceedings as long as their rules permitted the application of their funds to political purposes, or required their members to do anything of a political character. The honorable and learned member for Darling Downs moved, as an amendment to my amendment, to substitute the words which appear in this proviso—

Shall be entitled to any declaration of preference by the Court.

Honorable members will recollect that I moved, as an amendment to that amendment, to insert certain words.

Mr. WATSON.—The honorable and learned member was prolific in amendments.

Mr. McCAY.—I am still prepared to stand by them all. I still believe that what I said in connexion with them was correct, and I am not prepared to abandon that opinion under any circumstances.

Mr. CROUCH.—Does not the honorable and learned gentleman think that this provision should be in clause 48?

Mr. McCAY.—I do not know whether it should be in clause 48 or not, but it does very well where it is, so far as I am able to judge. The late Administration did not propose to recommit this clause and alter the drafting.

Mr. CONROY.—I asked that it should be recommitted.

Mr. McCAY.—The late Administration, which says that it accepted this proviso as the lesser of two evils, continued to accept the evil when it proposed to recommit the Bill.

Mr. McDONALD.—What about the then Opposition and the provision relating to the railway servants? Are not honorable members on the other side now swallowing the whole lot?

Mr. McCAY.—I shall read to the honorable member something that I said on the 23rd June.

Mr. TUDOR.—The Minister of Defence is not the whole of the Government, is he?

Mr. McCAY.—I am not, any more than the honorable member is the whole of the Opposition, even though he is their whip, and a very important member of the party.

Mr. CONROY.—I asked the late Ministry to insert this in clause 48, and they refused to do so.

Mr. WATSON.—The honorable and learned member is tied up; why does he not keep quiet?

The CHAIRMAN.—Order. I ask honorable members, especially those in responsible positions, to refrain from interchanging remarks across the Chamber, and to allow the speaker to proceed with his remarks.

Mr. McCAY.—I was saying, when I was interrupted, that the late Administration, although it had ample time for considering what clauses it would recommit, and decided, in accordance with its announcement, to recommit clause 48, did not propose to recommit clause 62.

Mr. HIGGINS.—Because it was a bargain.

Mr. McCAY.—I do not know why the honorable member for Kennedy, who is a member of such a solid, indivisible, and all-united party as we read about in the daily press is allowed to break away from his leaders.

Mr. PAGE.—It refutes the argument about the caucus.

Mr. FRAZER.—Because we have freedom of action.

Mr. McCAY.—One is always pleased to learn these things, however late in the day.

Mr. WATSON.—That condition of affairs has been always existent.

Mr. McCAY.—If recent events have produced that very desirable result, they have not been in vain.

Mr. WATSON.—It has never been anything different, except in the imagination of the honorable and learned gentleman and his friends.

Mr. McCAY.—It will be recollected that this particular amendment, in its present form, was carried by a majority of one. The late Prime Minister proposed to reconsider its verbiage with a view to its recommitment later on if it were thought necessary, and, from circumstances over which I presume he had no control, he decided at the last minute to accept its exact verbiage, and Dame Rumour does say that it had some effect on the division which took place a few minutes later. But, apart from that, the late Government accepted this amendment, and the honorable members who spoke on it—particularly such members as the honorable and learned member for Darling Downs, and I think the honorable and learned member for Indi, and others—drew attention to the fact that here was a plain, and a more proper, dividing line than the one suggested in my amendment. I cannot say that I yet agree with that view. But, as I said long ago, after the amendment relating to the railway servants was passed, and before even clause 48 was dealt with, whether certain proposals of mine were agreed to or not, I would support the third reading of the Bill. I have no reason to recede from the position which I then took up. I would ask the honorable member for Kennedy, who has now learned from the lips of the late Attorney-General, as well as from the honorable member for Bland, that on a previous occasion an agreement was arrived at that this particular amendment should be accepted, whether he thinks he ought to place his leaders in such an embarrassing position—

Mr. HIGGINS.—We are free from bargains now.

Mr. McDONALD.—What happened to the Minister of Defence upon a former occasion, when he left the Turner Party and joined the McLean Government?

Mr. McCAY.—The honorable member is referring to some action of mine upon which my State constituents arbitrated several years ago.

Mr. McDONALD.—They decided against the honorable and learned member.

Mr. McCAY.—They did, and I did not pull a poor mouth about the matter, or utter any complaint. I trust that whenever I have the misfortune to have a spoonful of gruel presented to me I will take it with the best possible grace. I ask the honorable member for Kennedy not to place his leaders in the false position of having to vote against an amendment which they accepted, and of which they approved in the most practical way by declining to submit a proposal in favour of the recommitment of the clause.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—Do not worry about us.

Mr. McCAY.—I am not worrying. The honorable member, I understand, wishes me to worry about myself, but I have not begun to do so yet. I repeat that the honorable and learned member for Darling Downs proposed this amendment, and that the late Administration accepted it. The honorable and learned member for Northern Melbourne now declares that honorable members opposite are free from any bargains into which they previously entered. I venture to hold the view that they are not free, if they wish to be consistent. They agreed to this amendment, and they must have regarded it, individually at any rate, as a practical one. I think that the interjection of the honorable and learned member for Northern Melbourne was really a casual one, and that he scarcely considers himself free to vote against a proposal which he so fully accepted on a former occasion. So far as the proviso itself is concerned, I think that the Committee were practically agreed not only that it was justifiable, but that it was desirable that some line of demarcation should be drawn between political and industrial purposes in organizations either of employers or employés. The only question that arose was as to where that line should be drawn. I think it was the honorable and learned member for Indi who pointed out that here, in the progress of an industrial dispute, was reached the point at which a non-member of a union had a right to complain of being forced—by the granting of a preference to unionists—to join a union. His view was that, so long as a man was not compelled to join a union by the fact of a preference being extended to its members, he was not concerned with the question of whether politics entered into its affairs or not, but that the moment a pre-

ference was granted by the Court, he had a right to protest against politics forming any part of its platform. Here, therefore, he urged, a point was reached, at which not only was it permissible, but absolutely proper, that a line of demarcation should be drawn. I thoroughly agree with that view. Personally, I thought that the point should have been reached earlier. I know that the leader of the Opposition agrees with me that no man should feel that he is bound to join a union in order to obtain work, if that union exists for political purposes. Under this provision, therefore, if not at an earlier stage, the purely industrial character of the Bill should begin.

Mr. SPENCE.—Does the Minister know any union that has not political objects?

Mr. McCAY.—Upon a former occasion the honorable member himself made a long speech to show that unions were not political organizations. I recollect very well when he spoke from the Government benches, because I occupied a seat in the Ministerial corner.

AN HONORABLE MEMBER.—Why was the Minister there?

Mr. McCAY.—I occupied that seat in order that I might hear the honorable member to better advantage. I wanted to hear what he had to say. After he had resumed his seat I had the honour to rise and to address myself to the same question. I remember that I discussed the question of whether trades unions were political organizations, and in doing so I referred to the Australian Workers' Union. The honorable member thereupon handed me their deed of association, in order that I might read for myself, and learn that it was not a political body. I read a number of the objects of that union, and it seemed to me that it did partake of the nature of a political organization.

Mr. SPENCE.—Nobody has ever denied that.

Mr. McCAY.—The honorable member wished us to believe that it was not a political body.

Mr. SPENCE.—No; I pointed out that in New South Wales a certain portion of its funds were devoted to political purposes.

Mr. McCAY.—The honorable member urged that, except in New South Wales and Queensland, trades unions were not political organizations. I am sorry that I have not had time to obtain a few quotations from *Hansard* upon this point, but it was only

when the honorable member for Kennedy proposed the recommittal of the clause that I realized it would be raised, and even then I did not anticipate that the Opposition would take up such an unfriendly attitude towards the Bill. The position is that after long debate, and earnest consideration, this Committee, by a majority of one, accepted the amendment in its present form, as compared with the amendment in a stronger form. If parliamentary procedure means anything, I may therefore claim that the whole Committee were then agreed that some limitation was desirable.

Mr. FRAZER.—The amendment was only carried by a majority of one.

Mr. McCAY.—But those honorable members who constituted the minority, desired to obtain a still greater measure of restriction. The amendment in its present form represents the minimum restriction which the Committee would sanction. If the honorable member for Kennedy insists upon pressing his proposal to a division, I venture to say that honorable members will practically unanimously confirm the decision at which they formerly arrived, after a prolonged debate which extended over two or three days. I have no doubt that honorable members who then pointed out so clearly that this was the proper point at which to draw the line of demarcation, still entertain that opinion.

Mr. ROBINSON (Wannon).—I have just spent two or three minutes in looking up the *Hansard* report of the discussion upon this amendment, and I must say that I am astounded at the attitude which has been taken up by honorable members opposite. No doubt the Committee will recollect the debate which took place upon a former occasion. The honorable and learned member for Angas moved an amendment to limit the organizations which could register to organizations which were constituted solely for the purposes of the Act. The honorable and learned member for Corinella moved a lesser amendment, prohibiting organizations which had political aims or objects from coming before the Court. Then the honorable and learned members for Darling Downs and Indi prepared an amendment to the effect that no organization should be allowed to ask for preference if it were a political organization. The reasons which they gave are fully set out in *Hansard*. The honorable and learned member for Darling Downs is

reported on page 2918 of that record to have said—

For my part, I should prefer that unions should not have political rules. At the same time, I say that if there is a large organization, composing nearly all the employes engaged in a specific trade, and if they have political objects in view, I do not believe that when they come before the Court for a decision in an industrial dispute the Court will be actuated in any way by a consideration of the politics of the union.

Later on, he said—

I again point out that the difficulty can arise only in connexion with the giving of a preference to unionists. I should like to ask the Minister of External Affairs, who is at present in charge of the Bill, if he will consider the advisability of dealing with this difficulty. Could we not provide that, where unions are political bodies, no preferences shall be given them until the objectionable political features are removed from their rules?

So that the first suggestion came from the honorable and learned member for Darling Downs. He continued—

The honorable and learned member for Indi and I have given this matter considerable consideration. We have tried to see whether we could not meet what is the substantial objection against the clause.

Later on, he said—

When we come again to deal with the question of preference to unionists, what I desire to see carried is an amendment which will provide that no preference of any description whatever shall be given to a union if by rule its funds may be appropriated in whole or in part for political objects.

Mr. LONSDALE.—They could be political up to the last moment, and then be dropped.

Mr. GROOM.—So long as they do not ask for preference as a political organization, no harm will be done.

The then Prime Minister spoke on the subject on the same day. His remarks, as reported on page 2945 of *Hansard*, are most interesting. They are as follows:—

The honorable and learned member for Darling Downs put forward an idea in regard to preference for unionists. In my opinion these two matters are largely bound up, as was rightly indicated by the right honorable member for East Sydney, and I think I am therefore justified in saying a word or two in regard to them. As I understand it, the view put forward by the honorable and learned member for Darling Downs was that we should make some attempt to safeguard the non-unionist from preference to unionists being granted to his detriment, and that would obviate the necessity for the amendments which are now before the Committee.

Then he is reported, on page 2946, to have said—

I am quite prepared to meet the position by agreeing to an amendment that will secure that no preference shall be granted to a union while there is anything in its rules to which reasonable objection can be taken.

Mr. FRAZER.—Why does not the honorable and learned member quote the extract at the top of the page?

Mr. ROBINSON. — He said that he would much prefer that there should be no limitation whatever on preference. Then he told the House that he was prepared to accept an amendment to the effect that no preference should be given to a union, if there was anything of a political character in its rules. The next person to come on the scene was the honorable and learned member for Indi, who is reported on page 2956 to have said—

I see no reason for denying them—the trades unions—access to the Court, no matter what their political faith may be. But the moment they ask for an advantage or a preference; the moment they say, “We want something more than a non-unionist can get,” then coercion commences, if they get it. If the Court gives it to them it says to other workers, “You shall not get equal rights unless you join an organization.” If that organization has a compulsory political platform it is not giving political freedom to the outsider, and we should prohibit preference under any circumstances, so long as that political platform exists.

I think that that is a position which every honorable member on this side of the Chamber indorses. He further said—

The honorable and learned member for Darling Downs has been good enough to associate himself with me in trying to frame an amendment which I intend to propose, and which I understand the Prime Minister is willing to accept.

He quoted the amendment, which is as follows:—

No preference shall be declared to any organization under this Act if its rules, decisions, or practices, or any of them provide for or permit either the application or appropriation of its funds, or any part thereof, for any political purpose whatever, or any political action on the part of the organization.

That is going as far as any honorable member on this side of the Chamber wishes to go at the present time. On page 2957, he is reported to have said—

I should much like to see no preference, if it could possibly be avoided. I think that preferences ought, in any case, to be most sparingly dealt out.

Mr. ISAACS.—If it were possible to have no evasion of this Act, I should be glad to see no preference, but preference is necessary in some cases to prevent the evasion of the Act.

Mr. ROBINSON.—Most of us would agree to that. On the night when the division was taken, the then Prime Minister said again that he was prepared to accept the amendment. The present Prime Minister chaffed him for surrendering his

principles, but he became indignant, and denied in the most vigorous language that he had surrendered his principles. To quote from pages 3028-9 of *Hansard*, he said—

I say that the proposal put forward by the honorable and learned member for Darling Downs, and the spirit of which was accepted by me last evening, is quite in consonance with the views which I expressed in Sydney, I think, eighteen months ago, when a matter cropped up affecting this particular question, or affecting the aspect of it now under consideration.

Mr. HUME COOK.—Is he rejecting it now?

Mr. ROBINSON.—He is giving a good deal of covert support to the proposal to reject it. I, therefore, say that the twin leaders of the Opposition were in harmony in support of this particular sub-clause, and that it was prepared by the two best friends in the Opposition corner possessed by the then Government; and as it was exhaustively debated, the conclusion come to upon it is one upon which I do not think the Committee should go back, more particularly as the then Government did not propose to recommit the clause.

Question—That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause—put. The Committee divided.

Ayes	...	...	31
Noes	...	...	16
			—
Majority	...	...	15

AYES.

Chapman, A.	Lonsdale, E.
Conroy, A. H. B.	McCay, J. W.
Cook, J.	McColl, J. H.
Deakin, A.	McLean, A.
Edwards, G. B.	McWilliams, W. J.
Edwards, R.	Reid, G. H.
Ewing, T. T.	Skene, T.
Forrest, Sir J.	Smith, B.
Fuller, G. W.	Smith, S.
Gibb, J.	Thomson, D.
Glynn, P. McM.	Turner, Sir G.
Johnson, W. E.	Willis, H.
Kelly, W. H.	Wilson, J. G.
Knox, W.	<i>Tellers:</i>
Lee, H. W.	Kennedy, T.
Liddell, F.	Robinson, A.

NOES.

Brown, T.	Poynton, A.
Carpenter, W. H.	Ronald, J. B.
Fisher, A.	Thomson, D. A.
Fowler, J. M.	Watkins, D.
Frazer, C. E.	Webster, W.
Higgins, H. B.	
Maloney, W. R. N.	<i>Tellers:</i>
O'Malley, King.	McDonald, C.
Page, J.	Tudor, F. G.

PAIRS.

Harper, R.	Isaacs, I. A.
Phillips, P.	Lyne, Sir W. J.

Question so resolved in the affirmative.
Amendment negatived.

Clause 67—

(2) The Court shall hear the application, and if it is of opinion that the registration should be cancelled, it shall so order, and thereupon the registration of the organization under this Act shall be cancelled, but so that the cancellation shall not relieve the organization or any member thereof from the obligation to comply with any award, or from any penalty or liability incurred prior to the cancellation.

Amendment (by Mr. REID) agreed to—

That all the words after "shall be cancelled" be omitted, with a view to insert in lieu thereof the following new sub-clauses:—

"(3) Where the Registrar has, on application made to him, refused to make an application for the cancellation of the registration of an organization, the Court may, if it thinks fit, on the application of any organization or person interested, order that the registration of the first-mentioned organization under this Act be cancelled, and thereupon the registration of the organization shall be cancelled.

"(4) The cancellation shall not relieve the organization or any member thereof from the obligation to comply with any award, or from any penalty or liability incurred prior to the cancellation."

Clause, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 68—

During the pendency of any dispute or matter before the Court, no application to cancel the registration of an organization which is a party thereto shall be made or received, and no resignation of or discharge from the membership of any such organization shall have effect.

Amendment (by Mr. REID) agreed to.

That the words "no application to cancel the registration of an organization which is a party thereto shall be made or received, and," be left out.

Clause, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 90—

No person shall wilfully insult or disturb the Court, or interrupt the proceedings of the Court, or use any insulting language towards the Court, or by writing or speech use words calculated to improperly influence the Court or the members thereof, or any witness before the Court, or to bring the Court into disrepute, or be guilty in any manner of any wilful contempt of the Court.

Amendment (by Mr. REID) agreed to—

That the words, "the members thereof," be omitted, with a view to insert in lieu thereof the words "any assessor."

Clause, as amended, agreed to.

Clause 92—

No evidence relating to any trade secret, or to the profits or financial position, of any witness or party, shall be disclosed except to the Court or published without the consent of the person entitled to the trade secret or non-disclosure.

Penalty: Five hundred pounds or three months' imprisonment.

Amendment (by Mr. CROUCH) agreed to.

That the following new sub-clause be added:—

"(2) All such evidence shall, if the witness or party so requests, be taken in private."

Clause, as amended, agreed to.

Schedule B—

The name of every registered organization shall contain the name of the industry in connexion with which it is established, and shall also contain the word "employers" or "employees" as the case may be.

Mr. REID.—I move—

That the words "and shall also contain the word 'employers' or 'employees,' as the case may be," be left out.

We quite agree with the late Government, that, if this requirement were insisted upon, in every case, it would cause inconvenience.

Amendment agreed to.

Schedule, as amended, agreed to.

Amendment (by Mr. REID) agreed to—

That the following new clause be inserted:—

"52A. Where the Court, or any Court of summary jurisdiction, imposes any penalty for any breach or non-observance of any term of an order or award, it may order that the penalty, or any part thereof, be paid into the Consolidated Revenue Fund, or to such organization or person as is specified in the order."

Mr. REID.—I move—

That the following new clause be inserted:—

"95A. For the purposes of this Act, a State Court or Magistrate, whose jurisdiction is limited, as to area, subject-matter, or parties, to any part of a State, shall be deemed to have jurisdiction throughout the State.

Provided that on the hearing of any proceeding in a Court of summary jurisdiction for the recovery of any penalty, fine, fee, levy, or due, the Court, if in the interests of justice it thinks fit, may adjourn the hearing to a Court of summary jurisdiction to be held at some other place in the same State."

I may explain that the object of this new clause is to destroy the rigidity of States boundaries, in order to promote the elasticity of Federal administration.

Proposed new clause agreed to.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS (South Sydney).

—I move—

That the following new clause be inserted:—

"32A.—(1) Whenever the President or Court shall so require the parties to any industrial dispute shall each supply written proposals for the settlement of the different points in dispute, or offers of compromise, stating the full extent of any compromise which they are willing to make on any such points. Penalty: £100.

"(2) If any proposals or offers are supplied pursuant to the preceding sub-section, and the Court afterwards proceeds to an award, then the award on each point in dispute shall be one or the other

of the proposals for settlement or offers of compromise so supplied, unless the Court shall, for special reasons, see fit to expressly decide to the contrary."

The proposed new clause embodies a principle which I have endeavoured from the first to have inserted in the Bill. I have somewhat recast my original proposal, owing to certain strictures passed upon it by the honorable and learned member for Indi, when it was previously before the Committee. It does not often happen that I am absent from the House, but, unfortunately, I was not present on the occasion to which I refer, and I do not think that the principle underlying my proposition received that consideration which it merited. It is for that reason that I have again submitted it. The proposed new clause, as originally framed, dealt merely with efforts at compromise. It was drafted by the right honorable member for Adelaide, and carried out entirely what I had in view. Any effort at settlement made under the direction of the Court would necessarily be in the direction of a compromise, even if it did not recede one iota from the original effort which the party in question might have made. To do away with the criticism to which my first proposal was subjected by the honorable and learned member for Indi and several others, I have so re-cast the clause that it will cover, not only an effort to compromise, but any effort that may be made subject to the conditions of the clause. It is, to my mind, a complete refutation of the charge levelled against me by the honorable and learned member for West Sydney, that a vote given by me on another clause showed that I desired to destroy the Bill. I think that this proposal, which has been before the House from the first, must show that I am a friend of this class of legislation—a greater friend than are many of those who have denounced my advocacy of the measure as political hypocrisy. I should like to briefly review some of the main provisions of the Bill in order to show why my proposal should be adopted. It does not involve the fate of any Ministry. It has been brought forward by an obscure member of the House, and I am afraid on that account that it will not receive that consideration which it deserves; but I feel sure that some such principle as that underlying my proposal will ultimately be embodied in legislation of this class, or it must necessarily break down. It is for this reason that I desire, carefully and sin-

cerely, to point out what are my reasons for endeavouring to secure the insertion of this principle, or something as closely akin to it as the Committee will accept, in this Bill. The Bill is entitled, "A Bill for an Act relating to Conciliation and Arbitration," and honorable members should be sufficiently aware of its contents to know how much of it really deals with conciliation. The word "conciliation" appears in the title of the Bill, and also in the introductory provisions contained in clause 2, sub-clause 3—

To provide for the exercise of the jurisdiction of the Court by conciliation with a view to amicable agreement between the parties.

No further reference to conciliation is to be found in the Bill until clause 32 is reached. The intervening provisions deal entirely with arbitration, but in clause 32 we have this reference to conciliation—

The Court shall, in such manner as it thinks fit, carefully and expeditiously hear, inquire into, and investigate every industrial dispute of which it has cognisance, and all matters affecting the merits of the dispute, and the right settlement thereof.

Then in sub-clause 2 there is a further reference to conciliation—

In the course of such hearing inquiry and investigation the Court shall make all such suggestions and do all such things as appear to it to be right and proper for reconciling the parties and for inducing the settlement of the dispute by amicable agreement.

If this Bill were consistent, part with part, one would expect a clause like this, declaring the general scope of the Court, to be followed by further provisions relating to conciliation, and providing for regulations dealing with the subject. But so far from that being the case, we find that there is only one further reference to conciliation in the Bill. It is to be found in clause 42, which provides that—

The Court may temporarily refer any matters before it to a Conciliation Committee consisting of an equal number of representatives of employers and employees, who shall endeavour to reconcile the parties.

Seeing that outside the title of the Bill itself only two definite references to conciliation are to be found in the measure, I think it has no right to the name which it bears, unless we make provision for something in the direction at which my proposal aims. Setting aside for the moment the scope of the Bill itself, and referring to the operation of such legislation in New Zealand, New South Wales, and elsewhere,

we find that unless it provides some means to induce the settlement of disputes so far as possible by conciliation, the Conciliation and Arbitration Courts become congested to such an extent as to make the legislation under which they exist inoperative and, indeed, a perfect farce. There are disputes now awaiting settlement in the Conciliation and Arbitration Court of New South Wales with which the parties are unable to do anything, because they know that in some cases it is impossible for the Court to take any step towards their settlement for a period of about two years. My desire is to bring about a settlement of disputes by some rough and ready means of natural justice. During the discussion of another clause, the honorable and learned member for West Sydney inquired what was "natural justice" in the view of the honorable member who was using that term? By the term "natural justice," in its application to the proposed new clause, I mean that we should endeavour to put the parties to a dispute in such a position that they cannot attempt to gain any benefit for themselves that will not involve a corresponding benefit to the other side should they fail in their endeavour. Although this may seem a somewhat novel proposition to introduce in the statute-book of the Commonwealth, I may point out that the main principle underlying it can be found in legislation in force elsewhere, and that it is embodied more or less in many of the enactments of the States Parliaments of Australia. I have previously pointed out that we find it in the old law of the Athenian democracy. A party charged with an offence during the fierce democratic struggles which prevailed in those days, had a right to plead guilty or not guilty, and to have his case decided accordingly, or to go further, and to name a minor penalty as compared with that affixed by the complainant, who acted the part of public prosecutor. It is well known to honorable members that Socrates, the philosopher, when charged with an offence against the laws of his State—the offence of corrupting the youth—had the penalty of death nominated against him by the parties who had instituted the proceedings. It was then open to him to plead guilty, and to nominate a far less drastic penalty, and that having been done, the dycastery, or jury, might have extended mercy to him, knowing that the prosecution was more or less a political one. In that way Socrates might have saved his life, but in a spirit of philosophical con-

Mr. G. B. Edwards.

tempt for the prosecution, he nominated a penalty so low that the dycastery refused to accept it, and he went to his death.

Mr. DEAKIN.—He demanded to be treated as a public benefactor.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS. — That is so. He demanded to dine at the *Prytaneum* at the public cost. That is an instance of the introduction of a principle, very similar to that which I advocate, in the criminal law of a very advanced state of civilization, and of resort being had to it for a very good purpose: to mitigate the severity of the political strife which, in some instances, led to the institution of these criminal prosecutions. I desire to refer to one of the features of the oldest legislation of which we know. A book entitled *The First of Empires*, which has recently been placed on the shelves of the Parliamentary Library, gives a description of a system of leasing, under improvement, which prevailed in olden days, and in which the very principle I am now advocating was observed. These Laws of Kammurami, the first known laws that have been recovered from the ruins of ancient empires, embodied a principle under which a man took a lease of land to lay out as an orchard, under all the circumstances in which land is taken up to-day for improvement purposes. The condition in most of the leases was that in ten years' time half the land was to revert to the original holder. In order that the original holder might have the full benefit of the improvements effected upon the land it was left to the lessee to divide the land in halves, and then the original holder selected which of the halves he would take. There, again, there was applied this principle of a rough natural justice, under which the parties concerned were able to compose their disputes without going through the formality of fighting them out in a court of law.

Mr. HIGGINS.—But it was a very bad code of law; they had no cure, no pay for doctors.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—It is true that they had that rule; but that does not affect my present line of argument. Coming nearer to our own times, in fact to the legislation of the various States forming the Commonwealth, honorable members are aware that we have a similar principle embodied in the Customs Acts of many of the States, though I do not know that it is to be found in the Commonwealth Cus-

toms Act. Under many of the States Customs Acts it was left to the importer to value his own goods. The only check upon him was that if the State authorities chose they could say, "We think you are undervaluing your goods," and they could then put a 10 per cent. advance upon them, and take over the goods at the importer's valuation, plus the advance. This, again, was a rough and ready natural way of securing a just valuation of the goods by putting the importer in such a position that unless he put a fair valuation on his goods he ran the risk of incurring the injustice he was endeavouring to inflict upon the State, by having his goods taken from him at a slight advance upon his valuation. The same principle has been adopted in the matter of land tax assessments in Australia, and in the neighbouring Colony of New Zealand. The land-owner is allowed to assess himself at what rate he pleases. If the State authorities consider that he has grossly undervalued his property, they can add a slight percentage to his valuation, and take over the property. Though I have not seen the Act, I am told that some fourteen years ago, in New South Wales, when it was found necessary to resume many of the extravagantly large leaseholds that had been given to people in the early days, it was decided that, although the total area should not be resumed, it would be wise in the interests of the State to resume at least half. Here, again, it will be understood, that if the State decided to cut the leases in halves and take one of the halves, the greatest injustice might, in some cases, have been done to the lessees. Instead of that, the enactment provided that the lessee might halve his holding in any way he thought fit, and then the State stepped in, through its officials, and decided which of the two halves it would resume. It will be at once seen that, when it was left to a man to divide his estate, and he knew that the State would step in and take one of the halves, he would take precious good care to see that they were equal. I desire to include this principle in the Bill. I believe that it would have the effect of settling many disputes in a far better way than by Arbitration. A settlement which is likely to be arrived at after a long contested fight under arbitration, and with all the bitterness likely to be created in that way, is one which is not likely to be the most desirable. The

whole scope of our consideration now should be not to create trouble by leaving the settlement of all cases to the Court, and thus occasioning bitter disputes, but to put the law in such a position that the desire to take advantage of it will not be so great as it is at the present time, and that litigants may come to the conclusion that it is better for them to accommodate their differences, under the supervision of the Court, than to fight them out. I direct the attention of the Committee to the precise terms of my amendment. It will be seen that I do not propose to make it compulsory on the Court to require that the parties shall put in their best offers. That is left to the discretion of the Court. Throughout the discussion upon this Bill we have heard the argument used that we ought to trust the Court, and I think that if there is anything on which we should trust the Court it is on a principle of this sort, when we know that already the Arbitration Courts in New South Wales and in New Zealand have intimated a desire to have some such a power as I suggest. They may not have said so in so many words, but, over and over again, they have told litigants, "This is not a matter with which you should trouble us; you should be able to settle it amongst yourselves. This is not a matter of great importance, and our time is required for the consideration of matters of much graver import. You can surely settle this amongst yourselves." If the Court had the power I propose, not only would it use it in cases where plainly in the best interests of the operation of such legislation it should use it, but litigants themselves would see that by adopting this line of action they would have a better chance of settling their disputes, under the supervision of the Court, in such a way that the Court would register the decision arrived at, and it would be carried out with all the formalities of law attached to an award by the Court—the finding being registered in the Court as an award of the Court. I should like to refer as briefly as I can to the report of the Royal Commission on Strikes in New South Wales. I am sorry to think that the volume in which it is contained has not been largely made use of by those who have devoted their attention to the legislation now before us. There is in this volume, and in the evidence obtained by the Commission, very much that would greatly assist those designing such legislation as we have now before us. In

paragraph 8 of the report, having used the word "conciliation," the Commissioners say—

In using the term "conciliation" for the first time in this report, it is convenient to remark here that the terms "conciliation" and "arbitration" are often employed somewhat vaguely as if they were interchangeable, and yet they represent two distinct things. The function of any conciliation agency is to get the parties to a dispute to come to a common agreement voluntarily without any opinion being pronounced on the merits or any instructions given. The function of arbitration is distinctly to determine the merits, and to give a positive decision to be abided by. If the declaration of such a decision can be avoided it is well that it should be, because decisions are generally more or less adverse to both parties, for even splitting the difference is an equal censure upon both. But conciliation, if it is a success, allows of a friendly settlement on a mutual agreement, and leaves no opening for discrediting the understanding or impartiality of the arbitrators. That being so, the practical question that arises is, how should this primary remedy of conciliation be applied.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—All the same, conciliation always means splitting the difference.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—Yes; but I hope to be able to show the honorable member that the object I have in view is to entirely do away with splitting the difference. Further on in the report, the Commissioners state in paragraph 12—

Taking all these things into consideration, we recommend that, in the first instance, at least, and until circumstances justify some further differentiation in the constitution of the labour tribunal, there should be only one board, but that this one board should be empowered in some form to discharge, as occasion may require, the double duty of conciliation and arbitration. That is to say, that its first effort should be towards bringing about a voluntary agreement between the parties, and failing that, that the board, or the permanent part of it, should discharge the duty of adjudication, and pronounce a decision.

The object I have in view is to give effect to the principle reported upon by this Royal Commission. We here have a Court, whilst the Commission speak of a Board, and I desire that our Court should use all the powers with which we can invest it to have these disputes settled at the conciliation stage before the parties are forced into litigation at the arbitration stage. Dealing with the evidence submitted to the Commission, it will be found that on page 60 of the appendix to their report, an account is given of the Wallace Act, passed in the State of Pennsylvania—a measure framed to facilitate arbitration in industrial disputes. There are letters in connexion with this evidence from re-

presentatives on both sides, commending the operation of the Act, and anticipating advantageous results from its development. Since those letters were written, there have been serious strikes in the coal-mining industry of Pennsylvania, as honorable members are aware—the very industry to which these letters refer—and a glance at the results of the early operation of the law discloses a sufficient reason for the failure of the Pennsylvania legislation. It is another case of attempting to settle these matters by "splitting the difference." The coal trade tribunal of the fifth judicial district of Pennsylvania was licensed under the Wallace Act, to which I have referred, in 1883, and consisted of five representatives of each side, and an umpire chosen by them as a body. A strike was on, and the operators—which is the name they have for masters there—offered 3 cents. per bushel for mining, whilst the miners demanded 3½ cents. After several lengthy discussions, it became apparent that an agreement could not be arrived at without considerable delay, and as an earnest of good intentions it was ordered that the miners should resume work immediately, at a price to be thereafter fixed by the tribunal—the price to date back to the time of the resumption of work. The umpire had to be called in, and he awarded a price. Honorable members will know at once what his award was. As usual in these circumstances, the price he awarded was 3½ cents. The men wanted 3½, the masters offered three, and the umpire gave an award of 3¼ cents. This award, whilst it was apparently a disappointment to both parties, was accepted and concurred in for a few months as arranged, but before the expiration of that time the tribunal met to fix the price for a further period. This time the masters offered 3½ cents., and the men demanded 3½ cents. Again the services of the umpire were requested, and he again split the difference, and awarded 3½ cents. This award did not appear to be satisfactory to all, but it was accepted. Since then we have had great strikes amongst the coal miners in Pennsylvania. What I say in this connexion is that if the award ultimately given in this case had been given at first instead of the original decision it would have satisfied one of the parties, whilst the other would have been in no worse position, and work would have been resumed. But under this system of splitting the difference the demand is always increasing and the concession is always lagging tardily behind.

Several of the witnesses before the Royal Commission on Strikes in New South Wales anticipated the friction that would arise over the principle of "splitting the difference," which the new clause is designed to remedy. One of the witnesses was Mr. W. E. Abbott, a gentleman well known to the representatives of New South Wales; and the following is an extract from his evidence, as reported on page 114:—

If we cannot enforce the decisions of the Court, do you think, as a rule, the decisions of the Court would be acquiesced in?—No.

Then what would be the use of it?—The Court, as a means of settling disputes of that kind, would be no use, but as a means of registering agreements between the employers and employes or their unions it would be valuable.

Then the best thing to be done is to have some arrangement for a written agreement to be registered in Court, at which either party can sue and get damages?—Yes, that is the only point I see on which the law can interfere in any way. If a Court undertook to interfere in any way, in such questions as whether a shearer should be paid 20s., or 25s., probably the Court would split the difference in some way; they would not give the 25s., and they would not give the 20s. At least that is the rule in most Arbitrators' Courts. Either side can then reverse the decision of the Court. If a Court said that 22s. 6d. was a fair thing, then the shearers would take the 22s. 6d. for the time being, and then go for 30s., in which case they would get (say) 24s., or the employer would say that 22s. 6d. is not right, and he will go for 17s. 6d.

My contention and that of Mr. Abbott is that in the whole course of our legislation all we are doing, unless we have some means to induce conciliation, is to absolutely constrain the men to make the largest demands, and absolutely constrain the masters to yield the smallest concessions. By this system of splitting the difference, which we see in so many of the decisions, the parties to these great industrial and social disputes, which are so dangerous to our material welfare, and our internal peace, are forced further and further apart, whereas the design of legislation should be to induce them to come nearer and nearer—so near, in fact, that, in many instances, it will not be worth while to proceed further. I have read an extract from the evidence of one of the witnesses who represented the employers before the Royal Commission; but honorable members may accept my assurance that there is evidence to the same effect on both sides. One of the witnesses examined was Mr. Peter Joseph Brennan, president of the Trades and Labour Council, Chairman of the Australian Labour Conference, founder of the Stewards' and Cooks' Union, and secretary

to the Butchers' Union. Surely an occupant of all those positions ought to be able to speak of what was anticipated as the result of legislation, so far as unions and workmen are concerned. Yet Mr. Brennan, on page 99, is thus reported:—

In any Court one side or the other is bound to be dissatisfied with the decision, but the rule has been with arbitrators to split differences; if in Courts of law they do not split differences, in Courts of Arbitration they have always split them; not only in the case of private arbitrators; Mr. Oliver was not a private arbitrator, and Mr. Barton was appointed by a County Court Judge; I will not go into the technicalities of the matters sent before Mr. Oliver, but I will say generally that the miners were willing to submit to competent arbitration.

This man, representing unions of workmen, says that the whole tendency in Arbitration Courts is to split the difference; and I go further, and say that if there is this tendency, this legislation will intensify and increase the number of disputes which we are setting forth with such good intentions to prevent. I should like to draw the attention of the Committee to the case of the Monumental Masons' Union against the Master Monumental Masons, heard in the New South Wales Arbitration Court. The men claimed that the price of cutting and blacking letters on free-stone tombstones should be 12s. per 100, whereas the respondents contended that the price ought to be 10s. 6d. The Judge considered it utterly absurd to suppose that reasonable men could not arrange whether 10s. 6d. or 12s. 6d. should be paid for the work. I cannot say that, personally, I see that the Judge's remarks were called for, because the difference between 10s. 6d. and 12s. 6d. was the difference in the wages for the day, and many other disputes heard before the Court do not involve quite so much. However, this is what the Judge is reported to have said—

The Court having power to dismiss any matter at any stage of the proceedings, where it thinks the dispute trivial, considered this absolutely trivial and dismissed it.

I do not know whether we are justified in reflecting on the conduct of the Judge, but if His Honor be correctly reported, I do not think that the men had their case properly inquired into. What I do say is, that the men ought to have had an opportunity such as I desire should be given, to submit their case to a primary or preliminary proceeding of conciliation; and, if it were impossible to have the dispute settled in that way, then, no Judge's time is too precious

to be devoted to the work. Again, in the dispute between the Barrier Branch of the Amalgamated Miners' Association and the Broken Hill Proprietary Co., the men asked for a 10 per cent. rise, and the masters wanted a 10 per cent. reduction in the wages; and the decision of the Court was practically that the parties should continue on the terms which had hitherto prevailed. I am not going to say whether the decision of the Court under the circumstances of the miners at the time was reasonably sound or not; but I do say that questions of that character, decided on those lines, will inevitably give rise to further litigation, and increase the number of great industrial disputes rather than tend to decrease them and bring about easy settlements. But there is another and a most flagrant case of settling disputes on the principle of splitting the difference. Some time ago in the New South Wales Court, the case of the Hotel, Club, Restaurant, and Caterers' Employés Union was dealt with, and it is referred to on page 37 of the reports of the Arbitration Court. These men demanded sixty hours per week of six days, and the offer of the masters was seventy-one and a half hours for cooks, and seventy-eight for other classes of employés. The decision of the Court was in the first case seventy hours per week of seven days, and in the second case seventy-seven hours per week of seven days. The demand in regard to wages was for chief cooks, £3, the offer of the masters was £1 10s., and the decision was £2 5s.; for second cooks the demand was £2 5s., the offer was £1 5s., and the decision was £1 10s.; for third cooks the demand was £1 15s., the offer was £1, and the decision was £1 5s.; for general hands, the demand was £1 5s., the offer 12s. and 15s., and the decision was £1; for casual employés, the demand was 15s., the offer was 10s., and the decision was 12s. 6d. In each of these particular cases, which involved the wages in different branches of this business, it will be seen that the demand and the offer were very wide apart indeed, and the only way which the Court could find to settle the dispute was to add the two sums together, and divide them. If that is to be the principle on which disputes of the kind are to be settled, we do not want a learned Judge, versed in British law, and a good deal of other law, and with a large salary, to settle such matters, because any ordinary, common-sense individual would be able to arrive at decisions of this

character. I do not deny for a moment that the Judges of such Courts give decisions involving points of very much greater importance than those which I have instanced; but I protest against that system of settlement for the reason, as I have said, that it must tend to increase litigation, and that it leaves behind it a more bitter and troublesome spirit amongst masters and men. If my proposal were adopted, we should say to the masters, in effect, "What is the best you can offer?" and to the men, "What is the least you are prepared to accept?" The difference in the amounts would be reduced, and the parties brought so close together as to make it certain that the Arbitration Court would come to a satisfactory decision, and in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred the parties themselves would deem it advisable to come to an agreement and have it registered in the Court. A similar plan is attempted in other countries. The honorable and learned member for Indi, in the early stages of the discussion on this Bill, made some reference to the *Conseils de Prudhommes* in France—an institution which has much more limited jurisdiction than it is intended to give the Court under this Bill, but which works satisfactorily. I understand that in connexion with this organization there is a principle adopted, which, however, I cannot find referred to in any book dealing with the subject, in the Parliamentary or other library. But a witness before the Royal Commission, whose evidence I give for what it is worth, stated that in the *Conseils de Prudhommes* five of the arbitrators are selected by the masters from among the men and another five are selected by the men from amongst the masters. If that be the case, the principle is the same as that of the clause which I propose. Under such a system the masters would select moderate and reasonable men, who are not likely, for any purpose, political or otherwise, to carry matters to extremes, and similarly the men would select employers whom they knew to be the most honest and the best-disposed towards their employés. Such a plan would result in a set of arbitrators more likely to come into accord than would be the case if each side appointed their own arbitrators. We here have the principle of natural justice, for which I have been contending all through my remarks, and which has been attained elsewhere. The facts will be best known to the particular masters and men selected as arbitrators, because they will be connected with the dispute; and,

Mr. G. B. Edwards.

under the clause which I propose, the Court might be empowered to allow each party power to select a man from the other side. Above all, the clause would relieve the congested state of the Arbitration Courts. We know that, at the present time in New Zealand, and, perhaps, to a greater extent, in New South Wales, it is almost impossible to get disputes settled owing to the large amount of work with which the Courts have been rushed; and the number of cases, so far from decreasing, is increasing. I do not, as some other honorable members do, hold the opinion that the Arbitration Courts create litigation. In many instances, after having once got an award registered, parties will not apply for another award, though they may ask for a variation to meet changing circumstances. The fact remains that both in New South Wales and New Zealand, the Courts are overburdened to the point of breaking down. In the principle of the new clause I have proposed, we have a means of making this class of legislation much more perfect than it is in the two States I have mentioned. I do not know to what extent honorable members consider that the Court will be occupied with disputes in different parts of the Commonwealth, but it is inevitable that if the High Court, in deciding as to the extent of our power to interfere, should be in favour of the Arbitration Court under this Bill having very full, almost plenary powers to deal with the labour disputes of Australia, the Court will have an immense body of work—work which not one Judge, nor even six Judges, will be able to do. For that reason, more than any other, if we desire this legislation to be successful in carrying out the objects which we wish to attain, and to remedy disputes, we must provide beforehand for preventing the Court being choked with applications, and so making it break down by the very weight and quantity of litigation. I say again, as I said in opening, that I desire this legislation to be successful. I wish to see it successful to the extent of ending our industrial warfare from one end of the Commonwealth to the other. In this clause, which I recommend to the consideration of honorable members, we have a means of making the Bill more perfect, and of carrying it into effect with less chance of disastrous failure than I fear will exist if some such principle is not adopted.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK (Parramatta).—I have listened to the honorable member for South Sydney during a part of his address with a great deal of interest and with a desire to bring my mind to support his proposal; but I candidly confess that while there is much to be said in favour of the amendment, I do not think, on the whole, that the balance of the argument is in favour of it. For instance, one of his contentions is that this proposal will do away with the congestion of business which exists in the Courts as at present conducted. I do not think there is any analogy between the Courts as at present conducted and the Court proposed to be established by this legislation. We are proposing to set up, for the first time, a Commonwealth Conciliation and Arbitration Court. I venture to say that that Court will deal with and settle many matters which now go to the Arbitration Courts as at present constituted. Speaking with a great amount of practical experience on this subject, I do not think that a proposal of this kind would shorten the operation of such cases by one minute. I rather think that it would have a tendency to lengthen them. It often happens that a compromise is hit upon through sheer exhaustion or through disgust at the way in which the Court is spinning matters out. But if the alternative were to accept one proposal or the other, the issue would be fought out to the bitter end, particularly if there were a margin between the two offers which might make it worth while to conduct the argument with strenuousness, and at length. Therefore, the amendment would not save time, but would rather tend to lengthen proceedings before the Court. Neither would the honorable member's proposal do away with the splitting of the difference about which so much has been heard. Remember that in all these cases proposals will emanate from both sides before the matter goes before the Court at all. It is only after failure to agree that they will go to the Court for a final verdict. If the parties do make minimum offers to the Court, it would be a splitting of the difference on their own part, as compared with their previous offers to each other. Because, if they could agree upon a basis of settlement themselves, there would be no necessity to go to the Court. It is only when they have made offers to each other and have failed to agree that they go to the Court and ask the Judge to split their differences for them, or to settle the case in any way he chooses. If

they make fresh minimum offers to the Court, it will simply be doing what the honorable member has been deprecating—splitting the differences themselves prior to their being argued in Court. But to my mind the Conciliation Court will unmistakably tend to promote good feeling as between the combatants. That is my experience of conciliation. It is different from arbitration. It often happens, as a result of splitting the difference and coming to an agreement around a table, that a good feeling is brought about between the parties. I fear that under a proposal of this kind good feeling would not be the result. Rather I should imagine that the party whose claim has not been accepted would leave the Court with a very bitter taste in its mouth. I do not think that in this respect the proposal of the honorable member has much to commend it. In view of the fact that we are setting up a Conciliation Court, I do not think that what he proposes [would be any better than the Court proposed to be set up.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—Can the honorable member show me any provisions for conciliation in this Bill?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—That is the intention of the Bill, although it may have been carried out clumsily. The intention is to preserve and promote good feeling between the combatants. The very process of splitting the difference settles a great many more strikes than it provokes, and it does more than anything else I can think of at the moment to promote that good feeling which we all desire to see between employer and employé. On the whole, therefore, I think we had better stick to the proposal of the Bill, which leaves the matter to the discretion of the Court, and allows the President to step between the combatants and to reach the point of justice, no matter how difficult it may be.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—My clause also leaves it to the discretion of the Court. I trust the Court fully.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Only in cases where special reasons appear. Ordinary cases would not be within the discretion of the Court. I have no doubt that the Judge would often, in any case in which he desired to step in, find special reasons. It is an easy matter to say that certain reasons are special. But that phrase itself is very vague, as applied to industrial disputes. What does the honorable member mean by "special reasons"?

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—I can show the honorable member much more vague expressions in other parts of the Bill. What, for instance, is a "substantial majority"?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I am not carp- ing at the honorable member's drafting. Personally, I cannot see what special reasons he is alluding to. I fancy the honorable member had something in his mind when he was drafting this proposal. But I fear that it would lead to the protracting of cases, and to more strenuous and bitter argument, while it would not be provocative of that good feeling which the Bill aims at promoting.

Mr. McCAY (Corinella—Minister of Defence).—The Government have a great deal of sympathy with the object of the honorable member for South Sydney. His idea is, of course, that each side should be induced to state the minimum of what it wants, and not the maximum, which it hopes it might squeeze out of the Court. That is an object which it is always desirable to attain in connexion with litigation of any kind. But I am afraid that the amendment might, if adopted, lead to results that the honorable member himself does not contemplate. I listened with a great deal of interest to the illustrations which he gave of the application of similar proposals. But I was not in the Chamber during the whole of his speech, and I do not know whether he quoted the case of the wise old man who had two sons, to whom he left his property. He directed that the elder son should divide the property, but that the younger son should have the first choice. He made that direction with a view of having the property divided as equally as possible. The instances which the honorable member gave are more in the nature of analogies than of parallel cases. In the first place, I should like to point out to him that the Arbitration Court is called into existence not merely to do what an ordinary Court does—that is, to settle a dispute arising between two parties, in which the rest of the public are at most very remotely concerned. It is called into existence to consult as far as possible the interests of the public as well as the interests of the parties to the dispute. It is more in the public interest—or, at any rate, as much in the public interest—as in the interest of the parties, that it has been thought desirable to create Conciliation and Arbitration Courts. In the second place, I do not think that this proposal would meet

the objections raised by the honorable and learned member for Indi, where one side makes a claim in which it thinks that it is absolutely right—and possibly may be almost absolutely right—and consequently cannot see its way to make any concession whatever.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—Then it stands on its rights.

Mr. McCAY.—I think that is not exactly the idea that is conveyed by the honorable member's amendment. I also think that a proposal of this kind might possibly lead to what I may call experimental disputes. A dispute would be raised with a view of each side getting a knowledge of what the other side desired.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS.—Are we going to avoid that under the Bill, as it stands?

Mr. McCAY.—I do not think that we should encourage it. Possibly we may have a great many disputes specially raised for settlement by the Court.

Mr. POYNTON.—Not under this Bill.

Mr. McCAY.—That is harping back to a matter about which we have had a great deal of discussion. I venture to say that the Bill will be operative, in spite of the fears of some honorable members. I am sorry to hear the honorable member take up such an attitude. I do not think that any party in a great public matter of this kind—I do not mean necessarily a party in politics—has a right to say that it is going to make legislation ineffective because there happens to be some one thing introduced into it which that party does not like. That seems to me to be a very unwise proceeding.

Mr. POYNTON.—There are a number of objectionable things in this Bill. There is too much lawyer in it, for instance.

Mr. McCAY.—There is not much lawyer in the Bill as it stands. There is no lawyer at all in this clause, so that I am afraid I would be distinctly out of order in discussing that point.

Mr. POYNTON.—It will be an absolute dead letter.

Mr. McCAY.—I think that the honorable member for Grey will admit that his interjections are not quite relevant to the clause under discussion.

Mr. POYNTON.—They are pertinent to what the Minister was just saying.

Mr. McCAY.—Has the honorable member quite finished?

Mr. POYNTON.—No, I have not.

Mr. McCAY.—Then, I am exceedingly sorry, because I have refrained from an-

swering his two or three interjections, in the hope that I might thereby pacify his perturbed spirit. I would point out to the honorable member for South Sydney, in regard to the quotation which he made from the report of the Royal Commission on Strikes, relating to conciliation, that his amendment after all is not very relevant to this particular proposal, in that so far as I can see the Bill introduces conciliation rather than arbitration. Human nature being what it is, and not what it ought to be, I am afraid that this may not so conduce, and I agree with the honorable member for Parramatta that, if each side is compelled to name its minimum, and knows that unless its minimum is accepted, that of the other side must, practically speaking, under this clause, be accepted, they will fight it out to the bitter end. Once each party has named what it regards as a proper minimum, there will be no hope of a compromise, and the parties will fight to win all for fear of losing all. That does not, I think, encourage the spirit of compromise. I would point out to the honorable member for South Sydney, that this whole Bill is in one sense, novel, that, at any rate, no such Courts as are here proposed are of any long standing, and that if in addition to the new Court dealing with new subjects, we provide new methods of settling disputes, we may introduce too many experiments, and consequently, injure, rather than help the cause that we all have at heart. I would, therefore, ask the honorable member to be content with having brought this matter under the notice of the Committee. I may mention that the Government did try to see its way to accept the whole, or a portion of the new clause; but in view of the novelty of the proposal, and the objections to its adoption, we could not accept it.

Mr. RONALD (Southern Melbourne).—I sincerely hope that the Government will see its way to accept the amendment. I think that the honorable member for South Sydney has made out a good case for the creation of a special Court. This is called a Conciliation and Arbitration Bill, and it seems to me that it makes a great deal of provision for arbitration and very little for conciliation. The constitution of these Courts provides for a preliminary inquiry into the question as to whether there is a case or not. In my own country there is an official called the Procurator Fiscal, who holds an investigation, and says whether

there is a case or not, and that function which is of very great value in Scotland has its parallel in France in the court which has been quoted by my honorable friend, and which serves a very great and useful purpose. It saves endless litigation, and, above all, brings in that principle of master and men meeting face to face and comparing their grievances, and thereby attempting to come to a just settlement. Moreover, the principle exists under the Factories Act of Victoria, in the shape of Wages Boards. I believe it will be found that if the men and masters come together and state their case to one another, they will see that very little litigation is required, and that the arbitration stage—an expensive one to both sides—need not be reached.

Mr. FRAZER.—That is not the experience of such Courts.

Mr. RONALD.—I have been quoting instances to show that it has been.

Mr. FRAZER.—It is not our experience in Western Australia, anyhow.

Mr. RONALD. — In Victoria the great value of the Factories Act lies in the fact that it has brought the men and masters face to face before the Wages Boards. The principle of conciliation is at work. The minimum of demand on each side is made, and when the men see that the masters are reasonable, and the masters see that the men are rational, the dispute is half settled. But if an appeal can be made to the Court, and the lawyers are allowed to state the case from their point of view, they will prolong the dispute, and the result will be disastrous. I am always in favour of exhausting the lay element, which is common-sense, before we reach the technical and intricate element. I hope that reasonable men will look upon this proposal as a very useful supplement to a Bill which may be licked into shape and made of some use in settling those disputes which we all profess to be so anxious to settle.

Proposed new clause negatived.

Bill reported with further amendments.

Mr. REID (East Sydney—Minister of External Affairs).—There are two comparatively unimportant amendments which I forgot to move in clause 4, and I ask the House to allow me to go back into Committee in order to make them. I move—

That the Bill be recommitted for the reconsideration of clause 4.

Question resolved in the affirmative.

In Committee (Second recommitment).

Clause 4—

In this Act, except where otherwise clearly intended—

“State Industrial Authority” means any Board or Court of Conciliation or Arbitration, or tribunal body or persons, having authority under any State Act to exercise any power of Conciliation or Arbitration with reference to industrial disputes within the limits of the State.

Amendments (by Mr. REID) agreed to—

That the following definition be inserted :—

“Special Magistrate” means a magistrate appointed by that name under the law of a State.

That after the word “State,” line 9, the following words be inserted :—“or any Special Board constituted under any State Act relating to factories, or such other State Board or Court as is prescribed.”

Clause, as amended, agreed to.

Bill reported with further amendments; report adopted.

Mr. REID (East Sydney—Minister of External Affairs).—With the concurrence of the House, I desire to move the third reading of the Bill, so that it can reach the Senate to-morrow when it meets.

Mr. SPEAKER.—Is it the pleasure of the House that the Prime Minister have leave to move the suspension of the Standing Orders?

HONORABLE MEMBERS.—Hear, hear.

Motion (by Mr. REID) agreed to—

That the Standing Orders be suspended so as to allow the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill to be passed through its remaining stage this day.

Bill read a third time.

KALGOORLIE TO PORT AUGUSTA RAILWAY SURVEY BILL.

In Committee (Consideration of Governor-General's message resumed from 9th June, *vide* page 2243), on motion by Mr. BATCHELOR—

That it is expedient that an appropriation of moneys be made for the purposes of a Bill for an Act to authorize the survey of a route for a railway to connect Kalgoorlie, in the State of Western Australia, with Port Augusta, in the State of South Australia.

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON (North Sydney—Minister of Home Affairs).—I do not desire to weary the Committee with any long argument in favour of the motion. The project for the construction of this railway has already been discussed, and there will be further opportunities for discussion when the Bill is brought in. I shall only say that the proposal has found

favour, not merely with the last Administration, but also with its immediate predecessor, and the present Administration see that the duty of bringing it forward is imposed upon them. I am sure that honorable members will all recollect that at an early stage of the Federal movement an opinion was current that Western Australia was not likely to enter into the proposed union of the Colonies.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—Why was this proposal not put into the Constitution?

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—I am coming to that point. We were quite prepared to believe that if Western Australia did come into the Union she would put forward certain conditions in return for certain disadvantages which it must be admitted she would suffer. One of these conditions—the permission to impose a tariff of her own on a gradually decreasing scale—was embodied in the Constitution.

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—Was the construction of the railway made a condition?

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—And the question of constructing this railway was also raised.

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—That was not a condition.

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—I am going to state the case exactly as I know it from making inquiries.

Mr. PAGE.—This railway is not provided for in the Constitution.

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—I am aware of that. That question was raised, and whilst it was not agreed to, consideration was promised, after due inquiry, by at least some of the Premiers, and more especially by some of the Ministers in South Australia, to this request from Western Australia.

Mr. ISAACS.—Does the Minister mean the Premier of Victoria?

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—I mean some of the Premiers who attended the conference at which the question of the Transcontinental Railway was discussed. As the Prime Minister—who was a party to that gathering—has already stated, whilst no agreement was arrived at that the line should be constructed, consideration was promised to the project, and to that extent the expectations of the people of Western Australia were raised. Further than that, certain correspondence took place between the Governments of South Australia and Western Australia upon which I do not intend to enlarge. That correspondence

went much further than did the members of the Premiers' Conference, in the direction of attempting to connect Western Australia and the eastern States by rail, and it also gave rise to legitimate expectations, on the part of the people of Western Australia, that this matter would receive earnest consideration. That is the situation as I find it. I approached this question with a mind entirely unbiased. Upon one occasion, it is true, I did attempt to check discussion upon this proposal, but I stated my reasons for doing so. I said later—

I took objection to this measure at a similar stage on a previous occasion, but for the sole reason that I considered that, owing to the important business—practically a vote of censure—then before Parliament, it was not proper to interpose the motion. To-night, when I was questioned as to my attitude, I stated that I would make no objection to the motion being passed as formal.

I took no objection whatever to the proposal as such. What I did object to was that it should be interposed when there was practically a motion of censure before Parliament.

Mr. MAHON.—Does not a very similar position of affairs exist at the present time?

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—Not that I am aware of. I have not yet observed any motion of censure.

Mr. MAHON.—It is coming all right.

Mr. PAGE.—Does the Minister know of any instance in which the other States have contributed towards the building or the survey of a railway in New South Wales or Queensland?

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—I am not aware that they have been asked to do so.

Mr. PAGE.—Queensland is just as impecunious as is Western Australia.

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—It is not a question of impecuniosity. We know that in Western Australia very considerable discontent exists owing to the non-fulfilment of what was regarded as a promise that the proposal to construct the Transcontinental Railway would receive earnest inquiry and examination. That discontent, if illegitimate, it might be our duty to ignore, although it would be very unfortunate if any substantial sense of injustice were allowed to exist in any of the States when we had the power to remove it. In view of what has taken place, and realizing what has led to the anticipations of Western Australia, I say that if we refuse to expend one penny in inquiring whether this important railway connexion should take place, we shall

be justifying that discontent, and each representative of that State will have the fullest warrant for supporting the indignation of its people.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—What will the survey cost?

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—The expenditure in this connexion is limited to £20,000. If the line be constructed, I understand that Western Australia is willing to pay her portion of any loss upon it—that is, upon its own length. But the people of that State claim that the understanding under which they joined the Federation was that the Federal authorities would inquire into the feasibility, the payability, and the desirability or otherwise of constructing that railway.

Mr. JOHNSON.—Would the line be owned by the Commonwealth Government?

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—If it were constructed by the Federation, undoubtedly it would. But I would point out to honorable members that at the present stage the question of construction is not under consideration. The whole point involved is, "Do we think that Western Australia has such a legitimate case for inquiry that the Federal Government, which would own the line, if constructed, should expend a limited sum in making that inquiry?"

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—Then the £20,000 is really to be spent upon an inquiry?

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—Yes; by adopting this resolution, Parliament will not be committed to the construction of the line in any way.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—Who has to pay the £20,000?

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—The Commonwealth Government.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—What is the use of saying that the expenditure contemplated is for the purpose of making an inquiry?

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—What is the use of urging that the survey cannot partake of the nature of an inquiry, because an expenditure is involved? Perhaps the honorable and learned member for Parkes has not read the terms of the resolution. I do think that a sufficient case has been made out by the people of Western Australia to warrant an examination being made into the cost of the proposed railway and the route it should take, if constructed. If the resolution be adopted, Parliament will still retain the power to sanction the work or otherwise, according to what, on the information gained, honorable members

deem themselves justified in doing. I do not intend to enlarge upon the matter. I will only add that the justice of the claim of Western Australia has impressed itself upon three Administrations. Surely that is some indication that there is reason for the request which is made by that State. I can quite believe that at a later stage reasons may be advanced in favour of the construction of the railway—such, for example, as its value from the stand-point of defence, and the desirability of having an approach to that important part of Australia by a means which could not be interfered with by any Power, which might be at war with Great Britain, placing fleets upon our coast. There are other reasons which might be urged in its favour—many reasons. But I quite admit that, despite all those reasons, we may find, after this survey has been made, that it is not desirable to construct the proposed railway. Nevertheless, I ask the Committee to give to Western Australia at least that consideration which is now asked, and to sanction a limited expenditure, so that we may know what the construction of the railway will involve, and so that we may be in a better position at a future date to decide whether that portion of the continent should be connected with the more thickly populated, and more favorably situated, eastern shore-line of the Commonwealth.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—Do the Government propose to ask Western Australia to contribute anything towards this expenditure of £20,000?

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—Western Australia will contribute.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—How much?

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—She will contribute her proportion according to population.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—Do the Government propose to ask Western Australia to contribute anything more than her Federal proportion?

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—That State will contribute the proportion for which she is liable. The honorable and learned member knows that if we pass a measure authorizing the expenditure of £20,000 that expenditure must be allocated in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—Do the Ministry intend to ask Western Australia to contribute more than her proportion?

Mr. FOWLER.—Would it be fair to ask Western Australia to contribute to a proposal which may condemn the line?

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—The proposal to construct the railway, I would remind the honorable and learned member for Parkes, is not now before the Committee. The matter immediately under consideration is a proposal to expend £20,000 upon a survey of the line. That money will be allocated under the provisions of the Constitution just as other expenditure is allocated. If we consider that the claim of Western Australia is altogether baseless, that she has no title to consideration in this matter, that she should never have put forward her proposal, and that no encouragement should have been given to it before she joined the Union, we might put it on one side, and we could then deal with the question entirely from the stand-point of the desirability or otherwise of constructing the proposed railway. But I think that the western State has established, at any rate, a good case for inquiry, and as the Commonwealth Government, and not the States, will own the railway, if it be eventually constructed—because the undertaking affects not only Western Australia, but also South Australia and the eastern States—we should at least elicit the facts necessary to enable us to decide whether the work should be undertaken or not. I therefore commend the proposal to the consideration of honorable members.

Mr. WATSON (Bland).—I intend to support the proposal of the Government, though I do not wish it to be understood that, because I shall vote for a survey of the proposed Transcontinental Railway, I shall, therefore, if I am in Parliament when subsequent action is taken in regard to it, consider myself committed to vote for the construction of the line. I am endeavouring to keep an absolutely open mind in respect to the main question involved in the project we now have before us. One cannot look with indifference upon the proposal to connect by rail the extreme western State of the Commonwealth with the more thickly populated eastern States. Such a connexion must eventually be of immense importance to Australia.

Mr. FOWLER.—It must come sooner or later.

Mr. KENNEDY.—The later the better.

Mr. WATSON.—It must come some day. To my mind, it is important, for commercial as well as for strategic reasons, that there

should some day be this connexion; but whether, with our comparatively small population, we are at present justified in expending between £4,000,000 and £5,000,000 upon the work, depends altogether upon the probability of its returning, within a reasonable time, at least a fair proportion of the interest on the cost and the working expenses of the railway. The evidence we have on the subject so far is somewhat meagre. Optimistic statements have been made by the representatives of Western Australia as to the possibilities of the line, and I am sure we all sympathize with their patriotism, but there is comparatively little evidence upon which an unbiased observer can form an accurate opinion of its prospects. I have seen the reports of the engineer who made a flying survey of the route as to the character of the country passed through, and they have rather surprised me. He admitted that the opportunities for the conservation of water, which are so necessary to make the country reproductive, are not apparent; but he seemed to have the firmest opinion that the land would, in a large measure, eventually prove profitable for pastoral settlement. The question of water supply would be an immediately pressing one, if the railway were constructed, but we have recently had rather encouraging reports as to the possibility of obtaining artesian water within the areas that would be traversed by the line. We have, therefore, I think, sufficient evidence to justify us in expending the comparatively small sum asked for in obtaining a proper survey of the proposed route. I take it that that survey will not be an investigation merely of the country within, say, a few hundred yards on each side of the direct route, from a point at the head of Spencer's Gulf to Kalgoorlie, but that cross-sections will be made to determine the nature of the country north and south of the proposed line. If that is done, we shall have a more comprehensive idea of the character of the country that will be served than can be obtained from a mere flying survey of the direct route. In regard to the question asked of the Minister of Home Affairs by the honorable and learned member for Parkes, I may say that, immediately on assuming office, some months ago, I entered into communication with the then Premier of Western Australia, Mr. James, to ascertain whether his Government would guarantee to bear a larger share of any loss that might accrue from the

construction and working of the proposed railway than would have to be borne by the State in proportion to its population, and, after a number of communications had passed between us, some of which have been laid upon the table of the House, he stated that he was prepared to promise, on behalf of his Government, a liberal contribution over and above what the State would have to pay on a population basis towards meeting any loss which might accrue during the first ten years after the line was constructed.

Mr. JOHNSON.—Was anything said about the increment in value which would be given to the land along the route of the line?

Mr. WATSON.—No; but seeing that it is State-owned land——

Mr. KENNEDY.—And seeing, moreover, that the State is not to pay for the railway!

Mr. MAHON.—At any rate, private individuals will not obtain the benefit of the added value given to the land by the expenditure of the Commonwealth.

Mr. WATSON.—As the State owns the land through which the line would pass, the interjection of the honorable member for Moira adds force to the contention that Western Australia may be expected to make a special contribution towards meeting any possible loss; and the Premier of that State met my suggestion in a most liberal spirit.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—His promise was a rather vague one.

Mr. WATSON.—He very properly pointed out in the correspondence that, as it is not known what the railway would cost, and as it is impossible to make any proper estimate of its cost until a survey has been undertaken, it is rather premature to state definitely what contribution the State would make; but I regarded his offer as one made in the most generous spirit, and I am given to understand that the present Government of the State is willing to carry out the undertaking arrived at between us.

Mr. JOHNSON.—The point I wish to emphasize is that the Federal expenditure will increase the value of State land.

Mr. FOWLER.—That is so with all Federal expenditure. Even the erection by the Commonwealth of a post-office increases the value of the adjacent State land.

Mr. WATSON.—I have always been a believer in the idea that persons through whose land a railway is made, should give to the State some guarantee against loss on

its construction and working, and, when a member of the New South Wales Parliament, I was one of those who moved to get the principle adopted in connexion with some of the railways constructed by the State of recent years. What I speak of is not a betterment tax, as the term is ordinarily understood, but a guarantee against loss to the authority constructing the railway. The principle was adopted years ago in the Irish Light Railways Act, and has been found to work most satisfactorily ever since—the land-owners guaranteeing to the constructing authority, whether it be the State or a private company, a certain proportion of any loss that might accrue from the construction of a line.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—More than half of the proposed railway will be in South Australia.

Mr. WATSON.—I was successful in getting the principle I speak of incorporated in some of the measures passed by the New South Wales Parliament of late years sanctioning railway construction, and the result encouraged me to ask of the Premier of Western Australia the question to which I have referred—Whether his State would be prepared to bear a proportion of the loss, if any, which might accrue in connexion with the construction of the line? As I have said, I was met in a most generous spirit.

Mr. KELLY.—Did the honorable member ask the same question of the Premier of South Australia?

Mr. WATSON.—No; but I asked the Premier of South Australia if he would be prepared to ask the State Parliament to pass a Bill to sanction the construction of the line.

Mr. KELLY.—Why did not the honorable member ask the same question of both Premiers?

Mr. WATSON.—In arrangements between Governments, just as in business arrangements, it is well to proceed step by step, and the first step to take was to get the Government of South Australia to consent to ask the Parliament of the State to sanction the construction of the line through its territory. Up to the present time the South Australian Parliament has not given that sanction; but, under the Constitution, it must be given before the railway can be constructed by the Commonwealth.

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—South Australia has agreed to the survey being made.

Mr. WATSON.—The Government of the State when in communication with me raised no objection whatever to the survey being made, but they refused to commit themselves on the main question as to whether they would or would not ask the Parliament of South Australia to sanction the construction of the line.

Mr. EWING.—The honorable member regards the motion merely as one to provide for an investigation. It does not bind him in any way.

Mr. WATSON.—Quite so. I have already said that. I hold myself free, if the evidence seems to warrant such action, to vote against the proposal to construct the line if it is ever brought forward, and I happen to be here at the time.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—The question is whether the investigation should not be undertaken at the expense of the people who would chiefly benefit.

Mr. FOWLER.—The whole Commonwealth would benefit.

Mr. WATSON.—The question asked by the honorable and learned member for Parkes is a matter for argument. It is not one upon which one can dogmatize. There is more reason why the Commonwealth should take some share of responsibility in connexion with this proposal than would apply to any other railway proposal that might come before us, since it is one which has in view the giving of communication to a State which is widely separated from the other States.

Mr. EWING.—Does the honorable member think that there was a tacit understanding on this matter?

Mr. WATSON.—I do not attach very much importance to the promises or semi-promises made on the subject by those who at the time had no authority to speak for Australia. The people of Western Australia may have been led into looking upon Federation more favorably because of the statements of certain leading politicians of the other States than they would otherwise have done.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—There is no doubt about that.

Mr. WATSON.—Still that fact does not bind the people of Australia as a whole, though it should bind those who made the promises to exercise their influence and to give their votes for the construction of the line.

Mr. WATKINS. — Why should not the Commonwealth also build a bridge to Tasmania?

Mr. FOWLER.—The suggestion has been made that the Commonwealth should subsidize a line of steamers between the mainland and Tasmania.

Mr. WATSON.—If the honorable member for Newcastle would furnish designs for a bridge which could be constructed at a reasonable cost, I, for one, should be prepared to consider the matter. I am glad that the Government have seen fit to introduce this Bill at an early stage, and I shall support the proposal it contains.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH (Parkes).—I do not think that there is any necessity to emphasize the proposition that, although the Committee may agree to this motion, no honorable member will in any way be bound to subsequently vote for the construction of the proposed railway. There is no need to look so far ahead as that in any criticism of the proposal now before us. I think that this is a very serious matter, and although I have every desire to assist the Government in their legislation, the explanation which we have had does not seem to me to recognise the seriousness of so novel a proposal.

Mr. FOWLER.—It is not a novel proposal, because it has been before two Governments.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—Although a comparatively small expenditure is involved, the principle at issue is a very large one. The Commonwealth is, for the first time, being asked to undertake the first stage in the construction of a railway primarily for the benefit of one State, and we should therefore consider what principle is to be observed in these matters. The Minister, in explaining the proposal to the House, said that we must remember that the railway would ultimately belong to the Commonwealth. Now, in the history of railway construction in Australia, the consolation of Governments which have constructed railways which gave no immediate return has been that they are increasing the value of their landed estate. I admit that the sum now asked for is a comparatively small one.

Mr. HUME COOK.—What is to be the cost of the proposed survey?

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—£20,000.

Mr. HUME COOK.—The amount is not mentioned in the motion.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—No, but I understand that that is to be the maximum expenditure.

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—That is the sum provided for in the Bill.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—Although the sum provided for is comparatively small, we are now being asked to take a preliminary step which involves a very great principle. We are being asked to construct a railway at the expense of the Commonwealth, while the whole of the increment in value which it will give to the land through which it passes will go, not to the Commonwealth, but to a State.

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—That will always be the case when the Commonwealth constructs a railway.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—Yes, but as this is the first instance in which we have been asked to sanction such a railway, the Committee should consider very carefully the precedent which we are establishing.

Mr. FOWLER.—Do we not establish that principle every time we build a post-office?

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—No; because the principle was established when we built our first post-office. The honorable member is a most enthusiastic supporter of this project, and naturally so, not only in its preliminary, but in its ultimate, stages, and I wish him to recognise that an important principle is involved in the proposal now before us. I do not wish to single myself out as an opponent of it, but, years ago, when Federation was being advocated, I opposed the idea of the Commonwealth constructing this railway at an expenditure of many millions of money.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—This railway?

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—Yes.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—It was never proposed before.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—It was mentioned at the Federal Conventions, and, during the Federal campaign, the representatives of Western Australia contended that ultimately that State must be connected with the eastern railway systems, in order that it might be brought into close union with the State in which the Capital was to be established.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—And reasonably so, too.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—The right honorable gentleman can advance that view when he addresses the House. The fact that previous Governments have been in favour of making the proposed survey affords no argument why the work should be undertaken by the present Government.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—At all events, it is an evidence of unanimity on the part of those who have been in power.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—It shows that we are entitled to expect the Government to call upon the people who are going to be so largely benefited by the construction of the line to contribute to the initial cost. Surely it is fair to say to the people of Western Australia—"We are perfectly willing to embark upon a preliminary survey, with a view to the ultimate construction of this line if, in view of the fact that you are to be specially benefited, you will contribute something more than your *pro rata* or *per capita* share towards the cost." The Government might very well say to the people of Western Australia—

Sir JOHN FORREST.—And also to the people of South Australia.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—Yes, and also to the people of South Australia—"In the report furnished by certain engineers upon this line, it is represented that it is likely in ten years to produce very satisfactory results, and, inasmuch as these results cannot be produced until this preliminary expenditure of £20,000 is incurred, you should contribute more than your share *per capita*." It might be very fairly said—"This railway will primarily benefit you both, by establishing a trade so large that the profit resulting from it will defray the interest upon the large capital outlay involved, and by enormously increasing the value of your territories, and, therefore, we shall expect you, in the first place, at all events, to find the money to defray the cost of the preliminary survey. If the Commonwealth should ultimately decide to construct the line as a Commonwealth property, we shall return you the £20,000 expended upon the survey."

Mr. MALONEY.—A very good suggestion.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—I do not expect honorable members representing Western Australia to sympathize with my attitude upon this question. It is very natural that they should desire to have the work carried out in the interests of their State. I wish them to accept my assurance that I am taking up my present position only because I think that it is fair and equitable to the other States that the expenditure involved should come primarily out of the pockets of the two States to be specially benefited, even though it may ultimately be recouped by the Commonwealth.

Mr. CARPENTER.—Would the honorable and learned member apply the same principle to the expenditure upon the Federal Capital?

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—I should be very sorry if any representative of Western Australia were to think that I offer my criticism in any spirit of Inter-State rivalry. I have all along been disposed—if I have not actually manifested that disposition—to deprecate the practice of constantly setting up State against State, and it is because I endeavour to look at this question in its preliminary stage from the Commonwealth point of view, that I should have liked to see some principle laid down by the Government to justify the proposed expenditure without first making a strong demand upon the two States which are to be specially benefited to contribute the money in the first place.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—We all have to contribute towards the expenditure upon the Federal Capital, which is to be located in the New South Wales territory.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—I should like the Committee to consider this proposal in the light of a precedent. It will be said by—and by that the precedent does not depend upon the proposed work being a railway, but upon its being a public work; and I can quite foresee that in the future attempts might be made to place more enterprises of this kind upon the shoulders of the Commonwealth, on the ground that Western Australia was receiving this advantage. As I pointed out, the two chief advantages, if not the only ones that are likely to result from the construction of the line, apart from the fact that it will bring the western State into closer union with the eastern States, will be the establishment of commercial traffic between Western Australia and the eastern States, and the great increment in value of territory which will accrue to Western Australia and South Australia. At the present time this Committee is very ill-informed as to the character of the country through which the line is to pass.

Mr. FOWLER.—We admit that.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—I have read the report of the committee of engineers who were appointed to inquire into this matter, and I say that, although a flying survey is a work which is peculiarly within the province of an engineer, a member of that profession is one of the last men in the world to be considered qualified to estimate the

commercial results of a proposed railway. I had the honour of being the Minister for railway construction during the three years that I occupied the position of Secretary for Public Works in New South Wales, and I know very well that one never thought of asking the engineers who made the flying survey in connexion with a new line to express their opinions upon its commercial prospects. All the engineers were asked to do was, in the course of their professional business, to make their flying or their ultimate survey, as the case might be, and the Railway Commissioners were called upon to report upon the commercial prospects of the line. It is provided in the Public Works Act of New South Wales that no proposals shall be submitted to the Standing Committee on Public Works for investigation until the Railway Commissioners have added to the information supplied by the engineers, by reporting upon the commercial prospects of a project. Of course, this may be considered a mere side issue here, but it is important that we should recollect that the Committee is not at the present time in a position to form any clear conception with regard to the character of the country through which the railway will pass.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Oh, yes; we have the reports furnished by the surveyors who travelled over the proposed route.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—I have read most carefully the reports of the engineers. Mr. Henry Deane, Engineer-in-Chief in New South Wales, travelled over a portion of the route, and he was one of the engineers who made the estimate of the probable cost, and stated that the line was likely to produce satisfactory results in ten years. I am not, for a moment, attempting to criticise the line as a commercial undertaking. That would be premature. But the fact that we are not committing ourselves to the construction of the line affords no reason why we should in silence, and without full consideration, pass a proposal—the first of its kind in the Commonwealth—to spend £20,000 upon the survey of a line which is to benefit primarily two States which are not being asked to contribute one copper, beyond their *per capita* proportion, towards the expenditure. That is my point, and I contend that my position is a sound one. I am not speaking in any spirit of antagonism to Western Australia, because no one would be more pleased than I should be if the commercial prospects were such as to justify the

construction of the line. I think that it is one of the most unfortunate circumstances in connexion with the Commonwealth that the centres of population are so wide apart that it is almost impossible for men who do not give up the whole of their time to political work to attend Parliament, and take part in its deliberations. I should be one of the first to rejoice if the commercial prospects could be shown to justify the construction of the line. I would most strongly impress upon the Committee that it is only fair that we should ask the Government for an assurance that all the necessary steps have been taken to obtain from the States which are likely to be primarily benefited by the construction of the line, some substantial contribution towards the proposed expenditure.

Mr. MAHON.—It is hopeless to expect South Australia to make any special contribution.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—I do not know that. I can hardly conclude that it is hopeless to make such a request, even in the case of South Australia, because we know that some hundreds of miles of the present South Australian railways would be upon the route of the proposed transcontinental line. The traffic upon the Port Augusta railway at present is limited, and every one must recognise that if a through line were ultimately constructed, and a large trade such as would be necessary to justify the proposed work became an accomplished fact, South Australia would benefit very largely from the increased traffic over her existing line. Therefore, it ought to be very easy to demonstrate, not only to the Western Australian Government, but also to the South Australian Government, that a very great future would be in store for them. It would surely be reasonable for us to say, "We are perfectly willing to take this preliminary step, but we are not going to do it at the expense of the Commonwealth if the project should not be undertaken. If you, between you, will contribute this comparatively small sum—because it is a comparatively small sum—we shall undertake—"

Mr. MAHON.—If the States wished to incur the expense of the survey, they need not ask the consent of the Commonwealth.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—Is not the fact that there is no movement for the construction of the proposed railway in those States a very strong argument against the present proposal?

Mr. MAHON.—There is a movement in Western Australia.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH. — Then let the movement go on!

Sir JOHN FORREST.—We can do nothing except with the consent of the South Australian Parliament.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—One honorable member for Western Australia says there is a movement in that State in favour of the construction of the railway, but when I turn to the right honorable member for Swan, who has infinitely greater experience, he says, "We can do nothing without South Australia."

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Nor can we, because the proposed line would pass through 550 miles of South Australian territory.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—I am perfectly well aware of that. That is my reason for pointing out that the Government might well have approached these two States, and have asked them to contribute a large part, if not all, of this expenditure of £20,000, subject to one condition. If the line be ultimately constructed, it will undoubtedly be Commonwealth property, although if the sanguine accounts we hear about the land are true, it will add enormously to the increment of Western Australian State property. The Prime Minister is now present, and I would submit to him that the Commonwealth should have approached the Governments of South Australia and Western Australia, and have said, "We are perfectly willing to embark upon this preliminary survey—"

Sir JOHN FORREST. — The two States could embark on it, even if we were not willing.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—I would answer that interjection by asking why they do not embark upon it? If Western Australia and South Australia are going to benefit to the extent to which my right honorable friend says they will by the construction of this line—

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I have not said anything.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—I have heard my right honorable friend speak of the merchandise which is to be carried over the line, and of the passengers who will be in such a hurry to reach the eastern States, that they will leave the comfortable and snug decks of a Pacific and Oriental or Orient steamer for a three days' railway journey across a stretch of country—

Mr. MAUGER.—Was the honorable and learned member ever in a storm?

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—In many, both political and natural. It would have been a very fair thing, from a business point of view, had the Commonwealth Government said to the two States concerned, "This is a scheme which, if it results in the construction of the line, will enormously benefit you. The preliminary survey will involve an expenditure of £20,000. We are perfectly willing to embark on this survey, provided that you will pay the cost, on the understanding that if the railway be ultimately constructed, and become Commonwealth property, we will recoup you in respect of it."

Sir JOHN FORREST.—A tremendous expenditure! The honorable and learned member has such small ideas.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—I have impatience manifested in front of me, and behind me. I need only an exhibition of it on either side, to allow of my pointing out my position by paraphrasing a well-known poem. What I am endeavouring to do in the midst of these frequent interruptions, is to consider this matter from a business point of view. We are bound to have regard to that consideration in dealing with the finances of the Commonwealth. We should say to the two States concerned, "This undertaking may result ultimately in the construction of the line; the railway will be of enormous benefit to you in view of the increment in the value of the land which will take place on both sides of it." It might be said to South Australia, "It will put you into much closer touch with Europe," and to Western Australia, "It will put you into much closer touch with the eastern States. We are perfectly willing to take this preliminary step, provided that you bear the expenditure in the first place, on the understanding that if the line be ultimately constructed, and owned by the Commonwealth, it will recoup you in respect of this outlay, as being part of the total cost of the scheme. If, on the other hand, the survey results in demonstrating the practical impossibility of making this line, by reason of its great cost, as compared with its commercial prospects, we shall expect you to bear this cost." I think that is a very fair proposal. The late Prime Minister has told us that he approached the Premiers of Western Australia, and South Australia with regard to the ultimate cost. He seems

very satisfied—although I confess that I should not have been, had I occupied his position—with the promise of generous treatment which he received.

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—That was in regard to the loss on the line.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—The leader of the Opposition said that he had received promises of the most generous treatment from the Premiers of the two States.

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—No; from the Premier of one State.

Mr. ROBINSON.—From the Premier of Western Australia; they are a prodigal lot over there.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—Let me argue the matter from the point of view that he received the most generous offer from the Premier of one State. That generous offer however, was of a very vague, non-committal character. It was simply this: "If the line is ultimately carried out, we shall be prepared to enter into some liberal arrangement with regard to the loss upon its maintenance." That is just about as definite as the promise which a Minister has frequently to make to deputations that he will give the subject-matter of their request "careful consideration." I have made that promise hundreds of times, and know very well that it left me just as free as I was before I made it. This reliance on the generous offer of the Premier of Western Australia to contribute a fair share to the loss which may occur when the line is open to traffic, seems to me very much like shutting the stable door after the steed is stolen.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The Western Australian Government offered to contribute the loss on their own length of line.

Mr. MAHON.—For the first ten years.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—That loss could not be ascertained until the line had been constructed, and it would be too late then to take exception to the degree of generosity which the State Government—and there might be half-a-dozen or a dozen different Governments between now and then—might show. I submit that my suggestion is a fair one. I urge, quite irrespective of the Government proposal, that it would be reasonable for the Commonwealth Government to say to the people of Western Australia—"We should like to discount your generosity of ten years hence; we should like a little cash. We should like you to join with South Australia in bearing the cost of this preliminary survey, and if the line ultimately becomes ours, inasmuch

this is a necessary preliminary expenditure—very much like an architect's fees for the plans for the construction of a house—we will take it off your hands, and recoup you for what you have done." We are creating a precedent with regard to the construction of a new kind of public works in the States—works which ultimately admittedly in an increment of wealth to the State in which they are constructed. The circumstances of a proposal of this kind are unique. The Commonwealth is asked to expend money that will add largely to the wealth of Western Australia, and we shall be perfectly justified, therefore, in approaching the Governments of the two States in the way I have suggested.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—South Australia would say that she would not do anything of the kind.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—Then she would show her want of *bona fides* in the matter.

Mr. MAHON.—She has already done that.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—If the Western Australian Government said, "We are not prepared to pay anything beyond our *per capita* contribution on the Commonwealth expenditure," they would also show a want of *bona fides*. I think that this is a very fair test. The right honorable member for Swan, who has been accustomed to throw hundreds of thousands of pounds about in connexion with water schemes and other works, should now realize the enormous importance which attaches to the construction of the proposed railway. I offer my comments not in any spirit of antagonism, but in the belief that the people of the Commonwealth are entitled to have this matter considered from a more business-like point of view. The hands of the Government would be materially strengthened if they were able to tell the House that they had approached the Government of Western Australia, and either that they had refused absolutely to contribute a penny to the cost, or that they had undertaken to pay the whole cost in the first case. If the Western Australian Government refused absolutely to contribute to the cost, I believe it would lead this House to say that it showed their want of confidence in the proposal; because, after all, the cost of the preliminary survey, in proportion to the ultimate cost of the construction of the line, is much less than that of a mere rough sketch of a proposed building. If I were about to construct a building for some relative, and he said to me, "I will not even pay for the cost of a rough plan at

the first stage," I should say "Well, you take very little interest in the matter, and I think that you are scarcely justified in asking me to put my hand in my own pocket to pay the cost of even a rough sketch for your building."

Sir JOHN FORREST.—A fine Federal spirit!

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—The interruption is of sufficient importance to justify an answer. I hold that I am advocating the true Federal spirit, and I challenge the right honorable member to point to a single instance in which I have ever encouraged in this House any spirit of rivalry between the States. I have endeavoured always to forget the landmarks of the States, and to treat the funds of the Commonwealth as the funds of the people of all Australia.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The honorable and learned member forgets that the States are now federated.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—I know that we are.

Mr. SKENE.—What about the implied promise?

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—I am deprecating a proposal on the part of the Government to spend £20,000 on a preliminary survey, without first endeavouring to obtain the money from the States. The expense is to be incurred in carrying out a work which is to ultimately benefit, not the Commonwealth, but the States concerned, because it is admitted that we cannot expect any profit from the railway during the first ten years of its existence. It would, therefore, be a huge expenditure on the part of the Commonwealth, for the benefit of the States. I admit that the desire to join Western Australia with the other States by railway evidences a Federal spirit; but to say that we should look upon this proposal as if it had been provided for in the Constitution—to say, as we have been told, that there was a sort of implied agreement between Western Australia and the other States—that although the Constitution did not provide for the construction of the line, there is an obligation on the part of the Commonwealth to make it—is, in my opinion, to very materially strain the situation which exists between the different States; and I do submit that what I have said to the Committee is by no means in prejudice of that Federal spirit, which jealously guards the expenditure of the funds of the Commonwealth.

Sir JOHN FORREST (Swan).—I regret that the debate upon this matter should take place in Committee. I have no doubt that the course adopted is in accord with the Standing Orders, but it is not in accord with the practice to which I have been accustomed. Resolutions founded on messages from His Excellency the Governor, with reference to the expenditure of public money have in my experience, generally been agreed to as formal matters, and the debate upon the measure covered by the message has been reserved for the second reading of the Bill dealing with the subject. I think that is a more convenient practice than that which has been followed on the present occasion, as, under the practice now followed, a long discussion may be initiated upon the Governor-General's message, and there may be another long debate upon the second reading of the measure. I do not know who is responsible for this course of procedure, but I think the motion now before us might have been allowed to pass as a formal matter, and we could have taken the debate on the second reading of the Bill, which would have been at once introduced. The message in this instance covers a recommendation to appropriate funds for carrying out a survey of a railway to connect Eastern and Western Australia. Such a railway has been long talked about, much desired, and, in my opinion, and in the opinion of those who think with me, is absolutely essential to the real federation of the Australian States. Honorable members are, of course, aware that Eastern Australia is separated from Western Australia by a large extent of unoccupied country, and that there is no practical means of communication by land between the two except by several months of travel between the settlements on the eastern and those on the western side of the continent. The whole of the traffic, the whole of the trade between the eastern and western States of Australia, is conducted by sea, and it has been the desire and the hope, not only of Western Australians, but of all who take a broad view of the ultimate prospects of the continent that the connexion of the eastern and western States by railway should be undertaken. I very much regret that my honorable and learned friend, the member for Parkes—I think I may refer to him as such, because he is my friend personally—should have made the speech

he did just now. I have been accustomed to listen with pleasure to the honorable and learned member. There is no member of the House to whom I have listened hitherto with greater pleasure, even when I did not agree with him, than the honorable and learned member. But to-night he seems to have wandered away from those broad statesman-like views he has so often uttered, which were not limited by considerations for any parish, town, or city, and not even by the ocean that surrounds Australia. To-night I could hardly believe that I was listening to the honorable and learned member for Parkes. The views he enunciated seemed to me to be more fitted for the consideration of a matter affecting a small township or parish, and were certainly altogether out of place in dealing with a matter which affects the whole continent of Australia. We are not here dealing with the interests of Western Australia, or any particular State, but with the greater question of the Federation of continental Australia, and with what is embodied in spirit, if not in words, in the Constitution under which we live. I do not suppose that there is any one in Australia, or out of it, who will be found to argue that the Federation we are enjoying at the present time can be considered complete when one-third of the continent, with a quarter of a million of people forming a very progressive State, remains separated from the rest of Australia, without any means of communication except by sea. Any one who takes the trouble to visit Western Australia will find that the voyage will occupy him four days, during the greater part of which time he will probably be out of sight of land, and when he reaches Fremantle I find it difficult to believe that there will be foremost in his mind a feeling that he is still within the boundaries of the Federation he left four days before. He would rather be inclined to believe that he had reached some island in the Indian Ocean separated altogether from the country he had left on the eastern side of Australia.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—How much nearer to Europe is Western Australia than are the eastern States?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I say on my own behalf, and on behalf of the people of Western Australia, of whom I am one of the representatives in this House, that Federation as at present existing is not the Federation that we understood it would be when we entered into the compact of

union. I know what were the feelings of the people of Western Australia—no one should know them better—at the time we entered the Federation. The one belief throughout the length and breadth of that State—a belief encouraged by the utterances of the public men of Australia, and by the terms of the Constitution, as I shall show before I sit down—was that the condition of isolation that existed between Western Australia and the rest of the continent would within a short time—within a reasonable number of years—come to an end. The honorable and learned member for Parkes will probably appreciate my remarks when I say that the existing condition of isolation interferes very much—and to a larger extent than in the case of any other State in the Commonwealth—with the representation of Western Australia in the Federal Parliament. It is not every one, and in fact there are only a few people who are able to leave their homes for several months, and perhaps for a year, in order to attend to parliamentary duties. I have little doubt that, by the time I return to my home at the conclusion of this session, I shall have been absent from it nearly a year, and this will not be the first time that that has occurred. There can therefore be no doubt but that the isolation of Western Australia interferes very largely with the representation of the State, because there are very few persons who have the necessary means and leisure to devote the whole of their time to public affairs.

Mr. KELLY.—Would the construction of the Transcontinental Railway practically remedy that difficulty?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—It would remedy it to a very large extent, because a Western Australian representative could go back to his State any and every day, and return any and every day by railway, as is done by members representing the other States.

Mr. KELLY.—It would take him about three days to get there.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—If the honorable member will think for a moment he will admit that the long adjournments we have had occasionally during this session would have enabled Western Australian representatives to visit their homes, and spend perhaps a fortnight there before again returning to their duties in Parliament. That could not be done under existing conditions, as although the

steamers communicating with Western Australia are good, and regular, they leave for and from that State only on certain days.

Mr. HUME COOK.—How many days' travelling would be saved by the construction of the railway?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Two days' travelling, at any rate, but it is not only the saving in the time occupied in travelling, but in the waiting for an opportunity to travel. If we had railway communication we could travel every day. I say again that the present condition of affairs largely interferes with the representation of Western Australia in this Parliament. We shall never obtain the same representation that may be obtained by the other States of the Commonwealth, because we shall never have the same number of persons willing to come forward to represent the people of Western Australia, so long as they are without an easy and rapid means of getting backwards and forwards. If the difficulty were impossible of remedy, if the ocean divided us, and we could not help ourselves, we should have to make the best of it, but seeing that we can remedy the difficulty, I can see no reason why we should not set about it. I make this statement in the face of honorable members, and of the people of Australia, that, if the people of Western Australia had thought that Federation would mean to them a continuance of the isolation to which they had been subjected in the past, they would never have thought of entering it. Why should they have entered the Federation if it was not intended to be a real union, a closer union than it had been previously?

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—The right honorable member is speaking after the event; now he is sorry for it.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I spoke before the event. The honorable and learned member for Parkes has made statements this evening which show that he has not studied this subject sufficiently. I knew all about it before, but I advised the people of Western Australia to sink all minor differences, and to have faith in the justice and reasonableness of the people of Australia. Perhaps some people may say that my views did not largely influence the result, but at all events they helped to induce the people of Western Australia to consent to Federation.

Mr. STORRER.—Western Australia retained her Customs duties.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—That was settled in the Convention long before, and if

I had chosen to ask for the Transcontinental Railway in the Convention I should probably have got it too.

Mr. HUME COOK.—Why did not the right honorable gentleman ask for it?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Because I did not think it necessary. I knew the terms of the Constitution, but I shall not now anticipate what I propose to say later on. The principal lever used by myself, and by every other person in Western Australia, who advocated Federation, was that the union would result in the early establishment of railway communication between all the capital cities of Australia. That was the great lever used by us all in inducing the people of Western Australia to join the Federation. The honorable member for Wentworth smiles, but perhaps he does not understand the motives that I and others had in advocating Australian unity. We were not thinking only of ourselves, or of the present—we desired to strengthen the Empire; we desired also to strengthen the bonds that unite us to the mother country. To present my arguments in proper sequence, I shall show what were the views submitted to the people of Western Australia by myself as Premier when I sought to induce them to enter the Federation. There was naturally a great desire that Western Australia should enter the Union, it being felt that Federation with one-third of the continent not included would not be the Federation to which we looked forward. It was realized that any one who from selfish or parochial motives endeavoured to prevent or retard the true Federation of Australia, in the interests of the Empire, was taking a tremendous responsibility. No doubt that feeling influenced many of us in trying our best to set aside, as far as possible, all minor considerations in order to consummate the Union. What did the right honorable member for Adelaide, Mr. Kingston, who was then Premier of South Australia, write to me on the subject of this railway being constructed, and with the sole object of inducing Western Australia to join Federation? He wrote—

We hope that it will not be long before Western Australians and South Australians are co-operating in the Parliament of the Commonwealth to bring this about, and we repeat that you can rely on South Australia's sympathy and support.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—That is about as substantial as was the promise of the Premier of Western Australia.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—It was reported to me by one of my colleagues who had visited South Australia, before Western Australia had agreed to enter Federation, that he had heard remarks in Adelaide which tended to show that some people there were not in favour of the construction of the line, and on this the right honorable member for Adelaide wrote—

Cannot understand references to probable reluctance of South Australia to permit Federal construction of railway connecting colonies. We have no fear of any such anti-Federal "dog-in-the-manger" policy.

What did our present Speaker, Sir Frederick Holder, when Premier of South Australia, write to me on the subject, and with the same object? He wrote to me on the 1st February, 1900—

Following our conversation as to the possible blocking of the construction of a railway line from Kalgoorlie to Port Augusta by the Federal authority, by South Australia refusing the consent rendered necessary by section XXXIV. of clause 51 of the Commonwealth Bill, to the construction of the line through her territory, I regard the withholding of consent as a most improbable thing, in fact, quite out of the question. To assure you of our attitude in the matter, I will undertake, as soon as the Federation is established, Western and South Australia both being States of the Commonwealth, to introduce a Bill, formally giving the assent of this province to the construction of the line by the Federal authority, and to pass it stage by stage simultaneously with the passage of a similar Bill in your Parliament.

Mr. DAVID THOMSON.—Western Australia must have been up for sale, and that must have been her price.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Western Australia had not then entered Federation.

Mr. DAVID THOMSON.—That is why I say that must have been the price.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I do not see much sense in the interjection. There is no doubt that, as I shall show, the other States were looking after themselves, and the honorable member could not have been in public life at the time, or he would know that the State which he represents was not eager to enter Federation, and held back to the last.

Mr. DAVID THOMSON.—Queensland had no price.

Mr. CARPENTER.—Yes, Queensland had; there was black labour.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—And that is costing all the States, including Western Australia, a good deal of money just now.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—Does the right honorable member not think it premature to

discuss the merits of the railway claimed by Western Australia?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—In my judgment it is not premature. I want to show that there were inducements held out to Western Australia to enter Federation, and that one of those inducements was that it would not be long before the railway, for the survey of which a sum of money is now asked, would be completed. How can my remarks be said to be irrelevant?

Mr. WEBSTER.—Why did the Western Australian people not stipulate that the railway should be provided for in the Constitution, as was the Federal Capital?

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—Sir Frederick Holder merely said that the South Australian Government would authorize the railway going through their territory.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—What was the object of the letter of Sir Frederick Holder? The object of the letter was to do everything possible to induce Western Australia to enter the Federation, and the people of that State accepted the promise, which formed one of the chief reasons, the lever in fact, which induced them to join. The Western Australian people realized that with the railway, Federation would to them be a reality, because their State would then be joined to the rest of Australia, and not, as in the past, an isolated State—to all intents and purposes an island in the ocean.

Mr. KELLY.—How does the letter read?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I shall hand the letter to the honorable member who may then read it for himself. The offer to construct a railway to join States is not without precedent, as a means of bringing about Federation. In Canada we have the instance of British Columbia, which refused to enter the Union on the original terms. It was not until years afterwards that British Columbia undertook to enter the Union, and that was only on condition that the Dominion Parliament should construct a railway from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and run trains daily from either end. If the Western Australian people had been less trustful of the people of Australia, and had insisted on a similar condition, there is not the slightest doubt that long ere this a resolution would have been passed by the Commonwealth Parliament asking that State to join. We can hardly imagine a patriotic Australian believing that the Commonwealth would be complete if one-third of the continent were not included. As a

Federalist, I looked closely into the question, with the object of showing that some material gain would accrue to my State from Federation, but, so far as I could see, we had then nothing financially to gain; so far as the pounds, shillings, and pence aspect of the case was concerned, there was no advantage at that time to be gained by Western Australia. The railway, however, provided an inducement which could be placed before the people, as it would provide for daily communication with the rest of Australia. When we were holding up before the people of Western Australia the prospect of this railway communication, and the question was discussed from one end of the State to the other—when the adhesion of that State was one of the most important topics of the day, and was discussed in all the leading journals of the eastern States, and the public men of Australia showed intense anxiety that the Union should be complete—was anything said in the South Australian or the Victorian press, or indeed the press of Australia, or in Parliament, adverse to the proposal? Were the views which I and others placed before the people of Western Australia, and which were published in the eastern States daily, ever criticised adversely? Were the proposals, which I was then suggesting, described then by the press of Victoria as a “gigantic fraud”? Nothing was said to lead any one to believe that what was being promised to the people of Western Australia was not likely to be accomplished.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—When Sir Edmund Barton announced the policy of the Government at Maitland, great disapproval of the scheme was shown throughout New South Wales.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—That was after Federation was established.

Mr. WEBSTER.—Was Federation a matter of barter between the States?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I admit that there was even a little barter.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—Western Australia got a special Tariff.

Mr. CARPENTER.—And New South Wales got the Federal Capital.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Any one would think that the honorable and learned member for Parkes and his constituents paid for the special Tariff, whereas the fact is that the people of Western Australia paid for it themselves, and it did not cost New South Wales, or any other State, one farthing.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—The right honorable member is very much magnifying my criticisms.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The honorable and learned member should not criticise if he does not know the facts.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—I do not mind; the right honorable member is paying me a compliment.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I do not entirely rely on my own observations and opinions in regard to this railway, and would like to quote what the present Prime Minister said in regard to it.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—Was that when the Prime Minister was on a visit to Western Australia?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I do not think so. I wish the honorable and learned member would not interrupt. Before he finds fault, the honorable and learned member ought to make sure I am stating the circumstances incorrectly. Perhaps the honorable and learned member enjoys hectoring me, though I do not think he ought to do so, because I have a duty to perform which I ought to be allowed to carry out, without ridiculous interruptions from anybody. The Prime Minister, in a press interview he gave at that time, is thus reported—

Mr. Reid pointed out that it would not be of advantage to Western Australia alone, but also to the rest of the Commonwealth. It would shorten the journey between the eastern States and Europe, and be useful for defensive purposes. "Western Australia," said he, "is at the furthest end of the Continent, and hopelessly removed from the eastern States, so that it should receive consideration, especially in the direction of uniting it by rail with the other States."

Prior to the first Federal election the Prime Minister, commenting on Sir Edmund Barton's Maitland speech, said—

There is one part in the general statement of Mr. Barton's to which I would like to refer, and that is the construction of the Transcontinental Railway. The work is one that must be carried out. It is absolutely necessary from a commercial, military, and national point of view. Although I, for one, will hold the Ministry to strict acts in all matters anticipating approval, I think the Government might take upon themselves the responsibility of undertaking the initial work of exploring the best possible routes.

Mr. HUME COOK.—The Prime Minister meant the Government of Western Australia.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The Prime Minister did not mean anything of the sort, and the honorable member for Bourke does not think that the Government of Western Australia was meant. If the honorable member is going to misrepresent in

his interjections, I shall take no notice of him. The report of the press interview proceeded—

"You can tell them a good deal more than the plain fact that I am in no way opposed to the construction of the railway to Western Australia. You can say that I am very strongly in favour of it; furthermore, I am in favour of its being constructed at the earliest possible moment. I do not expect it to pay at first, and I think the Commonwealth should be prepared to cover any margin of loss. According to the estimate prepared by Mr. O'Connor, and lately published, the loss will not be great. If I had anything to do with it I would, of course, endeavour to reduce that loss."

"Don't you think that the rest of the Commonwealth is, to some extent, morally bound to build the line?"

"Whilst there has been no legal compact yet," replied Mr. Reid, "there is some obligation inasmuch as the belief that the line would be constructed was one of the main reasons why Western Australia joined the Federation. Many of the representative men of the East I know pledged themselves to support the building of the railway, if Western Australia came into the Commonwealth."

Mr. WEBSTER.—Was that before the referendum?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—No, it was after the Maitland address, and before the first elections. The question is often asked—"Why does not Western Australia build this railway herself? The other States have built their own railways, and why should not Western Australia do the same in this case? Why should the Commonwealth be called upon to build it?" If Western Australia had another State alongside, occupying the same position as she does, probably some arrangement would have been made by which the railway would have been built. But honorable members must recollect that for more than half the distance the railway would traverse South Australian territory. The shorter distance by 100 miles or so is in Western Australia. So that if we were to build the railway to the border, we should still be from 550 to 600 miles away from the nearest railway station in South Australia. That is one reason. But, apart from that, the object of this railway is not to open up the lands of Western Australia, although it may have some effect in that direction. My honorable and learned friend, the member for Parkes, spoke of the great value that would be given to the lands through which the line passed. For my own part, I do not think that there will be any difficulty in getting as much land on each side of the railway from the Western Australian Government as the Commonwealth desires to obtain. But I do not

think that that is of great importance. It is not the value of the land, but what comes off the land, that is of value. All that comes off the land would be available as traffic for the railway. It does not seem to me to matter twopence who owns the land, so long as it is utilized. The railway would insure the utilization of the land, and whether it belongs to the Commonwealth or to the State is, to my mind, of very little importance.

MR. BRUCE SMITH.—I spoke of that point to show that the State is going to get all the increment.

SIR JOHN FORREST.—I do not think that the land would be very valuable to the State. It was not well watered. In fact, there is no surface water upon it. The capital value of the land would be small. It is the facilities afforded by the railway that would insure the improvement and utilization of the land. That is another point which shows that the honorable and learned member for Parkes has not worked this matter out so thoroughly as he usually does. Otherwise he would not have used an argument like that. In entering Federation, every State of the Commonwealth was actuated, in some degree at any rate, by the hope of material gain. Every one of the States expected that Federation would bring about greater prosperity to its people. I do not know that they were wrong in thinking that. At any rate such is the case. But in Western Australia we were unable to show the people, although we had every desire to do so when we were advocating Federation with all our might that there was any material gain in sight. The only way in which we could show the people of Western Australia that they would gain was by expressing the belief that their State would soon be connected by rail with the rest of Australia. What we promised the people of Western Australia was that, as a result of Federation, this railway would certainly be built, that their isolation would be removed, and that a higher political life would be brought about. We used the latter argument for all that it was worth. I have often doubted since Federation was accomplished whether we have reached that higher political life. But, at any rate, we believed that it would come about, and that we should be on a higher plane, occupy a better position in the world, and be better able to assist the mother country in maintaining the Empire.

Those were the arguments which we used in order to induce the people of Western Australia to join the Federation. In all these noble sentiments, creditable alike to those who used them and to those who believed them—there was nothing about material gain. How could Western Australia build a railway from Kalgoorlie to Port Augusta? It is a very large undertaking for a State with a small population. We do not own one-half of the territory which would be traversed by the railway. The other half belongs to South Australia. We have no power or right whatever to enter upon such a project. Of what greater advantage will this railway be to Western Australia when it is built than to South Australia and to the rest of the Commonwealth? Perhaps some of the honorable members who have been interrupting me so much will be able to tell the Committee what material advantage over the other States Western Australia will derive. If I were thinking only of the advantage to Western Australia, and of the profit that might come into the pockets of the people of that State, I should be acting a selfish part. I cannot see that great gain will specially come to us from the construction of the railway. On the contrary, it must be remembered that some of the gold-fields' trade that now goes to Perth and Fremantle will be diverted to other States. An honorable member has said that the railway is desired for the purpose of assisting the people of Perth and Fremantle. But they must recollect that Perth and Fremantle at present get the advantage of the whole of the trade of the eastern gold-fields. Will any one venture to say that they will get all that trade when the railway is built? Is it not evident that much of the Coolgardie and Kalgoorlie trade, instead of going to Perth, will go to Adelaide and Melbourne?

MR. JOHNSON.—Land speculators in Western Australia will get an advantage.

SIR JOHN FORREST.—I do not know that they will get any more advantage than land speculators get in the honorable member's own constituency.

MR. JOHNSON.—I only want to see that the public interest is considered.

SIR JOHN FORREST.—Our land laws in Western Australia are very much in the interests of the small holder, and not of the capitalist. All town lands have to be submitted for sale by auction. The land system of Western Australia is, I believe, as good and liberal as that which obtains anywhere.

Mr. FOWLER.—Our land laws are as good as any in the world.

Sir JOHN FORREST. — But I quite agree with the honorable member for Lang that we must take care not to allow land speculators to come in and reap great advantages for themselves. I have tried to show reasons why I take so much trouble in the advocacy of the construction of the railway. The conclusion at which I have arrived is that I believe that it will be a good thing for Western Australia, and a good thing for the whole Commonwealth, not on account of the trade that exists now—not because of things as they are—but because of the developments which will take place. I look forward a little. I look forward to this Commonwealth being built up on a safe, broad, and sound basis, and I know very well that Federation never can be a reality for the people of the West until this railway is constructed. I feel that I have a responsibility for having assisted to bring the Commonwealth into existence, and that, consequently, my duty is to see that Federation is made a success, so that it may live in the hearts and minds of the people. It can never do that—it can never be a success—it can never come home to the people of Western Australia—so long as we are separated from the eastern States by 1,000 miles of unoccupied country. It must always be merely an idea—something which cannot be felt, which cannot be seen. Federation will be a delusion and sham—will remain so, and always must be—without this connecting link; and those who were responsible for persuading the people of Western Australia to join the Federation will not have done their duty if the existing state of affairs is allowed to continue for an indefinite length of time. Now what sort of a place is Western Australia? Any one would think from listening to some honorable members that it is nothing but a little suburb, situated somewhere, with a little trade of its own, conducted by a few people. I should like to tell honorable members what is the real position of Western Australia, in order to remind them of its value to the Commonwealth. Western Australia has a population of 250,000, and a trade of about £17,000,000 per annum. Although we have not half the population of Queensland, we have as large a trade, and our trade is much larger than that of South Australia. We have a trade of £72 per head of the population, which is double

the value of the trade of any other State in the Commonwealth.

Mr. MAUGER.—How much of that is whisky?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I do not care whether it is whisky or what it is. I know that the duty on alcohol is very considerable.

Mr. MAUGER.—That is what I was thinking of.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The important point is that our trade per head is double that of any other State. This little State has produced £51,000,000 worth of gold.

Mr. HUME COOK.—Yet she cannot afford £20,000!

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Last year Western Australia produced gold to the value of £9,000,000. We have never been asked to do this work. No one has ever previously suggested that the State should pay for the survey for a national work of this sort. If it had been suggested I have no doubt that there would have been no reluctance on the part of Western Australia. We are not always thinking of a few pounds as some people seem to think. Any one would think to hear the honorable member, who represents a suburb of this city, that he and his district owed nothing to Western Australia. If there is one State in the Commonwealth that owes a great deal, and that ought to be for ever grateful to Western Australia, and ready to assist us in every way, it is the State of Victoria. The working men of Western Australia have during the last eight years made a present to their relatives in Victoria of nearly £2,000,000—a free gift to the people of Victoria. If any support to that statement is required let honorable members ask Sir George Turner, the present Treasurer. I am quite surprised at the narrow views I hear expressed, generally by honorable members who represent places near Melbourne. I do not know why they express these views. They seem to forget altogether what Western Australia has done and is doing for Victoria. They are parochialists, and ungrateful ones, from the soles of their feet right up to the crowns of their heads.

Mr. HUME COOK.—Does the right honorable member remember that Senator Playford said that this line would traverse 600 miles of a God-forsaken waterless desert?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Senator Playford knew nothing about the country. I may tell the honorable member that if we want to make Australia a great country, there is no room for the petty ideas he is interjecting. I have always looked upon the honorable and learned member for Parkes as a well-informed man with broad ideas, whose vision goes far beyond the limits of Australia, and embraces the interests of the Empire at large. But when he says that we should enter into negotiations with the two States about the repayment of this money, and makes a lot of fuss about an item of £20,000 in connexion with a great national project, I must say I am both astonished and disappointed. Does he know that Western Australia has spent a large sum, I should say quite £20,000, in examining this country, boring for water, and doing all sorts of things? Does he know that an expedition was sent out at the expense, not of the Federal Government, but of the State Government?

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—I do.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Does the honorable and learned member know that for years boring operations have been going on there?

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—I do.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The honorable and learned member talks about the expenditure of this sum as if it would ruin Australia. I do not look upon £20,000 as anything in a Federal matter of this kind.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—I am quite sure that if the right honorable member were Premier of Western Australia to-day he would not ask the Commonwealth for this £20,000.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—It is not the granting of £20,000, but the beginning of this great national work that we ask for, and the first step is to get the information desired. We might have done without this stage if South Australia had been willing, but she said that she was not prepared to pass a Bill authorizing the construction of this railway through her territory until she was provided with full information in regard to the cost and the route. It is, perhaps, a reasonable request, and it necessitates the making of a survey.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—I should have thought that Western Australia had got all this information by now.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—It did not satisfy South Australia.

Mr. HUME COOK.—It is not the expenditure of this £20,000, but the expenditure of the £5,000,000 behind it that we have to consider.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—In voting for the survey, the honorable member will not pledge himself to vote for the construction of the railway, unless it is one which will commend itself to this Parliament. The voting of this money will not bind any honorable member. I wish to make my position quite clear. I am acquainted with this country, and I know that there are no engineering difficulties, but other people do not, and it is reasonable that they should get the information asked for. I am quite convinced that this project as a commercial undertaking will be favorably reported upon. But my conviction has nothing to do with any one else here. I shall be perfectly frank with honorable members. I look upon this survey as the beginning of the carrying out of this great project. If I did not believe that it would lead to satisfactory reports and estimates, that it was the first step in the direction of connecting the east and the west by railway, I should not ask any honorable member to have anything to do with the proposal. If I did not believe that the work could be undertaken on a commercial basis, and would meet with the approval of the people of Australia, I would not advocate the spending of a single sixpence on it. But that is no reason why honorable members should think as I do. They are only asked to say, "We are going to get information, and when it is obtained we shall judge. We are not going to prejudge the case from the point of view of the honorable member for Swan. But we shall go this far—we shall get the information, and in doing so we in no way pledge ourselves." From my point of view the position is altogether different. My belief is that the obtaining of this information will only be the forerunner to the carrying out of this great work. If ever there has been a project brought before the Australian people, which has been most grossly maligned by unjust criticism, it is this one. It has been said in the press of this State that the railway would not pay for axle grease. I would refer honorable members to the report of the late Mr. C. Y. O'Connor, Engineer-in-Chief of Western Australia. He reported upon this project with a full sense of responsibility,

because under all ordinary circumstances, he might have fairly expected to live to see its completion. He had undertaken gigantic works in Western Australia which he honorably served, and had been proved to be right in regard to works of greater magnitude and involving far greater risk than this one. Therefore, he knew what he was talking about, and had no motive to serve. I had resigned the Premiership, and had come here to join the Barton Government, before he made his report; so that it was made free from any influence I might be supposed to have had upon him had I remained there. His opinion was that the line would not pay immediately, but that the loss would be slight, in fact, that in ten years it would pay. He had carried out the great Fremantle Harbor works at a cost of £1,500,000. Every one said that that undertaking would never pay, but at the present time it is not only paying all working expenses, but also providing for interest and sinking fund. He had also carried out the great Coolgardie water scheme, and without his assistance and knowledge it could not at that time have been done, for my Government were fortified in undertaking that work by the confidence we had in his ability and knowledge. What is the result of its construction? Every one said that it would be a pall hanging over the country; that it would ruin everybody. But for the half-year ending 30th June, it paid not only all working expenses, but also the interest on a capital expenditure of £2,600,000. I cite these facts to show that Mr. O'Connor was an able and reliable man. He had had experience of great works, first in New Zealand, and then in Western Australia. He built all our railways, harbor works, and water schemes. In a lengthy report which, unfortunately, I have not with me, he pointed out exactly what he believed. His verdict was, that after ten years the line will be a paying concern, and that even in that interval there will not be very much loss. I predict that it will pay within three years of its construction, I believe that it will pay even sooner, but I fix the period at three years. If I did not believe in this project I would not advocate it. I believe that it is necessary, not only in the material interests of this country, but also in the interests of the Federation of Australia.

Mr. ISAACS.—Is the object of this trial survey to prove whether the late Mr. O'Connor was right or wrong?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—No.

Mr. ISAACS.—If his report can be depended upon, why does the right honorable member wish us to spend £20,000?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—We require a survey to be made in order to obtain information, so as to satisfy the House as to what the railway will cost. Mr. O'Connor had not been over the whole of the ground. In my opinion, his estimate is not very far wrong; but South Australia, which is another party to this project, says that she will not even authorize the building of the railway until a survey is made and proper estimates are formed, in order that she may know exactly the position.

Mr. KELLY.—Could not that be done by Western Australia?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I have become accustomed to the croaking of some Victorians. I have been accustomed to men like the honorable and learned member for Indi all my life. I have had to fight them, and I am ready to do it again. I used to call them "little Australians" and "croakers."

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—The right honorable member does not mean to say that there are many men of that type in Western Australia?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—There are plenty of them, and generally they have very little practical experience of the affairs of the country.

Mr. ISAACS.—When the right honorable member asked for the right to frame a special Tariff for Western Australia, he was the croaker.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I was doing what the honorable and learned member was doing to his utmost, but I did not squeal and croak as much as he did. I was trying to do the best I could for my own State, as he was trying to do the best he could for Victoria, and he squealed a good deal about it, when he did not get his own way.

Mr. ISAACS.—I did not squeal loudly enough to secure a special Tariff.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—That was proposed by the honorable and learned member for Ballarat as a means of inducing—or making it possible, as it was said, for Western Australia to enter the Federation.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—How did he know what Western Australia wanted?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—We had the reports and the statistics from Mr. Coghlan and others, and the outlook seemed then

very dark for Western Australia. The opposition of my honorable friends to this project is only a murmur compared with the opposition I had to overcome in regard to many great works carried out in Western Australia. In Western Australia my opponents said, "Every one will be ruined, and the whole place will collapse"; but there has been no collapse; we seem to have flourished. Those who croaked most about the impending ruin cannot be found now. They have quite forgotten what they said. And so it will be with the honorable and learned member for Indi and the honorable member for Bourke. In a few years' time when they see thousands of persons going backwards and forwards, and hear of Victorians reaping the reward of their industry on the gold-fields and on the lands of the West, they will conveniently forget that they ever opposed the construction of this railway.

Mr. HUME COOK.—When we see that we shall admit that we were wrong.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The honorable member is like one of the apostles mentioned in the Scriptures, who would not believe until he had seen. It must be remembered that the proposed railway is one to connect the eastern and western States of a great continent, and that it will pass through a temperate clime. The construction of such a railway could not be said to be a retrograde step; it must be a step in advance, a step in the direction of union and progress. Five Commissioners, who were engineers, and who represented the States of Victoria, Queensland, South Australia, New South Wales, and Western Australia visited the last-named State, the gold-fields, Eucla, and Port Augusta. They had before them the reports of the survivors who made an examination of the country which the proposed line would traverse, and the report of the late Mr. O'Connor, and they reported that the railway, if constructed, would pay at the end of ten years. It is not expected of engineers, who are hard, business men, that they should indulge in flights of imagination. They are rightly very careful in their estimates.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—They will all be out of their positions ten years hence.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The reputation of a public servant is more to him than his position. If his good name is taken from him, he becomes a very poor man in-

deed. My own opinion is that the railway would pay after three years; but the secretary to the Commissioners, Mr. Gwynneth, who has had large experience as a contractor's engineer, estimated that, instead of a loss of £249,435 in the first ten years, which is the estimate of the Commissioners, there would be a profit of £173,850 if the shorter route through the Gawler Ranges were taken.

Mr. POYNTON.—The shorter route is the worse track.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I think that it is the better route.

Mr. POYNTON.—I know what it is like, because I have been over it.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I have been over the shorter route through the Gawler Ranges.

Mr. POYNTON.—I have been over it a dozen times.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I was closely observing the country when I crossed over it, though it is now thirty-four years ago. The Commissioners estimate that, after ten years, the profit from the line will be £18,219 per annum, but Mr. Gwynneth estimates it at £72,515 per annum.

Mr. ISAACS.—Is that making allowance for interest and working expenses?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—That is making allowance for everything. I am not now in a position of responsibility in regard to Western Australia, but I have not the slightest doubt that any reasonable proposal made by the Government of the Commonwealth to the Government of that State will be fairly considered. The people of Western Australia do not wish to take any advantage of the Commonwealth. Western Australia has been most generous in the matter throughout. We know that South Australia will do nothing, but Western Australia has offered to indemnify her for any loss that she may sustain, for, I think, ten years after the construction of the line. Even if there were a loss, it ought not to be taken unduly into consideration, when weighed in the balance with the great advantage which would accrue from the cementing together of the peoples of Australia in a firm Federation. What is the loss of a few pounds compared with the achievement of such an object as that? There has been no more unjust or untrue criticism levelled at

any project than that which has been levelled at this. It has been published of me personally in a Melbourne newspaper that I wish to force a gigantic fraud on the people of Australia. In the first place, I have no power to force anything upon the people of Australia.

Mr. WEBSTER.—In what newspaper were those words published?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I shall not give the name of the newspaper, but they were hard words to apply to one who has never done anything to cause him to be ashamed to hold up his head. I hurl them back at the writer of the article. They were untrue, unjust, and disgraceful words. Would it suit me personally to associate myself with anything which would bring disaster upon my State or upon the Commonwealth? It would not. Fifty transcontinental railways are not as much to me as is my honour. Furthermore, I have been associated hitherto with successful enterprises, and would I knowingly now associate myself with a project which would be likely to be a burden on the people of Australia? I repudiate the idea. It would be altogether contrary to my interests to do anything of the kind. Those words were not fair, they were not honest, and they should not have been used in regard to a public man who, whatever may be his faults in the opinion of his opponents, has always been credited with a desire to do what was right. I ask honorable members who are opposed to this small expenditure of £20,000, and who seem to have pre-judged the case because they are unwilling to wait for the information which we wish to give to them, if its cost is their only objection to the construction of the proposed railway? If so, the sooner they say so the better, because then we shall know how we stand.

Mr. ISAACS.—The cost is a very great objection to the proposal.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—What other objection can there be?

Mr. WEBSTER.—Would the proposed railway compete with the coasting vessels?

Sir JOHN FORREST. — I hope so. Otherwise it might not pay.

Mr. WEBSTER.—That may be a reason for the opposition to the proposal.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I hope not; but it must be remembered that it is our duty to open up this great continent, and

to make it prosperous. I have an object in asking if the cost of the proposed railway is the only objection to its construction. There is no other objection that I can think of. Are honorable members afraid of losing a few pounds on a railway which will bind Australia together in a manner in which it cannot otherwise be bound? Are those who hold the cost to be an objection prepared to allow a private company to undertake the enterprise, and to run it for all time under the conditions on which the railways of the States are run, or do they wish to leave the country through which the line would pass in the occupation of the kangaroos and native dogs? I hope that the honorable and learned member for Indi, who, I see, is taking notes, will refer to this matter when he speaks. I am not a company monger, nor do I know of any company willing to undertake this work; but I believe that a private combination would construct the railway if it were granted a monopoly.

Mr. HUME COOK.—If it is such a good thing, why do not the States construct the line?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I believe that a private company would construct the line, if it were granted a monopoly, and were relieved from taxation for a long term of years.

Mr. ISAACS.—If it were also allowed to charge what it liked?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—No; I do not contemplate any such condition. I suggest that it should be required to carry passengers and goods at rates similar to those prevailing upon the Government railways. I have never advocated the construction of the line on account of the character of the country through which it would pass. The land is, no doubt, capable of improvement and development, but if that were the only prospect before us, I should not support it. My advocacy is based upon the fact that the great western State would be brought into direct communication with the rest of Australia. If the country through which the railway would pass is as bad as it is represented to be by a Melbourne newspaper, no one need have any compunction about giving away large areas of it to any company that might be willing to construct the line, nor need they hesitate to give them the most excellent terms for a hundred, or even a thousand, years. This newspaper states,

with reference to the country between Port Augusta and Kalgoorlie, that—

Out of the 1,100 miles of railway which it is now proposed to construct at Federal expense, very nearly, if not quite, 1,000 miles is to run through territory which has no appreciable chance of being inhabited for generations, if ever at all.

If that were true, the country would be of very little value to any one; but the statement is not correct. The whole of the country from Port Augusta, through the Gawler Ranges, past Fowler's Bay and Eucla, right on to Kalgoorlie, would be suitable for pastoral settlement when water supplies are made available.

Mr. HUME COOK.—How much permanent water is available along the route of the proposed line?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—There is no doubt that water could be made available along the whole length of the line.

Mr. GROOM.—Does that apply to both routes?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I do not know the northern route, but I have travelled over a large part of the southern route, and am well acquainted with it.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—I understood that efforts had been made to obtain water for years past, and that they had failed.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—No. Water has been obtained by sinking wells on the limestone tableland. Brackish water has been struck at a depth of 500 feet.

Mr. POYNTON.—For 270 miles the country is already settled, and the settlers there were not driven out during the drought period.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Yes, the country, as far as the head of the Australian Bight, is already settled. Western Australia is prepared to leave the determination of the route, the gauge of the line, and everything else to the Commonwealth Parliament. The State Legislature passed an Act, the preamble of which is so well written, and represents so clearly the objects in view, that I shall read it to honorable members. The Act was assented on the 29th September, 1903, and the preamble reads as follows:—

Whereas the people of New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, Queensland, Tasmania, and Western Australia, being desirous of securing closer union, and the benefits of mutual protection and defence, and being desirous also of enjoying the advantages of freedom of trade, commerce, and reciprocal intercourse, have, by the Commonwealth of Australia Constitution Act, formed one

federal and indissoluble Commonwealth: And whereas, in furtherance of these objects, power has been conferred upon the Parliament of the Commonwealth to make laws for the construction and extension of railways in any State with the consent of such State: And whereas, on the faith of the early construction of a railway to connect the Western and Eastern portions of the Commonwealth, by means whereof they could enjoy the full benefits of such union, the people of Western Australia did agree to the said Constitution, and to form part of the Commonwealth. And whereas, to enable the Parliament of the Commonwealth to execute and maintain those essential provisions of the Constitution which were intended to confirm the people of this portion of the Commonwealth in that assurance of protection and defence, and the advantages of postal and commercial intercourse, and of freedom of trade by land and by sea, which are enjoyed by members of the Commonwealth elsewhere, it is desirable to authorize such Parliament to construct a railway as aforesaid. . . .

Mr. HUME COOK.—There is not one word of official warrant for that preamble?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I do not agree with the honorable member, and his assertion is not justified.

Mr. HUME COOK.—I say that there is no official warrant for the statements contained in the preamble.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Why does not the honorable member remain quiet until I have finished? The second section of the Act from which I have been quoting reads as follows:—

Subject to section six hereof, the Commonwealth Parliament may make laws for the construction and maintenance—

- (1) Of a railway from Kalgoorlie to the eastern boundary of Western Australia, commencing at the termination of the existing railway system of the State at Kalgoorlie, and proceeding thence to the said boundary by such route as the Commonwealth Parliament may determine, and
- (2) Of a railway from the Port of Eucla running due north to a point intersecting the route of the railway aforesaid.

The latter part of the section refers to a small railway from Eucla, which might be required for construction purposes. Then there is provision for empowering the Commonwealth to acquire land, and another important section which shows the *bona fides* of the Western Australian Government. It indicates their willingness to incur a very large expenditure, which will probably amount to £750,000. It is provided that—

Not later than the time when the Commonwealth Parliament commences the construction of the first-mentioned railway, the State of Western

Australia will commence the construction of a railway from Kalgoorlie to Fremantle, on the same conditions as to gauge and rails as those laid down by the Commonwealth Parliament in connexion with the work undertaken by it, and shall complete the same by the time the Commonwealth has completed the railway aforesaid.

Then it is enacted that the Act shall be void unless the Commonwealth Parliament shall have agreed to, and shall have commenced, the construction of the railways within five years from the passing of the Act.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—That is really an Act to permit the Commonwealth to construct the line.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Yes; but the honorable and learned member cannot have failed to notice that the Western Australian Government undertake to alter the gauge of their own railways in order to make their gauge uniform with that adopted by the Commonwealth Government. That would probably involve the alteration of 387 miles of railway from Kalgoorlie to Fremantle from the present 3-ft. 6-in. gauge to the 4-ft. 8½-in. gauge, and a very large expenditure, amounting to at least £750,000 would have to be incurred in effecting the necessary changes in connexion with station buildings and sidings, and in widening the permanent way. Therefore, whilst the Commonwealth are asked to undertake the survey and construction of the proposed line, they must not forget that Western Australia is willing to incur an immense expenditure in order to secure a direct and uninterrupted means of communication from Fremantle to Port Augusta.

Mr. ISAACS.—What is the reason of the limitation as to time in section 6?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The reason is that the Western Australian Government cannot consent to have the matter "hung up" for ever. They have undertaken to change the gauge of their line from Fremantle to Kalgoorlie, and they cannot allow matters to stand in abeyance for more than five years. At present all alterations and additions on that line are at a standstill, and they must remain so until the Western Australian Government are in a position to know what the Commonwealth Parliament intends to do.

Mr. KENNEDY.—They will become annoyed, and construct the railway themselves.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Personally, I think that five years is too long a time to allow.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—That Act is a threat to the Commonwealth that if it does not undertake the construction of the line within a certain time it will not be permitted to do so at all.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Surely the honorable and learned member does not mean to say that?

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—It looks very much like it.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Does not the honorable and learned member see that some limitation as to time is necessary, because whilst the matter remains in abeyance no improvements can be carried out upon the existing line from Fremantle to Kalgoorlie.

Mr. ISAACS.—What is to happen if the Commonwealth does not commence the work within five years?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I cannot say what Western Australia will do; but probably she will despair of Federation conferring any benefit upon her.

Mr. HUME COOK.—Probably she will secede from the Union!

Sir JOHN FORREST.—No doubt she would have very good cause for dissatisfaction. In this matter, Western Australia has not acted the part of the dog-in-the-manger. Her Legislature leaves the whole questions of route and gauge to the Commonwealth Parliament, and undertakes to alter 387 miles of existing line, in order to make its gauge uniform with that of the railway constructed by the Commonwealth. I do not think that any one can argue that in anything Western Australia has done in this matter she has shown any narrow or parochial spirit. All through the negotiations she has acted in a Federal spirit, not in her own interests only, but also in the interests of the whole of Australia. If honorable members compare the action of that State with that of South Australia, they will probably come to the conclusion that Western Australia has some great benefit to gain to make her so urgent in her advocacy of the railway, whilst the sister State is so apathetic. The more the matter is looked into, however, the more clearly it will be seen that the contrary is the case, and that the greater advantage will lie with South Australia. No advantage will be gained by Western Australia that will not also be conferred upon the sister State. Even in connexion with the construction of the railway itself, South Australia will gain more largely, because if the Gawler Range route is adopted,

large quantities of railway material will probably be landed at Streaky Bay, Denial Bay, Fowler's Bay, and Eucla. Western Australia cannot deliver her railway material to similar advantage. Before a single spike can be driven on the Western Australian side, it will have to be carried for 387 miles from Fremantle to Kalgoorlie. Then, again, a great portion of the traffic which now goes to Fremantle will probably be diverted over the new line to South Australia and other States, and will not benefit the coastal settlements of Western Australia, which at present enjoy the whole of the trade with the gold-fields.

Mr. HIGGINS.—Did the right honorable gentleman say that to the people of Perth?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Yes; and I told them that notwithstanding that at first sight it might appear that the proposed railway would operate against their interests, in my opinion it was certain that where one man travelled now a hundred would travel when it was constructed, and that for every ton of goods that now passed in or out of the State, hundreds of tons would be forwarded. I further represented to them that if they adopted a broad, liberal, and patriotic view of this question, they would gain rather than lose by their action. I think that that is a perfectly sound position to take up, and I thoroughly believe that the people of Western Australia, as a whole, will benefit by the establishment of direct and rapid means of communication between the western State and the larger centres of population in the east, and by the encouragement which will be given to trade and commerce with all parts of the Commonwealth. The honorable and learned member for Northern Melbourne at once sees that, on the face of it, the proposal does not appear to be largely in the interests of the people of Perth and Fremantle; but on reflection he must agree with me that the broader and wider view which I have indicated is the sounder and nobler one to adopt. I think I have already said that I feel a responsibility in this matter, because I took a very prominent part in the Federal campaign, and in recommending the people of Western Australia to join the Union. I feel that it is my duty to do all that I can to make the Union satisfactory to the people of the State of which I am a representative. But my hands are tied. We have no means to do anything. There is no means of communication between Western Australia and the eastern States, except the sea

route. There has been no true realization of Federation, so far as the people of Western Australia are concerned. They realize the inconvenient side of it, when a request for a post-office is refused, or when a proposed telephone extension has to be referred to Melbourne for decision. On the other hand, if we had a railway running daily between the east and the west, and hundreds of people travelling to and from upon it, Federation would then be a reality to all parts of the Commonwealth. If no railway existed between Melbourne and Sydney, between Sydney and Brisbane, and between Melbourne and Adelaide, we should have these States wholly apart, and their peoples knowing scarcely anything of one another. Such a condition of affairs would be almost beyond endurance. The representatives of Western Australia cannot reach their homes except by means of a sea voyage. As I have already said, that state of affairs very materially interferes with the representation of Western Australia in the Federal Legislature, because but few men can afford to leave their homes and their business for many months in order to devote their whole time to their parliamentary duties.

Mr. WEBSTER.—The construction of this line would not improve the position in that respect.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—It would, because it would improve our means of travelling to and from our homes.

Mr. HIGGINS.—But it could not improve the present representation of the State.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I do not wish to say one word adverse to my colleagues in the representation of Western Australia, but for the reasons I have mentioned, the isolated condition of Western Australia certainly interferes materially with the choice of the people of that State.

Mr. WEBSTER.—The railway journey would annihilate the representatives of that State.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—It would do nothing of the kind. I have had some experience of travelling long distances by rail. I have travelled across America on several occasions. The railway journey occupied eight days when I first crossed it, and yet after alighting at a railway station I was very glad to get into the train again, for I found that the railway carriage was more comfortable than any other place. The present state of affairs, so far

as Western Australia is concerned, is not Federation, but isolation. It makes Federation a sham. I distinctly say once more that I should not have advocated Federation had I thought that this state of isolation would continue indefinitely. But it cannot remain as it is. The people of Western Australia will never rest content while it lasts. The only thing that makes them apparently content is the hope that the existing position may soon be brought to an end. Is it reasonable that they should remain isolated from and unknown to the people of the other States; that they should have no means of communication with those States except that which the sea affords? Why did they agree to enter the Union? Does the Parliament of Australia intend to refuse to carry out the obligation to build this railway? Some one has said there is no such obligation. I assert that there is. The Commonwealth is under an obligation to protect every State from invasion. How is it going to protect Western Australia? That State might as well be an island in mid-ocean as a State separated from the rest of the Union by many hundreds of miles of unoccupied country, and without railway communication with the other parts of the Commonwealth. Was it ever intended that Western Australia should depend upon its own resources for its defence? Why was it provided in the Constitution that the Commonwealth shall protect every State from invasion when, as long as the present state of affairs continues, we cannot defend Western Australia, or send a single man to protect it?

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—Captain Mahan says that a naval base —

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I am speaking of the Constitution.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—But the right honorable member should listen to what Captain Mahan says —

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The honorable and learned member should not interrupt me. The Commonwealth has undertaken to "protect every State against invasion," and unless every effort is to be made to carry out that obligation, those words in the Constitution must be idle and meaningless. I would even say that those words are worse than meaningless, for they are fraudulent, if they do not mean what they say. In my opinion,

however, they do mean what they say. I believe that the people of Australia are on my side—that they are on the side of Western Australia. I have never addressed a public meeting on this question in any part of Australia without receiving encouragement for the views I have expressed in regard to it. On one occasion I addressed a public meeting in South Australia, consisting of over 1,000 persons, a large majority of whom, I was told, were hostile to the project; but I never was better received in my life than when I was advocating before that meeting the construction of this railway. The same remark will apply to the feeling in Victoria. The honorable and learned member for Indi believes that his constituents are opposed to the construction of the line, but I very much doubt if they are. I am prepared to prove the sincerity of my belief by going to his constituency and asking for the support of his constituents, even with the eloquence of the honorable and learned member against me. The people of Australia are not mere time-servers; they are not going to break their word, or disregard the written Constitution to which they have agreed. They have undertaken to protect each State from invasion, and they must set about the work of putting themselves in a position to do so.

Mr. ISAACS.—But the construction of this line is not provided for in the Constitution?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The people of Australia desire a Federation that is not a sham. They want something real. They believe more in the importance of Western Australia than does the honorable and learned member for Indi.

Mr. ISAACS.—Oh, no!

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The people of the rest of the Commonwealth know that Western Australia has been a good friend of Australia, and carried them safely over a period of distress, and helped them when they needed assistance. They are not ungrateful. I rely upon the people of Australia to a larger extent than I rely on some of their representatives. I am quite certain that the people of Victoria, and, indeed, of all Australia, will adhere to the understanding arrived at in regard to this matter, and will adhere to the spirit of the Constitution. They know that a moral understanding exists that the line shall be constructed, and they will see that it is carried out. Who are our opponents? Have

they ever done anything for this country? Let them stand before us in a row, and point to any great work that any one of them has carried out—to one monument that reflects to their credit?

Mr. HIGGINS.—They are sitting behind the right honorable member.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I am not speaking of any honorable member of this House in any personal sense, but I assert that our opponents are merely the “do-nothings.” The pessimists and the croakers of former days in Western Australia cannot be found now, because all the works which they opposed and decried have been successful. They have subsided, although many of them would now take credit for the construction of works which they did so much to prevent. I would say to the people who are opposed to this undertaking that they may delay this great work, but not for long. It is not a paltry little railway to run through one solitary town or district, but a line which is going to connect the eastern and western sides of Australia, and bind the people of the Commonwealth together. They may be able to delay the work, but it will not be for very long, for I firmly believe that Federation and broad-mindedness will, in the near future, in this and all other great national matters, conquer and subdue the “little Australians,” the pessimists and the parochialists.

Mr. ISAACS (Indi).—I think we can all very heartily congratulate my right honorable friend, who has just resumed his seat, on the genuineness with which he advocates this project. I believe that no honorable member could throw more personal fervour into his advocacy of any proposal than the right honorable member has thrown into this, but I regret, for his sake, that I feel compelled to oppose the motion. I am sorry that my right honorable friend refers to those who, like myself, believe that as trustees of the money of the people whom we represent, we are not justified in looking at an expenditure of £5,000,000 as a mere nothing—

Sir JOHN FORREST. — It is not £5,000,000. Our opponents always add a million, but never think of taking one off.

Mr. ISAACS.—£5,000,000 has constantly been referred to in this House as the probable cost of the railway. But let us take it at £4,000,000; a million is nothing to the right honorable member.

Mr. McCAY.—At present we are concerned with a proposal to spend only £20,000.

Mr. ISAACS.—If there is to be a survey, is it to be made with the genuine intention to proceed with the work, should it be favorably reported upon?

Mr. FOWLER.—Does the construction of a line always follow the making of a survey? How many surveys of projected lines have been made in Victoria without the work of construction following?

Mr. ISAACS.—I agree with the honorable member's suggestion that surveys ought not to be made unless it is intended to proceed with the actual work, should the report of the surveyors be favorable.

Mr. FOWLER.—It is not my suggestion.

Mr. McCAY.—The object of the proposed survey is to obtain necessary information.

Mr. ISAACS.—My honorable and learned friend will surely agree that if we secure the necessary information, it should be with the honest intention to proceed with the work provided that the information proves favorable.

Mr. McCAY.—If the information turns out to be favorable.

Mr. ISAACS.—However roseate the report might be, I hold that we are not in a position to spend £4,000,000 or £5,000,000 in the near future. On that ground alone, I am prepared to object to the proposal. Whatever may be the eventual prospects of this gigantic work—and it is a gigantic work—however desirable it may be, and I admit it is desirable that at some time or other the iron band of union should exist between east and west—I think that at present we are not at all in a position to spend out of our revenue, or to borrow with advantage on the credit of the Commonwealth, the huge sum of £4,000,000 or £5,000,000 necessary to make this railway. When we look at the Act of Parliament which has been forcibly brought under our notice by the right honorable member for Swan, we find that it is to expire in 1908. We are told, in effect by Western Australia, “If you do not undertake this work by 1908, you are not to do it at all.” That is the limit. I, for one, am not prepared to say that Australia is, by some means, to raise £4,000,000 or £5,000,000, and to expend it in making a railway within the period named. What the distant future may bring is another matter; but

I am not prepared to say that even £20,000 is in our present condition a mere trifle. I do not know that any one will dispute the proposition that, in the future, population will require and justify the construction of the line. I am not in a position to offer any opinion on that phase of the question, but I do say, that whatever the future may bring forth, the present is not the time for us to embark on such a great undertaking. If we are not prepared to enter upon it within a reasonable time, then we have no right now to expend £20,000, because by the time we should be able to undertake the enterprise, conditions might have materially altered for the better or the worse—I hope and believe for the better. We are told by the right honorable member for Swan that, after all only a few pounds are involved, and he wishes to know why “these croakers” should object to the expenditure of a few pounds. That is a very light way to talk of a large sum of money. If we were to propose the expenditure of £20,000 on some projects, I am sure that we should be told that it was not a small sum. It seems to me that to expend £20,000 in the way proposed would be to throw it away. I deny that it was any part of the bargain between Western Australia and the rest of the Commonwealth that this railway should be constructed. I never heard of it as a bargain, but I do not deny that it was a laudable desire and ambition on the part of Western Australia—and a desire that I can heartily reciprocate—that the eastern and western States should be united by easier and more facile means of communication than at present exist. The question is whether we can afford at the present time to provide that means of communication, or whether the prospects now justify it, or will do so within the immediate future. I do not think it is an answer for the right honorable member to say that, if the only objection be the cost, we should allow a private company to do the work. That is a most fallacious argument. If the Commonwealth or any State is going to say that because a project, however inviting it may look in the future, is not one which the financial condition of the Commonwealth or of the State concerned will justify at the present moment, it is therefore to be handed over to a private company as a monopoly, we shall find ourselves at no great distance of time in a very perilous position. If that

position were taken up, we should fetter our hands in a way from which we could not hope afterwards to free ourselves. I do not think that that argument is a sound one, however alluring it may be for the moment. I cast my mind back, and recall a time in our history when Brisbane was not connected with Adelaide. We see that they are connected to-day, but it requires time and patience to give effect to these undertakings. We must wait, in my judgment, for some further development of our population and territory before we can justify the expenditure of the very large sum of money we are now asked to expend. I should like to have heard the present Minister of Trade and Customs upon this subject, and should have been pleased if he had followed the right honorable member for Swan. I know that his views, if expressed, would not be found to be in accord with those which have been announced by the right honorable member for Swan. I think it is wrong that the right honorable gentleman should refer in the way he has done to those of us who, in Victoria and in other States, feel that they cannot support this proposal, which, if it means anything at all, is only the thin end of the wedge for the largest expenditure of money proposed since the Commonwealth came into existence. I take this opportunity of saying that, whatever may be our desire for closer union and quicker communication with Western Australia, well disposed as we all are to that State as to the other States of the Commonwealth, we feel regret that the circumstances of the Commonwealth to-day do not justify us in supporting the proposal of the Government.

Mr. KENNEDY (Moir).—I do not propose to take up much time in dealing with this matter, but it is strange to me to hear the right honorable member for Swan put so much force into his arguments in the endeavour to impress the Committee with the splendid thing it will be for this Parliament to embark upon railway construction at this particular time and in this particular locality. The right honorable member has given us to understand that this is not a matter of convenience or of advantage to the people of Western Australia. He holds that it will be of enormous benefit to the people of the Commonwealth if this railway is constructed at their expense, but to my mind the project will be of benefit only to the people

of Western Australia. The right honorable gentleman said that he would tell us what an eminent engineering authority, to whom the question was referred, had to say with respect to the railway, and the country through which it is proposed to be constructed. I regret that the right honorable gentleman did not quote the opinion of Mr. C. Y. O'Connor, the authority to whom he referred.

Mr. FOWLER.—I think the right honorable member for Swan said that Mr. O'Connor had not been through most of the country, and he did not regard that gentleman as an authority.

Mr. KENNEDY.—He has not been through it, and, strange to say, we can find no one who admits that he has been through the country, or knows anything about it.

Mr. FOWLER.—Hence the necessity for further inquiry.

Mr. KENNEDY.—The right honorable member for Swan has, I believe, been through the country, but even he cannot speak authoritatively concerning it.

Mr. FOWLER.—Honorable members will not take the right honorable gentleman's word on the subject.

Mr. KENNEDY.—Yet we have estimates submitted as to the probable cost of the railway. I am surprised that the right honorable member for Swan did not quote Mr. O'Connor's views, after telling the Committee that he proposed to do so. On the very best information available to date, Mr. O'Connor writes in this way in paragraph 2 of his report—

In an undertaking of this magnitude, traversing 11,000 miles of country, which is mostly uninhabited, uncultivated, and waterless, although there are no engineering difficulties to contend with, there is necessarily a good deal of uncertainty as to its probable cost.

It is not to me a matter of surprise to find that a State Government should be most anxious that some authority other than itself and its taxpayers should embark in such a national work as this—because a national work it surely is, as we understand national works here, that is to say, works in connexion with which there can be no possible hope that they will pay, or that there will be a justification for the expenditure involved in them.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—That is merely the honorable member's opinion.

Mr. KENNEDY.—If this undertaking is to be such a wonderfully good thing commercially and generally for the development of Western Australia, how is it that the Go-

vernment of that State is so anxious that somebody else should embark in the construction of the railway and control the enterprise?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I have explained that only half the line would run through their territory.

Mr. KENNEDY.—I take objection to the proposal, on the ground of the underlying principle with regard to the Commonwealth embarking in railway construction at all. The conditions under which we can embark upon railway construction, as laid down in the Constitution, are clear and distinct. A first essential is the authority of the States through which the railways proposed to be constructed must pass. Up to the present time, no assent has been given by one of the States concerned in this proposed railway.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—There is consent to the survey.

Mr. KENNEDY.—I am reminded of the wiles of the artful trapper, endeavouring to snare the last remnants of the warrigal. All the skill and ingenuity of the honorable and learned member for Ballarat and his successor in office have been applied with the utmost ability in a vain attempt to get the Premier of South Australia to say something definite on this subject.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—To keep his word, in fact.

Mr. KENNEDY.—No, not to keep his word, but to keep the word of, or some promise made by, a predecessor in office.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—He was a member of the same Ministry.

Mr. KENNEDY.—That does not matter. Even the valiant right honorable gentleman is not going to side-track me on this occasion.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Does the honorable member contend that a Minister is not bound by a promise given by the Premier of a Government of which he was a member?

Mr. KENNEDY.—I propose to tell the Committee exactly what the position is with regard to the correspondence which appears to go back to 1900, and which was initiated by Sir Edmund Barton when leading the first Federal Administration. We have been reminded that three Governments have favoured this proposal, and have introduced it to this House.

Mr. POYNTON.—Four Prime Ministers have supported it.

Mr. KENNEDY.—Let us say four. Three of them never succeeded in reaching anything definite with regard to their proposals.

Mr. POYNTON.—The honorable member would not allow a Prime Minister to do so on one occasion.

Mr. KENNEDY.—I propose to-night to show why I think we have gone far enough, so far as action by the present Administration is concerned. I propose to put this matter from my point of view. It is a strange feature in connexion with the subject that, with the exception of the right honorable member for Swan, the only ardent and enthusiastic supporter of this proposal is the right honorable gentleman who at present occupies the position of Prime Minister. That is an extraordinary position. I should like some little information, which I have no doubt is available if we could get the benefit of it, to explain how it is that the position which an honorable member may occupy in this Chamber, or the party he happens to support, should have some peculiar influence upon the attitude he is likely to assume with regard to this proposal. I should be delighted if some of the honorable gentlemen, who were recently sitting in this corner, and some who were in Opposition, and who have now been elevated to the Treasury bench, would explain how the judgments which they previously formed have been influenced by the atmosphere of Ministerial responsibility.

Mr. MAHON.—To whom does the honorable member refer?

Mr. KENNEDY.—To the Minister of Trade and Customs, for instance. That honorable member has always posed as an economist of the first water, and I have always looked to him for light and leading in matters of economy.

Mr. McLEAN.—The honorable member will be quite right if he sticks to that.

Mr. KENNEDY.—I should like to have some information to show what has influenced honorable gentlemen. Even from the honorable gentleman who is in charge of this matter to-night, we have heard nothing very definite in the way of justification for the position the Government are taking up. Not, perhaps, from anything on record, but from the general trend of his views politically, and his actions in Parliament, the Minister of Defence led me to believe that he was opposed to any pro-

posal of this sort, practically committing the Federal Parliament to an expenditure of £5,000,000.

Mr. McCAY.—This does not commit Parliament; it is intended only to secure information.

Mr. KENNEDY.—It is the first step in the affirmation of a principle. We are being asked to establish a precedent that is going to influence us for all time.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—Remember that the present is a Coalition Government.

Mr. KENNEDY.—Coalitions are responsible for a great deal. We saw one effect of a coalition this evening, when a division took place in this chamber. Certain honorable members have gone into alliance with others, and on the very first opportunity those who held out the olive branch to them were deserted by their sworn friends. Are we to have a repetition of the same kind of thing on this side of the House?

Mr. HIGGINS.—Yes.

Mr. KENNEDY.—If so, I am made only the more chary of these coalitions. In one vote this evening, we saw sworn allies running away from their brethren-in-arms.

Mr. McCAY.—They ran away from their own bridge.

Mr. KENNEDY.—Surely that kind of thing is not going to happen on this side of the House on this question? This is why I am most anxious, with the honorable member for Indi, to know what really is the opinion of the Ministers of Trade and Customs and Defence. I had some little hope that the Minister of Home Affairs, who introduced the subject this evening, would exhibit a desire to proceed on more economical lines than appears to be the case. It did, however, seem to me that the honorable gentleman's heart was not in this matter. I honestly believe that the right honorable member for Swan could have stated a much better case in support of the proposal than did the Minister of Home Affairs. I have been for some time diverted from the delightful correspondence that has taken place between the Prime Ministers of the Commonwealth and the Premiers of South and Western Australia. I find that a letter passed from Sir Edmund Barton to the Premier of South Australia, in 1903, referring to correspondence which took place in 1901. It would appear that a period of

two years had been allowed to elapse before the attack on this subject was renewed. Sir Edmund Barton wrote, in 1903:—

I have the honour to invite your attention to the correspondence on the subject of the trans-continental railway that passed between us in 1901, and particularly to your letter of the 31st July of that year, in which you enclosed a communication from Mr. Holder, then Premier of South Australia, dated 1st February, 1900.

That, I assume, is the historic letter referred to in which the Premier of South Australia made a promise that he would put no obstacles in the way of future negotiations with regard to the construction of this line. But, so far as I understand, he certainly did not pledge his Parliament in any particular way.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—He said, "I undertake."

Mr. KENNEDY.—We shall deal with the letter later on. Then the Premier of South Australia replied to this effect:—

In reply to your letter of the 10th inst., I have the honour to inform you, as I have previously informed the honorable the Premier of Western Australia, that it would not only be unjustifiable, but useless to submit to Parliament a Bill for the construction of this railway (of which this State's share of the cost would amount to a very large sum) without being in a position to give Parliament information as to the cost of the scheme.

That was in 1903. Then we have that able exponent of the English language, the honorable and learned member for Ballarat, coming on the scene in his capacity as Prime Minister. In a very long letter, addressed to the Premier of South Australia, the honorable and learned member made every effort to pin down the former to something definite, but he absolutely failed to do so. The honorable and learned member even made an appeal, which is evidence that there was no intention at that time on the part of the Commonwealth Parliament, so far as he was concerned as Prime Minister, to embark on any cost whatever until it was known exactly what the position of the Commonwealth was—until the assent of both States had been given to the proposal. This is the appeal he made in a letter under date 16th October, 1903:—

The approximate cost of the work is expressly set out in the reports of the Board of Engineers-in-Chief, dated 12th March and 27th July, 1903, which has been presented to the Federal Parliament. That Board consisted, as you are aware, of the best authorities on railway construction to be found in Australia. Its members were nominated by the several States, including South Australia. They devoted much time to

the consideration of their subject, and their estimate may be taken to be the most definite that could be obtained until the line is marked out.

That is the pointed reply of the Prime Minister to the Premier of South Australia. The letter proceeded—

The request for further information comes unexpectedly at this stage, when all the knowledge that could be expected prior to a detailed examination of the route has already been acquired. Even that would probably alter the sum quoted, but very slightly, if at all. To make a complete survey might cost £20,000, and before asking the Commonwealth Parliament to approve of this expenditure, it is only reasonable that the consent necessary under sub-section 34 of section 51 of the Constitution should be obtained.

Why is it that as Prime Minister he never departed from that principle? He refused, and never did submit to this House a proposal to spend one single shilling even on a survey until that consent, which was not given during his reign as Prime Minister, was obtained.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—He never repudiated the consent given.

Mr. KENNEDY.—But he never got the consent which was laid down as a stipulation. The letter went on—

Your Government and Parliament have much better information now as to the probable cost of the work than when Mr. Holder's promise to the Government of Western Australia was made in 1900, and I should be glad if you could see your way to consider this sufficient for present purposes, and at the earliest date pass an Act authorizing the Federal Parliament to proceed with the work. This has already been done by the Legislature of Western Australia.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—That is all right.

Mr. KENNEDY.—What I want the Committee to note is that, having made this request to the Premier of South Australia, the honorable and learned member for Ballarat, as Prime Minister, refused, and never did submit to the House a proposal to spend one single shilling.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The Prime Minister did so, before his Government went out of office.

Mr. KENNEDY.—Certainly not.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—This same message was laid on the table.

Mr. KENNEDY.—But it was never dealt with in Committee.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The honorable member may remember that I submitted the motion, which was opposed by the other side for the reason that there was a political crisis. But the message and the Bill were before the House.

Mr. KENNEDY.—But that was as far as we got.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The proposal of the Government was made.

Mr. KENNEDY.—This brings me to May, 1904, when, apparently, there had been a change of Government, and the following telegram was sent on the 7th, by the then Prime Minister to the Premier of South Australia:—

Kalgoorlie to Port Augusta railway under consideration. Shall be glad to be advised whether, in event Commonwealth Parliament favorably considering question, you will be prepared to pass Act authorizing Federal authority to proceed with work of construction. As you are aware, this has already been done by Legislature of Western Australia. Greatly obliged if you will favour with early reply.

The reply to that telegram is to this effect:—

Replying your wire 7th instant, Kalgoorlie and Port Augusta railway, I advised your predecessor on 22nd February that if it was considered necessary for the State to pass an Act to give the Federal Government power to make the proposed survey, we would be agreeable to ask Parliament when next assembled to pass a short measure with that object. I do not suppose you intend to ask your Parliament to pass legislation providing for the construction until survey is made and some reliable estimate prepared of probable cost.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—That is right.

Mr. KENNEDY.—Honorable members will observe the diplomacy and tact with which the leader of the Government of South Australia evades the point which was put to him point blank; he does not answer the question, but simply dodges it.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—He wanted more information.

Mr. KENNEDY.—There is a subsequent message from the Prime Minister, which is as follows:—

Your wire 10th instant, Kalgoorlie-Port Augusta railway. Shall be glad if you will kindly advise me disposition of your Government towards question of authorizing construction. The possession of your views upon this specific point will be of considerable value to Government in considering question of survey. Will you kindly favour me early reply?

The reply to that is to this effect:—

Replying your wire 11th, Kalgoorlie and Port Augusta railway, when survey is made and reliable estimates of probable cost are prepared, we should be pleased to advise you as to what action we shall then ask the State Parliament to take.

The Premier of South Australia was beginning to make up his mind in a certain direction, but he had certainly decided that

he was not going to commit his Parliament or people in the slightest degree to this line.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—He repudiated the promise made by the present Speaker when Premier of South Australia.

Mr. KENNEDY.—The Premier of South Australia says that he is not tied by that promise.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—We do not agree with him.

Mr. KENNEDY.—That is a matter of opinion; and we know we are tied by nothing but Acts of Parliament.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—That may be a Victorian, but it is not a British idea.

Mr. HIGGINS.—Is the honorable member for Moira not tied by the caucus?

Mr. KENNEDY.—I do not acknowledge any caucus. The Premier of South Australia goes on:—

The question of making survey has already been decided by your predecessors in office. Unless you intend to repudiate their obligations you need no further information in order to justify you in asking your Parliament to provide necessary funds for that purpose.

Honorable members will see the ingenuity of this gentleman, who refuses to be tied himself in any way, or committed to anything in particular, but who attempts to impress the Prime Minister with the idea that the latter, by some decision of his predecessor in office, was committed to a survey. That, however, is not correct.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The message was laid on the table by the Government.

Mr. KENNEDY.—If the Government desire to expend money for any particular purpose, they must get the authority of Parliament, and then take the responsibility.

Sir JOHN FORREST. — The Government had made up their mind to ask the Parliament for authority.

Mr. KENNEDY.—I contend that before it is justifiable to spend one shilling on a survey, there must be the consent of the States through which the line will pass.

Sir JOHN FORREST. — I think that is rather a narrow view.

Mr. KENNEDY.—The view is not so wide as the line, of course. It was commencing to dawn on the Prime Minister that he was dealing with rather an astute gentleman, and he sent the following telegram:—

Regret you appear unwilling to intimate probable attitude of your Government towards Kalgoorlie-Port Augusta railway until after considerable expense that survey will necessitate will have been incurred. May I take it that

unless survey discloses facts not now known, involving very substantial increase on present estimates of cost, you will advise your Parliament pass Bill conferring necessary authority on Commonwealth to construct line, in accordance with promise of South Australian Government when Mr. Holder was Premier? You will readily perceive that Federal Parliament may naturally be reluctant to authorize substantial preliminary expenditure unless they have some assurance that such expenditure will not be rendered resultless by your subsequent unwillingness to act in accordance with promise referred to. In reference to latter part of your telegram. The question of adopting or modifying the policy of our predecessors is a matter for this Government to determine.

The latter portion is in exact agreement with the position I took up in justification of the attitude of Mr. Jenkins. The honorable member for Bland, who was then Prime Minister, said that he was not tied by the determination of his predecessors, except in so far as the policy of his Government determined he should go. It will be seen that the attitude of the then Prime Minister was that the Government should not move at all, and although they did submit a proposal to the House to spend money on the survey, he intimated to the Premier of South Australia that the Commonwealth Parliament could not be asked to authorize the expenditure until the assent of the South Australian Parliament had been obtained. I contend that we are in exactly the same position to-day. I venture to say that the honorable member for Bland should, in fairness, and in consequence of that undertaking, conveyed to the Premier of South Australia, oppose the expenditure of even one shilling on a survey, until the consent of South Australia is obtained.

Mr. FOWLER.—The Premier of South Australia expressed to me months ago the opinion that there would be no opposition.

Mr. KENNEDY.—What is the use of coming here, and saying what the opinion of the man in the street is, when we have an official statement from the Premier of South Australia?

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—Does the honorable member mean in reference to the survey, or the railway?

Mr. KENNEDY.—I am dealing with the survey. The reply to that query was this:—

Replying to yours of 13th, I have nothing to add to mine of 12th inst., further than to state that survey and reliable estimates are always prepared before we ask Parliament by Act to sanction the construction of any line of rail-

We have in the telegrams and correspondence which passed between the Prime Minister and the Premier of South Australia, a clear indication that the Premier of South Australia refused point blank, in the first instance, to acknowledge any obligation to be bound by any promise made by his predecessor with regard to the construction of the line. Even should the report be favorable, we have no intimation from him that he will ask the South Australian Parliament to consent to the construction of the line.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—We take that risk.

Mr. KENNEDY.—I venture to say that we cannot, under the Constitution, take that risk. The first absolute essential before we spend any money is to obtain the assent of the Parliaments of the States through which the line is to be constructed. What right have we to spend money upon a survey? Is it not part and parcel of the expenditure debited to the construction of the line?

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—The honorable member is now dealing with the railway, not with the survey.

Mr. HIGGINS.—We certainly cannot construct the railway unless South Australia assents.

Mr. KENNEDY.—No; and I go further, and say that we should not be justified in spending money on a survey until we have authority to construct the line. What is the position of the people of Western Australia? There is a tendency on the part of some persons to rush to their friends when they have a "good thing" instead of taking advantage of it themselves. They seem to be anxious to hand it over to the first man they meet in the street. Go into any of our trading marts, and you will meet many persons who have "good things" to dispose of. Go to the Stock Exchange amongst our mining community. There are always men who have "good things" to dispose of. Go to our stock saleyards. There are persons there who have the "cheapest and finest" stock in Australia to sell; but if you take the stock at their price you are "left" every time. I agree with the man who once gave a piece of advice to the respected Judge of our Insolvency Court in Victoria. as regards accepting these "good things" from friends. After the man's case had been heard, and his certificate granted, he said, "Take this from me, your Honour. If a friend comes to you with a 'good thing,'

club him; knock him down." That is the position the Commonwealth Parliament should take to-day with respect to this "good thing." The best thing the Commonwealth Parliament can do is, to say most emphatically and conclusively to Western Australia, "If this is such a 'good thing' take the whole benefit of it to yourselves."

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Hand it over to a private company.

Mr. KENNEDY.—No, I have always been opposed to the construction of railways by private enterprise in Australia. I have always been an advocate for the State ownership of railways. If there is warrant for the construction of a railway, the State can construct it, and work it as economically, and as much in the interests of the people concerned, as any private company can.

Mr. HIGGINS.—The honorable member must be a Socialist. He should come over here.

Mr. KENNEDY.—There is not a man on God's earth who is not a Socialist to some extent. I have no dread of the word "Socialism." I have no fear of being called a "Socialist." There are various interpretations of the word. Where is the man who is not a Socialist to some extent, as we understand Socialism in the every-day sense of the word? He is not to be found.

Mr. CARPENTER.—The honorable and learned member for Werriwa says he is not a Socialist.

Mr. KENNEDY.—But the honorable and learned member for Werriwa takes advantage of our postal facilities, and other Government agencies. What is the use of trotting out that boggy? If there is to be no loss, why does not Western Australia construct the line? If there is to be a loss, what proportion of it is Western Australia prepared to pay? The late Prime Minister made an inquiry on this subject in a telegram dated 6th May, 1904. He telegraphed to the Premier of Western Australia—

Representations made to me, feeling of members of Federal Parliament towards proposal favours belief that opposition would be materially lessened if your Government indicated willingness contribute stated proportion of loss, if any, during the first ten years. As matter under consideration of Cabinet, early reply desired.

That was a line of inquiry for which the late Prime Minister is entitled to great credit. It showed a desire on his part to

deal with a business matter in a business-like way. But what do we find on the part of the Premier of Western Australia? We find the same astuteness and slipperiness displayed again.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—There was no slipperiness about him.

Mr. KENNEDY.—That may be, but the astuteness is there. He was asked point blank to state what proportion of the loss his State was prepared to bear—10 per cent., 20 per cent., or one-half, as the case might be. He was requested to make specific proposals as to what proportion of the loss his State would bear over and above the *per capita* share. What was his reply? His telegram is dated 18th May. Therefore he had given due consideration to the subject. He had taken twelve days to reply.

Sir JOHN FORREST. — He might have been away.

Mr. KENNEDY.—But the Premiers of States do not usually go away from telegraphic communication.

Mr. HIGGINS.—I happen to know that he was away in a distant part of the country at the time, and that he had to consult his colleagues and others.

Mr. KENNEDY.—It is evident he did not reply without giving due consideration to a matter of such importance. What was his reply?

On condition that Commonwealth is allowed a free hand as to route and gauge of railway, this State will be prepared for ten years after line constructed, to bear a share of any loss in excess of our contribution on a population basis. It would be premature to fix exact proportion we are prepared to pay at this stage, but I am confident that it will be liberal, and satisfy the Federal Parliament of our sincerity in this connexion, and our belief that the work will soon be a paying one.

He was asked to name a fixed proportion in clear and definite terms. He evaded that question, and answered in general terms that his State was prepared to pay a share under certain conditions. That illustrates the absurdity of relying on promises of this kind unless they are made officially as between recognised governing authorities or corporations. What would have been the value of such a promise made at that time? The then Premier of Western Australia has gone out of office. He was honest, and if he had remained in power it would have been all right. But, as is proved in the case of South Australia, his successor could act

at his own sweet will as to how far he would respect the promise of his predecessor. In face of what has actually occurred in South Australia—

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Very discreditable.

Mr. KENNEDY.—That may or may not be so, but there are the facts, and that is what we have to deal with. Therefore, I urge that this Parliament is not justified in spending one shilling of money, even on a survey, until the assent of the States through which the line will pass has been obtained. Then will be the time to talk of the merits and demerits of the line, and the basis upon which tests are made. There is no fixity of route yet. Then we have Mr. O'Connor basing his estimates on money borrowed at 3 per cent. How can any man think of going into the markets of the world to-day and borrowing money at 3 per cent. on even gilt-edged securities?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The honorable member need not go further than the survey. He need not apply Kyabram principles on that point.

Mr. KENNEDY.—The honorable member is not justified in accusing me of being a Kyabramite. Why does not the State which is going to get the whole benefit from the line, go to the expense of the survey, and then come with a clear case on reliable authority, and ask this Parliament to obtain the consent of South Australia to the construction of the line? If there is to be any development, will not Western Australia derive the benefit? Who else is asking for the construction of this line to-day?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—That does not prove that the benefit will be all one way.

Mr. KENNEDY.—The right honorable member has to prove that those who are not asking for the construction of the railway, and will have to find the greater portion of the money, or accept a liability, will derive some benefit. What an absurdity it is to talk about the graziers or producers of Victoria or New South Wales sending produce by land for 1,100 miles, when there would be sea carriage parallel with the railway!

Sir JOHN FORREST.—It would not be parallel.

Mr. KENNEDY.—Surely the right honorable member does not think that he is talking to an assembly of lunatics, when he submits a proposal of that sort. We have some sane men in our midst.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The honorable member does not know the facts. It has to be brought back 400 miles.

Mr. KENNEDY.—That is because of the rabid conservatism of the people of Perth and Fremantle. Instead of allowing the miners on the gold-fields to get direct communication to the seaboard, and cheaper access to the eastern States, they compel them to go to Perth and Fremantle. The right honorable member talks about the advantages which the eastern States would derive from the construction of this railway. We might have a few wealthy persons, to whom occasionally the saving of a day would be a matter of consideration, and who, under such circumstances, might take advantage of a railway journey of three days from Adelaide, or four days from Melbourne, or five days from Sydney.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—It will not take so long as that.

Mr. KENNEDY.—It spoils a day now to get from Melbourne to Adelaide or Sydney, and the engineer, to whom the right honorable member has referred, gives 36 hours as the time likely to be occupied in travelling between Port Augusta and Kalgoorlie.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—That is a very slow rate.

Mr. KENNEDY.—It may be slow.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The distance is only 1,100 miles, and the train could travel at the rate of 40 miles an hour.

Mr. KENNEDY.—That is the statement of a very able authority, and I am prepared to accept it until I can get something better. The right honorable member talks about the great advantages which the producers in the eastern States would derive from a railway traversing this uninhabited and waterless country, by getting produce carried more cheaply by land than by sea. But why do not the legislators of Western Australia do their duty to the people of its great mining centres, in which there are, I admit, many and profitable consumers of our produce, and give them direct communication to the seaboard?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Does the honorable member think he knows better than they do?

Mr. KENNEDY.—That is the opinion I have expressed, and it has been expressed here, too, by an honorable member representing the gold-fields.

Mr. FOWLER.—Who was thrown out on that very account.

Mr. KENNEDY.—Still, it is quoted in the pamphlet which has been distributed, with the compliments of the Premier of Western Australia.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I do not think that the honorable member should bring in local politics.

Mr. KENNEDY.—I am not bringing in local politics. But when this issue is raised, and the right honorable member has quoted western authorities, surely he cannot take exception to me when I meet him on his own ground.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The honorable member does not know much about the matter?

Mr. FOWLER.—He is a discredited authority.

Mr. KENNEDY.—But the statement has also been made in the Parliament of Western Australia.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—In Parliament there are always partizans.

Mr. KENNEDY.—I am not questioning that view. If the honorable member for Perth says that this gentleman is a discredited authority, I am prepared to accept his assurance. But, would it not be to the material advantage of the miners in Kalgoorlie and Coolgardie if they had direct communication with Esperance, instead of having to go round by Perth and Fremantle?

Mr. FOWLER.—They do not wish to go to Esperance.

Mr. KENNEDY.—Of course they do not, because it might affect the vested interests of Perth and Fremantle.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—It would cost nearly a million of money to make that railway.

Mr. KENNEDY.—We have the same thing in Victoria, and I venture to say in every other State of the Commonwealth. On the eastern and western coasts of Victoria our railways compete with water carriage. Expensive railways, constructed from Melbourne to western districts, are starved, so to speak, and their services are starved because they are brought into competition with water carriage. Will any one who is acquainted with the cost of produce, perishable or otherwise, argue for a moment that it can be carried as cheaply by railway as by water? That should, I think, settle for all time the question of the great advantage which the producers in the eastern States would derive from the construction of a railway to Kalgoorlie.

Mr. FOWLER.—Their produce would not be carried by water altogether. There would be first a railway journey, next a water journey, and then another railway journey.

Mr. KENNEDY.—Not necessarily. But take Melbourne as a centre.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The gold-fields are 400 miles closer than Fremantle. The produce has now to go to Fremantle, and come back to the gold-fields.

Mr. KENNEDY.—I am aware of those facts. But take Melbourne as a shipping port, and say there is a line from the gold-fields of Western Australia to the nearest seaport, which is unquestionably on its south coast, and a line from Port Augusta to Kalgoorlie—

Sir JOHN FORREST.—A line from Esperance would cost £1,000,000 to construct. The honorable member wants us to spend that, I suppose?

Mr. KENNEDY.—£1,000,000 is not so much as £5,000,000.

Mr. FOWLER.—That line would have been constructed long ago if circumstances had justified its construction.

Mr. KENNEDY.—I am now dealing with the alternative proposal of spending £1,000,000 on one line, as against spending £5,000,000 on the other line.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—No, £4,000,000, if the honorable member pleases.

Mr. KENNEDY.—I shall take that sum for the present time, and deal later on with the estimates, and see how they have been arrived at. Will any sane man argue for a moment, that, under the conditions I have stated, it would be possible to send produce from Melbourne as cheaply by railway to Kalgoorlie as by ship to Esperance, and thence by railway to Kalgoorlie?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—There is no railway from Esperance, though.

Mr. KENNEDY.—I know that there is not; but I have submitted a proposition.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—It would cost £1,000,000 by the time the harbor was made.

Mr. KENNEDY.—The cost of this Transcontinental Railway is given by this authority at £4,400,000. But that estimate includes no provision for contingencies.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Very much more than is necessary for water, though.

Mr. KENNEDY.—The estimate includes no provision for interest during the period of construction.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Yes; I think there is some interest included.

Mr. KENNEDY.—I shall be delighted to have it pointed out to me from his report.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I think he does mention interest.

Mr. KENNEDY.—He does mention interest, and he states what the 3 per cent. interest will amount to, provided that the line be made within a certain period.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—But the honorable member said that there was no interest included?

Mr. KENNEDY.—No interest is included in this sum of £4,400,000. But, taking the sum total, his estimates amount to practically £5,000,000, and are based on the assumption that the money would be obtained at 3 per cent. No one will venture to say, for a moment, that it could be obtained at that rate to-day, even with gilt-edged securities. Then, with regard to his estimates of revenue, what does he say? He states the number of passengers travelling per week, and he calmly assumes that if the railway were constructed, every one of them would travel by railway instead of by boat.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Not all of them.

Mr. KENNEDY.—Yes; he says—

The average number of passengers each way per week, between Fremantle and the eastern States, for the last three years, has been about 400, and it has been fairly uniform for each of the three years. Counting both journeys, this means 800 passengers per week, viz., over 40,000 a year, the majority of whom reside upon, or are connected with the gold-fields, and would consequently probably go by overland railway in order to save time and to keep in touch with their business, unless it involved considerable extra expense.

Mr. O'Connor then deals with the question of stock traffic. I wish to again illustrate the position in that regard. In Victoria, when stock conditions are very favorable in Queensland, we have one of the largest fat stock markets to be found in Australia. At seasons of the year a proportion of the fat stock coming into our market come from the north of New South Wales, the south-west of Queensland, and even from the Northern Territory of South Australia. Would any stock-owner attempt to send any stock by train for more than 200 miles to our fat stock market? Only an absolute necessity such as the saving of stock from starvation will impel a stock-owner to allow stock to be more than twenty-four hours in a train. And no man will leave fat stock in a railway truck for that length of

time. What an absurdity it is, then, to talk about sending fat stock into Kalgoorlie!

Mr. LONSDALE.—They send fat stock long distances by train in New South Wales.

Mr. KENNEDY.—They do under certain conditions, but where stock have been more than twenty-four hours in a truck, I venture to say that the owner has known beforehand that he could paddock them to freshen them up.

Mr. FOWLER.—Do not stock carried on a boat fare worse?

Mr. KENNEDY.—When stock fare worse on a boat than they do in a railway truck they go overboard.

Mr. FOWLER.—Does not that count?

Mr. KENNEDY.—Of course it does. It accounts for the stock not being trucked on the railways. It is beyond my comprehension how any sane man can talk about getting a revenue from the carriage of live stock by railway from Port Augusta to Kalgoorlie. With regard to perishable produce, the position is practically the same. The only revenue that would be obtainable from traffic over the railway would be from the carriage of passengers and mails.

Mr. FOWLER.—The honorable member is too pessimistic.

Mr. KENNEDY.—How is the railway from Melbourne to Sydney—a line only 600 miles in length, which is not more than half the distance from Port Augusta to Kalgoorlie, leaving out of account the distance from Adelaide to Port Augusta—to be regarded as a commercial undertaking? It must be remembered that in Melbourne and Sydney we have two cities with a population of about 500,000 each, while the intervening country is closely settled throughout, and devoted to farming and pastoral pursuits. Yet, notwithstanding these enormous terminal populations, which should insure a large revenue from the carriage of passengers and mails, and the enormous traffic to be picked up at intermediate stations, due to the agricultural and pastoral pursuits followed in the intervening country, that line to-day, after having been open for traffic over twenty years, barely pays interest on the cost of its construction? That being so, I ask what hope is there that a line connecting a town like Adelaide with the mining centres of Western Australia will pay?

Mr. FOWLER.—Western Australia is the best market in the world for farm produce.

Mr. KENNEDY.—The whole population of the State is only about 250,000.

Mr. FOWLER.—There will be millions of people there in a few years.

Mr. LIDDELL.—It will be the most prosperous State of them all.

Mr. KENNEDY.—Undoubtedly; and when it has a population of millions the construction of the proposed railway may be justified. But why should we spend money now to make a line across 600 miles of what, according to Mr. O'Connor, is uninhabited, uncultivated, and waterless country? I understand that on the southern coast of Western Australia there is a fair shelter for steamers of moderate draught; but how is it that there is not even pastoral settlement there?

Mr. WILSON.—Because there is neither water nor feed for stock.

Mr. KENNEDY.—Men have gone from the settled districts of Victoria to the Ord River, and the Cambridge Gulf country; but surely they would have taken up the country on the south coast, which is so much nearer, if it were of any value. The representatives of Western Australia speak of the great advantages which the eastern States will derive from the construction of the proposed Transcontinental Railway; but if the country through which it would pass is so good, why has not its proximity to the sea coast brought about its development? The reasons are that the limestone crops out on the surface; that, according to the information available, the rainfall is only about five inches per annum; and that the country will not keep a rabbit. No matter how many railways were constructed there, that country would never support settlement, unless Nature became more bountiful.

Mr. CARPENTER.—Millions of acres along the route of the proposed line have been applied for, but the land is being withheld for settlement until the construction of the proposed line is authorized.

Mr. KENNEDY.—I see there the hand of the gambler and the land shark again.

Mr. CARPENTER.—The applications I speak of have been made by pastoralists.

Mr. KENNEDY.—Pastoralists are as human, and just as likely to gamble in land, as are other people. Why was not this land taken up twenty years ago, if it is good land? Why was it not taken up as rapidly as the country in the more remote north-western parts of Western Australia,

or as rapidly as the dry country in western New South Wales and Queensland? That country is practically waterless for great portions of the year; but it gives good pasture for stock, and the pastoralists who took it up, have been able to make provision for the conservation of water in it. But, although bores have been put down to a depth of 500 feet along the route of the proposed line, no water has been obtained.

Mr. FOWLER.—Yes; the operations have been very successful.

Mr. DAVID THOMSON.—The water is salt.

Mr. KENNEDY.—It certainly would not pay to condense salt water for stock. The country I speak of has not been settled, because it is unfit for settlement, and has no possibilities of development. I hope that before the discussion closes, other reasons beyond those given by the Government for the introduction of the Bill, will be advanced in support of this proposal to spend £20,000 without the consent of the States, which is required by the Constitution, on an undertaking of this kind. If the construction of a transcontinental line would be such a good thing for Western Australia as those who represent that State allege that it would be, surely so prosperous and wealthy a community could afford to spend £20,000 in surveying the route.

Mr. FOWLER.—The people of Western Australia have treated the people of the eastern States very well.

Mr. KENNEDY.—If they could have obtained better conditions in other markets, the people of Western Australia would not have hesitated to obtain their supplies elsewhere.

Mr. FOWLER.—No. We are patriotic.

Mr. KENNEDY.—Western Australia has been peopled by Victorians and New South Welshmen; but those who have gone there are only human, and if they could have got better treatment elsewhere, they would not have dealt with the traders and produce merchants of the eastern States. I should not have attempted to traverse the possibilities of the line, had it not been for the insistence of the right honorable member for Swan upon his view of the position; I should have been content to rest my case on the undesirableness of the precedent which it is sought to establish.

Mr. FOWLER.—It may be awkward for the honorable member when we come to deal with proposals for Commonwealth irrigation works.

Mr. KENNEDY.—I shall be prepared to deal with all such questions as they arise. I was twitted by some honorable members opposite as to my position in connexion with this proposal, but I told them at the time that I should be able to explain my position, if I were given an opportunity to do so. As I have some further remarks to make, and the hour is late, I ask the Minister of Home Affairs to allow the debate to be adjourned.

Progress reported.

House adjourned at 10.28 p.m.

Senate.

Wednesday, 14 September, 1904.

The PRESIDENT took the chair at 2.30 p.m., and read prayers.

PETITION.

Senator DOBSON presented a petition from the President of the Central Council of Employers of Australia, praying the Senate not to support certain amendments in the Trade Marks Bill.

Petition received and read.

PAPERS.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON laid upon the table the following paper:—

Report of the Royal Commission on the affray at Goaribari Island, British New Guinea.

The CLERK laid upon the table the following paper:—

Return to the order of the Senate of 7th September, 1904, as to the remarks of Major-General Hutton in regard to the Northern Territory.

CASE OF MAJOR CARROLL.

Senator HIGGS (Queensland).—I beg to present the report of the Select Committee on the case of Major Carroll, but as it comprises seventeen or eighteen pages, I do not ask that it be read. I move—

That the report, together with minutes of evidence, appendices, and documents, be printed.

Question resolved in the affirmative.

CONCILIATION AND ARBITRATION BILL.

Bill received from the House of Representatives, and (on motion by Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON) read a first time.

SELECT COMMITTEES.

Senator Lt.-Col. NEILD (New South Wales).—I beg to give notice that to-morrow I shall move—

1. That, in the opinion of this Senate, it is the inherent right of any person, being a party to any matter remitted by this Senate to a Select Committee, to call witnesses in support of his contention, and to cross-examine witnesses who have given evidence against the case submitted by him.

2. That the refusal of any Select Committee appointed by this Senate to permit the calling or cross-examining of witnesses by or on behalf of any person, being a party to a case before such Committee, is a denial of justice, and a refusal of the rights universally accorded by Courts of Law and Parliamentary Committees.

3. That the interests of truth and justice demand that all evidence taken by Committees of this Senate shall be taken upon oath or affirmation.

Senator HIGGS.—I desire to know, sir, whether you can accept a notice of motion of that kind?

The PRESIDENT.—I do not see why I should not.

Senator HIGGS.—It seems to me that the honorable senator is endeavouring to take out of the hands of a certain Select Committee the conduct of its proceedings. The Senate knows nothing of those proceedings.

The PRESIDENT.—The honorable senator ought not to make a speech.

Senator HIGGS.—It seems to me that in this notice of motion the honorable senator is reflecting upon the proceedings of the Select Committee.

The PRESIDENT.—The Senate has a perfect right to reflect upon the proceedings of a Select Committee, at all events after it has reported, and to accept or ignore the report of a Select Committee. A Select Committee has only a delegated power, and I do not think that the notice of motion is out of order. It is general in its terms.

Senator HIGGS.—I submit, sir, that the honorable senator, in giving notice of a motion of that kind, has taken upon himself a duty which no honorable senator has a right to assume. The Senate knows nothing of the proceedings of this Select Committee. It has not yet made a report, but Senator Neild has undertaken to make certain observations concerning its proceedings.

The PRESIDENT.—That is a different point from the one which was originally raised.

Senator Lt.-Col. NEILD.—On the point of order, sir, I desire to state that the notice

of motion is couched in the most general terms, and contains no reference to any particular Select Committee.

The PRESIDENT.—I think that the notice of motion is in order. At all events, at this stage I cannot interfere to prevent it being given; but when it is called on Senator Higgs can raise any point of order which he wishes to submit.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—May I be permitted, sir, to point out that this is entirely an abstract motion. I merely make this remark so that Senator Higgs need not take alarm at a notice of motion which, of course, very greatly concerns questions of parliamentary procedure.

Senator HIGGS.—Every one knows what is intended.

IMMIGRATION RESTRICTION ACT.

Senator PEARCE asked the Attorney-General, *upon notice*—

Is it a fact that the officer administering the Immigration Restriction Act recently discovered nine Chinese stowed away in one of the regular trading steamers running between Fremantle and Singapore; if so, do the Government intend to take precautions to prevent the Act being evaded in the manner attempted?

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—It is a fact, and the Government have taken, and are taking, every available precaution to prevent evasion of the law.

MINISTERIAL STATEMENT.

Debate resumed from 9th September (*vide* page 4401) on motion by Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON—

That the despatch from the Secretary of State for the Colonies, with regard to the adoption of the metric system of weights and measures within the Empire, be printed.

Senator CLEMONS (Tasmania).—I think that you, sir, will agree with me that in a debate of this character any criticism, however strong it may be, directed towards political acts or attitudes, is both reasonable and appropriate. I think also that you, and an overwhelming majority of the Senate, will agree with me in condemning any sort of abuse that is wholly personal in its intent, and in expressing disgust at any exhibition of such execrably bad taste, such as we have heard during the debate, not only in set speech, but by way of interjection. And when such abuse and such an exhibition comes from the honorable senator who, in a very egotistical way, drew attention to the duties and responsibilities of the Vice-President of the

Executive Council, I venture to think that our feelings are necessarily all the more intense. The personal references which were made by Senator McGregor to the Vice-President of the Executive Council, and in a lesser degree to the Attorney-General, ought very properly to have excited a considerable disgust in the minds of every honorable senator who heard them.

Senator MCGREGOR.—Cannot the honorable and learned senator allow them to defend themselves?

Senator CLEMONS.—They are better able to defend themselves than I am to defend them.

Senator MCGREGOR.—Then the honorable and learned senator should not take on the job.

Senator CLEMONS.—I am not making these remarks in order to defend either of the Ministers, but because I feel that the honorable senator has done a lot to drag into the mud our ordinary procedure. Could anything have been more feeble and more contemptible than his personal references to the Ministers? Has the Senate ever heard an interjection so disgusting, so absolutely revolting, as the one which was made by Senator McGregor while an honorable senator on this side was speaking—an interjection which was heard on all sides of the Chamber, but which very fortunately for the good credit of the Senate does not appear in *Hansard*. I do not wish to dwell long on Senator McGregor. But there is another question affecting him that I shall briefly draw attention to. He denied explicitly in his recent speech that he ever announced that he was up for sale. I admit that subsequently he tried to explain the remark away by saying that it was made purely as a joke. Of course it is a very easy exit for a public man when he is challenged with having made a remark which contains absolute evidence of disgrace, to say that he made it jokingly. Such an exit is perfectly easy. But it is not one which a man will use if he wishes either to retain his own self respect or to gain the respect of others. I, as one who heard that remark, say unhesitatingly that the day the honorable senator spoke recently was the first time I ever heard that it was made in a joke. The context, which any honorable senator can read on page 131 of *Hansard*, contains nothing, either before or after the words he used, which could make an ordinary man understand that they were used in joke.

Senator DAWSON.—Does the honorable and learned senator say that seriously?

Senator CLEMONS.—I do. The remark can be read by any one on page 131 of *Hansard*, and if time permitted I should be very glad to read the whole of what Senator McGregor might call the context of the remark. So far from regarding the remark as a piece of jocularity, Senator McGregor has, in his subsequent political career, given evidence more than once that it was not made by way of a joke, but in earnest. I have finished with the honorable senator, and if either he or any of his friends choose to indorse the remark, or to justify it, an opportunity will be afforded presently, I have no doubt.

Senator HIGGS.—But the honorable and learned senator does not interpret that remark to mean that the Labour Party was up for sale for money?

Senator CLEMONS.—I am not talking of money. Is there nothing else but money to consider?

Senator HIGGS.—Does not the honorable and learned senator understand the remark to mean that the Labour Party was up for sale for legislation?

Senator CLEMONS.—If the honorable senator is desirous of explaining the remark I shall be extremely glad if he will do so before the debate is concluded. I take this opportunity, however, to prevent him challenging me unfairly. I have dragged in no question of money, but I repeat that if we follow the subsequent career of Senator McGregor we have every reason for believing that the remark was made, not in joke, but in earnest. I hope that what I have said is clear to Senator Higgs, and if he is going to defend Senator McGregor, I invite him to do so during the course of this debate.

Senator HIGGS.—Yes; but is the honorable and learned senator going to show what Senator McGregor did say?

Senator CLEMONS.—I am not going to deal with the subject any more. I have wasted too much time on it. One of the chief objections which have been raised by many honorable senators on the other side against the combination they look at on this side is based, I believe, on that well-known phrase, "fiscal truce." In the first speech I ever made here—before the Tariff was introduced—I stated most distinctly that, while I, as a free-trader, was afraid that, in the hands of a protectionist Government, we should find that it would be a protec-

tionist Tariff, yet I declared, even at that early stage, that I should be no party to re-opening the discussion for many years to come, no matter in what form the Tariff might emerge from the Parliament. My conscience is perfectly clear on the question of a fiscal truce. I am still against re-opening the discussion on the Tariff.

Senator GIVENS.—No matter how bad it may be?

Senator CLEMONS.—I admit that it is bad, and I do not think that any one holds that opinion more strongly than I do. I shall state the reason why I object to re-opening the discussion. Let us admit, for the sake of argument, that we, on this side of the Chamber, are all born dullards. But will not my honorable friends opposite recognise that dull as we may be, our source of instruction is a very good one? We have excellent teachers on the other side, and is it wonderful that we have learnt their lesson? Having such instructors, is it a source of astonishment even to honorable senators opposite, that we have decided to adopt their own methods? What has been the position during the history of the Federal Parliament? We have been forced to recognise this—that my honorable friends opposite, with all their profound investigation of questions of economy, have decided in their wholly indifferent way that the Tariff is a mere detail to them.

Senator DE LARGIE.—Did the honorable senator tell the electors of Tasmania, when he was before them, that he would take up that attitude?

Senator CLEMONS.—At the time when I sought election, I undoubtedly stood as a free-trader. Previous to the last election, when the Tariff debates were all over, I said at every place where I spoke that it was my intention to go for what we called fiscal peace, and that, so far as I was concerned, the Tariff discussions were at an end. I do not pretend that I do not regret the Tariff that was passed, but while it must not be imagined that I deviate a hair's breadth from my opinions on free-trade, I do not intend to depart from the view which I expressed previous to the last general election, that, so far as I was concerned, the Tariff was out of the way. I said just now that dull as we may be, we are capable of learning from our opponents when we have in them such excellent teachers. Every one has seen in the present Parliament that the Labour Party, being able to set aside the question

of free-trade and protection as one of comparative indifference, has gained great strength thereby. We propose to learn a lesson from their book. If they object, they must object to their own teaching first before they object to the lesson which we have learnt.

Senator MCGREGOR.—When the honorable and learned senator loses free-trade, where is his policy?

Senator CLEMONS.—We have other matters to consider besides protection and free-trade, and we do not intend to allow a division of opinion in our own ranks to throw greater strength into the hands of the party opposite. That is the view of honorable senators on this side. While I am discussing fiscal peace, it may not be inappropriate to make some remarks about the new alliance, about which we hear and read so much. If any one party is going to get an advantage from that alliance, it must be from a fiscal surrender on the part of a section. The proposition is that certain disaffected protectionists shall join in alliance with the Labour Party. I am not going to credit an astute man like Mr. Isaacs with a desire for self-annihilation, nor do I imagine that he is anxious to be absorbed wholly into even such excellent ranks as I see opposite. That being so, the position is not the acceptance of fiscal peace on the part of members of the Labour Party, but an absolute fiscal surrender on the part of men like Senators Pearce and Dawson.

Senator DAWSON.—Why?

Senator PEARCE.—There is no surrender of principle on my part.

Senator CLEMONS.—I have not said that. I have not such a mean opinion of Senator Pearce as to think that he is going to surrender his free-trade principles. But I put the point before him as a possible proposition, not as an insult.

Senator DAWSON.—The honorable senator has used my name in connexion with a fiscal surrender. I ask why?

Senator CLEMONS.—The honorable senator's previous record during the Tariff discussions justified me in the assumption that he was a free-trader.

Senator DAWSON.—The honorable and learned senator has no justification for saying so.

Senator CLEMONS.—Then I withdraw the remark with the greatest pleasure; and it shows how easily Senator Dawson can deceive us, because so far as his votes were

concerned—so far as they could be taken as an indication of his views—I submit that on analysis they would make it clear to an ordinary man that he was rather a free-trader than a protectionist.

Senator DAWSON.—I said over and over again that I did not believe in any of your shibboleths.

Senator CLEMONS.—I know that some of the honorable senator's party rejoice in the name of "fiscal atheists." I am sorry, however, that Senator Dawson should take such a very poor view of questions of political economy as to set up the absolute negation of a fiscal atheism. But let me go back to the proposed alliance. To my mind it involves on the part of the free-trade members of the party opposite, not merely an advocacy of a fiscal truce, but a positive change from free-trade to protection.

Senator GIVENS.—How does the honorable and learned senator make that out?

Senator CLEMONS. — Surely Senator Givens has followed my argument. I have pointed out that if such an astute man as Mr. Isaacs—and though Senator Givens is a new member of this Parliament, I have no doubt that he knows that Mr. Isaacs is generally spoken of as an astute man—is going to allow himself to be absorbed in the party of which Senator Givens is a member, that process of absorption will not take place unless Mr. Isaacs gets something in the nature of a *quid pro quo*. We all know what he wants. The thing is as plain as anything can be. The letters are in large type. Mr. Isaacs wants a protectionist revival. How is Mr. Isaacs going to hope for that if he is to look for support for that movement from members like Senator Pearce, and half a dozen others in the House of Representatives who hold similar principles? I do not wish to labour that point, but side by side with it stands another matter which has been mentioned in the course of this debate. That is the question of preferential trade. The present Government has been ridiculed—I do not say that the ridicule was effective, but I have heard attempts to ridicule it—because of its attitude on that question. Any one who is conversant with the present state of the movement for preferential trade in England will know that the most recent development in connexion with it has taken the form of a proposition for the holding of a Colonial Conference. To go back a little, I may say that one of the initial difficulties on the part of the Commonwealth

of Australia in the matter of preferential trade is this: that there is no authority in England at the present time that the Federal Parliament could approach. The author of the scheme is Mr. Chamberlain. The scheme has not been supported by the Ministry in the House of Commons, and it could scarcely be urged, I suppose, that this Parliament or the Commonwealth Government could approach a private individual, who is not even a Minister at present, with regard to the scheme. But what I wish to draw special attention to is this fact—and I do not suppose it will be denied—that the present view of England on this question is strongly favorable to free-trade. On the other side, we are confronted by the fact that the present view of the Commonwealth, as exhibited by its Tariff, is favorable to protection. Now, it has recently been urged in England, with a great deal of force, that there are two ideas involved in this preferential trade scheme. One—and the dominant one, the ostensibly dominant one, at any rate, and I believe, really, the dominant one in Mr. Chamberlain's mind—is the idea of Imperial unity. Side by side with that we find, of course, the idea of an economic revolt—a change from one fiscal scheme to the other. I admit that freely, but I do say this—and I suppose that no one in the Senate will deny it, whether he be a protectionist or otherwise—that of those two schemes—the one of Imperial unity and the other the change from free-trade to protection—the more important is the former, the principle of Imperial unity. So far as Great Britain is concerned, it is fairly safe to prophesy that at the next election the result will be that the free-traders will come into power. But I do not say, therefore, that the scheme of preferential trade will be finally disposed of. We must, however, recognise the fact that it necessarily—absolutely necessarily—implies a sacrifice. If we are going to realize the great idea of a power binding the whole Empire together in commercial bonds of peace, we must also recognise, whether we live in England or Australia, that some sacrifice must be made to insure it. The sacrifices to be made in a bargain between England and Australia—because, after all, it will be in the nature of a bargain—would not be one-sided. Surely the strongest protectionists amongst us are not going to insist that there shall be no surrender as far as we are concerned, and no sacrifice? Are we

Senator Clemons.

going to say to the people of England, who, as we know, cherish so strong a determination to have free food and free raw material, that if we do make a sacrifice in order to realize this idea of Imperial unity by consenting to the taxation of their food and raw material, we, on our side, will make no sacrifice whatever? And this is the root of the whole matter—the sacrifice that will have to be made. Senator Styles has more than once spoken upon this subject in the Senate. He has endeavoured to assure us that he is dominated with the idea of Imperial unity, and Imperial expansion. But at the same time we know—some of us to our cost—that he is a very hearty protectionist.

Senator O'KEEFE.—Why must there necessarily be a sacrifice on our part?

Senator CLEMONS.—I say that if we are going to realize this idea of Imperial unity there must be sacrifice on both sides.

Senator O'KEEFE.—Cannot we have preferential trade by raising our duties against the foreigner?

Senator CLEMONS.—I do not think it is difficult to answer a question of that sort. But let me go back a little. If the English Parliament in a few years is going to attempt to bring about this idea of Imperial unity by means of preferential trade, I say again that a sacrifice will inevitably be necessary on the part of the British people. Because no protectionist, even in Australia, will, for a moment, think that the British people will consider that the taxing of food and of raw material is not in the nature of a sacrifice. Even protectionists in the Senate will remember that some of their number, like Senator de Largie, when we were discussing the Tariff, regarded taxes on food which affected the gold-fields as in the nature of a sacrifice. Protectionist as he may call himself, he never failed to vote for free food whenever he had an opportunity.

Senator DE LARGIE.—If I were in the old country to-day, I should take up the same attitude with regard to duties on food.

Senator CLEMONS.—That is what I am saying. I am putting this as an example. When protectionists, even in Australia, object to taxing food, surely it will be recognised that the mass of the English people will regard the taxing of food and raw material as a serious sacrifice on their part.

Senator STYLES.—Mr. Chamberlain says that there will be no loss.

Senator CLEMONS.—It is clear that a sacrifice on both sides is necessary if this scheme of preferential trade is going to eventuate. And if we recognise that a sacrifice has to be made by Great Britain we must also recognise that a sacrifice must be made here. Is there any possible sacrifice except that which is to come from the reduction of duties? I see none. Senator O'Keefe has asked why we could not raise duties against the foreigner. We might by that means accord an infinitesimal preference to Great Britain. But it cannot be claimed that we are making any sacrifice in that direction; and if the demand for Imperial unity has any weight or force, it cannot be met merely by increasing duties against the foreigner.

Senator GIVENS.—Is the honorable senator in favour of preferential trade?

Senator CLEMONS.—If Senator Givens has not been able to gather my opinions from the remarks which I have made I am afraid that I shall have to leave the subject. I am going to deal with other questions, which more closely concern him. I do not know whether Senator Givens professes to be a protectionist or a free-trader, but I am going to deal with subjects that perhaps will interest him more closely. I have noticed several times in this chamber that members of the Labour Party have endeavoured to cause something like ridicule, or to bring into contempt some of us on the other side, by applying to us epithets such as "conservative." That is a common gibe.

Senator GUTHRIE.—Do not the honorable and learned senator's party adopt the same tactics?

Senator CLEMONS.—I do not. Is there any more justice in calling me a conservative than there would be, from my point of view, if I called Senator Guthrie an anarchist? But I do not do that.

Senator GUTHRIE.—Because I am not one.

Senator CLEMONS.—The truth of the matter is that one statement is exactly as true as the other would be; and while I should never attempt to cast ridicule at my opponents, or to bring contempt upon them by calling them anarchists, I certainly do object to being called a conservative. I resent it.

Senator HIGGS.—Does not the honorable and learned senator wish to conserve things which are good?

Senator CLEMONS.—I am not going into details. While an attempt has been

made to ridicule us by calling us conservatives, I notice that honorable senators on the other side rejoice complacently in the title of democrat. Have they any private patent right to the use of the term "democrat?" What do they mean by calling themselves a democracy? They mean simply this: That if they know anything of our Constitution and our franchise, they express their loyalty to both. So do I. I recognise that we in Australia, living under the most democratic Constitution to be found in the civilized world, and having the widest franchise that any Constitution has ever put into legislative form—

Senator FINDLEY.—Thanks to the Labour Party, not to the Conservative Party.

Senator CLEMONS.—Does the honorable senator impugn my loyalty to the Constitution? Unless he does he must recognise that the title of democrat, as implying loyalty to the democratic Constitution under which we live, and consequently to the principles under which we think we ought to be governed, is as much mine as his. As to the principles under which our Constitution and franchise have been framed, and by which we think the people should be governed, that is quite another question. On that point we may get at issue. My honorable friends opposite, I believe, now admit that the principles by which they think the people should be governed are the principles of Socialism.

Senator FINDLEY.—Trust the people.

Senator CLEMONS.—Precisely. I hope that I can consider Socialism not as a crime, or as a political creed to be ashamed of. I do not look at it in that way. I may tell honorable senators what I think when I hear the word "Socialism" used. I recognise that if there is a persistent cry on the part of a large number of people for Socialism there must be either a real evil which requires redress, or an imaginary evil, in which case the imagination should be cleared. I am not prepared to say, in the state of politics in Australia at the present time, that there is a real evil. Honorable senators opposite say that there is an evil, and I admit that the cry for Socialism is an indication of it. They say further that the remedy and certain cure for the evil is Socialism, and there I fail to agree with them. I say it is not. I say that that remedy is as bad as the disease, if the people are diseased.

Senator DOBSON.—It is a great deal worse.

Senator CLEMONS.—I do not agree with Senator Dobson in taking an absolutely extreme view of these things.

Senator GUTHRIE.—Senator Dobson has no other remedy to offer.

Senator CLEMONS.—If I pride myself upon anything it is upon a willingness to frankly state my views. I pride myself upon being a Liberal. I prefer, as a remedy, for the evils of the State, whether real or imaginary, not merely the enunciation, but the practical operation also of liberal principles. I suppose that the cause of the cry of Socialism is in the minds of honorable senators opposite an idea that labour is unequally treated, that the distribution of the world's wealth is unfair, and that the capitalist gets more than he ought. The remedy submitted by honorable senators opposite for these things is Socialism, and I say that it is a bad one. Senator Guthrie has asked what other remedy might be suggested, and I venture to suggest one which might be found to be worth trying, and that is a system of co-operation.

Senator GIVENS.—That is Socialism.

Senator GUTHRIE.—What is the difference?

Senator CLEMONS.—I can tell the honorable senator what the difference is. Co-operation does this, at any rate: it respects and preserves the economic value of both capital and labour. Does Senator Guthrie differ from that? I know of no scheme of co-operation that would fail in that way. I can tell the honorable senator also what Socialism does, or tends to do. It tends, and I suppose honorable senators opposite will admit it at once, to destroy capital.

Senator DE LARGIE.—Not at all; merely to destroy capitalists. There is a great distinction.

Senator CLEMONS.—Very well, I will alter it to that. And I can show honorable senators that it comes to exactly the same thing. Socialism, then, tends to prevent the distribution of capital. It proposes, in the ultimate end, to put all capital into the hands of the State as a whole.

Senator GIVENS.—That is the whole people.

Senator CLEMONS.—The ultimate object of Socialism is to make the State the only capitalist. Honorable senators must admit that if that is the object it must necessarily follow, if it is pursued to its ultimate end, that the tendency must be to destroy capitalism in individual hands.

Senator HENDERSON.—Hear, hear.

Senator CLEMONS.—Very well, the that is what I object to. I say that if we confine all capital to the State, we shall be doing the State an irretrievable injury. I say that if we do not allow individuals fair and equal opportunity to become capitalists—and I am no advocate for the capitalist—we shall be doing the State an incalculable harm.

Senator DE LARGIE.—They could be wealth-owners without being capitalists.

Senator CLEMONS.—I have not yet finished with my explanation of the difference between co-operation and Socialism. I say that co-operation preserves the economic value of capital and labour. I may say that Socialism destroys the capitalist, and honorable senators opposite please. But I further say, that Socialism degrades labour.

Senator FINDLEY.—What evidence do you have, the honorable and learned senator for that statement?

Senator DE LARGIE.—The poor State servants, for instance.

Senator CLEMONS.—That is just the sort of interjection which Senator Findley should not have made. Suppose I ask the honorable senator, in return, what evidence can he find, in the whole world's history, of the success of a single socialistic system.

Senator FINDLEY.—The Post Office.

Senator CLEMONS.—I am not speaking of a single example of State Socialism in any community that is not socialistic. I ask the honorable senators opposite if they can tell me where in the history of the world there is to be found an example of a successful socialistic community?

Senator GUTHRIE.—There has been an opportunity to have the principle tried.

Senator DOBSON.—Any number of attempts made have failed.

Senator CLEMONS.—Perhaps I can tell Senator Guthrie that Socialism, which the honorable senator and his party have introduced to Australia as the new panacea for all evils, is older than almost any other scheme of politics which we can trace. It was exploded thousands of years ago.

Senator DE LARGIE.—Where?

Senator CLEMONS.—If Senator De Largie will read the history of Socialism affecting political legislation, he will find that it was tried thousands of years ago.

Senator DE LARGIE.—The honorable senator is referring to Communism, and not to State Socialism.

Senator CLEMONS.—I am referring to Socialism in all its various phases, and to the various attempts made during the history of the world for thousands of years to establish it. Wherever such an attempt has been made, it has been a disastrous and ghastly failure. Though it has been a failure in the past, it is just possible that our honorable friends opposite have some new form of Socialism which will be a success, but I venture to think that they have not made such a discovery.

Senator HIGGS.—Would the honorable and learned senator mind describing for honorable senators a socialistic State in the sense in which he understands the term?

Senator CLEMONS.—That is not my particular province. Why should I anticipate the remarks of Senator Higgs? The honorable senator is especially well qualified, not only to describe a socialistic State, but to paint it in beautiful colours, and I must hesitate to undertake a task to which I am sure I could not do the same justice.

Senator HIGGS.—We desire to know whether the honorable and learned senator's ideas of a socialistic State is the same as ours?

Senator CLEMONS.—I have not any idea of a socialistic State.

Senator GUTHRIE.—The honorable and learned senator has pictured one.

Senator CLEMONS.—I have not pictured any. I have made some simple statements with respect to the theory of Socialism, which, for the most part, have been admitted by honorable senators opposite. My object has been to come to level terms with honorable senators, in order that we may not be at cross purposes.

Senator GUTHRIE.—Where have the failures occurred to which the honorable and learned senator has referred?

Senator CLEMONS.—Where have been the successes? That is a sufficient answer to the honorable senator. I say that, from the earliest history of the world down to 1904, honorable senators can find no instance of a successful socialistic community.

Senator GUTHRIE.—Where have been the failures?

Senator CLEMONS.—They are to be found on almost every page of history.

Senator GUTHRIE.—Will the honorable and learned senator point to one.

Senator CLEMONS.—I do not propose to do so.

Senator GUTHRIE.—Because the honorable and learned senator cannot do so.

Senator CLEMONS.—Does Senator Guthrie say that no previous attempts have been made?

Senator GUTHRIE.—No.

Senator CLEMONS.—Then the honorable senator is sufficiently answered when he can point to no successful attempt. If there have been successful attempts made, where have they been made?

Senator DAWSON.—Where has an attempt been made?

Senator CLEMONS.—If Senator Dawson will only read history he will find that a number of trials of the principle have been made. What we propose to do now is to prevent honorable senators opposite making this old experiment in Australia.

Senator PEARCE.—Does the honorable and learned senator object to the socialistic railway system?

Senator CLEMONS.—I have laboured the point long enough, and if Senator Pearce will allow me I shall deal with other matters.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—That is not socialistic.

Senator CLEMONS.—If Senator Pearce wants an answer I may tell him that I have always recognised that in certain matters the State may properly interfere. It may do so, for instance, with respect to questions of public health and disease.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—We cannot employ private enterprise for railways of development.

Senator DE LARGIE.—That is our policy.

Senator CLEMONS.—If honorable senators opposite will stick to that, and will allow the State to interfere only with regard to questions of public health and disease, I shall be with them all the time, and they will have no more active co-operator in that kind of Socialism than they will find in me. I propose now to deal with another question. We have had a great deal of talk with regard to the caucus. Senator McGregor has given us the planks of the present platform of the Labour Party. Other honorable senators have indignantly denied that the caucus does anything. The contention is that the platform of the Labour Party is well established, and that the planks with regard to the present Parliament are seven. It has been argued that they received the approval and indorsement of a large number of electors outside, and that there was therefore nothing for the caucus to do. First of

all, I do not believe that the caucus does nothing. There must be a flaw in the argument somewhere.

Senator MCGREGOR.—It has to watch the honorable and learned senator.

Senator CLEMONS.—I know what the caucus has to do. It is easy for honorable senators to say that they have got their direction. I admit that that is so when they say it. They say that they require no caucus at all, because the labour organizations outside have indicated the direction in which they must go.

Senator PEARCE.—We do not say that the caucus has no work to do.

Senator CLEMONS.—I propose to give honorable senators my idea of what the caucus does.

Senator GIVENS. — The honorable and learned senator is going to draw upon his imagination.

Senator CLEMONS.—If what I say is only imagination I hope that Senator Givens will correct me. I desire that there should be a clear understanding between us. I take it that the caucus is not required in the least degree to give effect to the policy of honorable senators opposite, so far as the seven planks of the labour platform to which I have referred are concerned.

Senator PEARCE.—That is not so.

Senator CLEMONS.—Is there not a higher authority than the caucus?

Senator PEARCE.—Yes; the people outside.

Senator CLEMONS.—That is exactly what I am saying.

Senator GUTHRIE.—The electors.

Senator CLEMONS.—Yes, I am content to make the term as wide as honorable senators please. The electors have directed seven planks of the labour platform.

Senator PEARCE.—They have not dealt with any details.

Senator CLEMONS.—Senator Pearce has only anticipated what I proposed to say. The electors have indicated directions, but I wish to emphasize the fact that between direction and distance there is a vast difference. The electors may tell the members of the Labour Party that they desire them to legislate with regard to seven definite principles, and the Labour Party agree to do so; but do the electors tell members of the Labour Party how far they wish them to go with each of the measures introduced to give effect to the seven planks of the platform?

Senator DAWSON.—No; they trust us in the matter.

Senator GIVENS.—We told the electors how far we would go when we asked them for their votes.

Senator CLEMONS.—I say that the caucus determines the distance to which honorable senators opposite shall go.

Senator PEARCE.—Hear, hear.

Senator CLEMONS.—That is the sort of thing we object to. I draw this distinction that when the main principles of a Bill are settled, we do not submit a draft of the measure to any electors, and yet, as every honorable senator knows, in the framing of a Bill there is immense scope, subject to its title, for divergence with regard to detail. Take the instance of the Labour Party's view of a White Australia.

Senator GUTHRIE.—Take the instance of the Trade Marks Bill, which now provides for a trade union mark.

Senator CLEMONS. — I take the strong instance of the "six hatters" provision in the "White Australia" Act. We know that the Labour Party did not intend that the six hatters provision should be included in that measure.

Senator PEARCE.—Yes, they did.

Senator CLEMONS.—I admit that I have not quoted the title of the Act, which did not contain a word about colour.

Senator GUTHRIE.—It is an Immigration Act.

Senator CLEMONS.—It used to be called the "Alien Immigration Act," but it subsequently received a title which is absolutely repulsive in many aspects, and which would appear to be an absolute absurdity when we consider the condition of affairs in Australia at the present time. It was subsequently called the "Immigration Restriction Act." If this Parliament had passed an Immigration Encouragement Act, it might have been proud of it.

Senator STYLES.—What is meant is only the restriction of undesirable immigrants.

Senator CLEMONS.—I propose to deal with the question of undesirable immigrants, but I am now dealing with the six hatters provision. We all know the history of it. The desire for it arose from a determination, which was not limited by any means to honorable senators opposite, to prevent the importation into Australia at the time of a strike of any body of labourers—in other words, to prevent any capitalists using an unfair weapon. Every member of the Senate was with honorable

senators of the Labour Party in that desire, but the section did not ultimately have only that effect. As we all know now, its effect is to absolutely prohibit any ordinary working man from coming into Australia under contract unless there is a special exemption in his favour on the ground that he is a representative of skilled labour required in the Commonwealth.

Senator O'KEEFE.—Did not every member of the House of Representatives know that when the proposal was made?

Senator CLEMONS.—I am concerned only with what occurred in the Senate.

Senator O'KEEFE.—But the honorable and learned senator says that we did not know what the effect of the section would be.

Senator STANFORTH SMITH.—I ask the honorable and learned senator whether any person on this planet has been kept out of Australia by reason of that particular section of the Act?

Senator CLEMONS.—I have no positive information from any person in England that he has been prevented from coming to Australia by the existence of the section, but I am still absolutely certain that hundreds, and possibly thousands, of persons have been deterred from emigrating to Australia by the section.

Senator GUTHRIE.—That is in the pages of history, too, I suppose?

Senator CLEMONS.—That is an ordinary sort of inference which even a man of Senator Guthrie's mental capacity might be expected to make. I say that we know what the effect of the six hatters section has been. I believe that the original object was merely to prevent any number of men being introduced in the case of a strike.

Senator PEARCE.—It was intended to prevent men coming out under contract—just what it says.

Senator CLEMONS.—I accept the honorable senator's statement gladly. The real object of the section was to prevent men being introduced at the time of a strike, but some honorable senators, including Senator Pearce, further intended that it should be used to prevent men being introduced under contract.

Senator O'KEEFE. — And that was endorsed by members of all parties in the House of Representatives.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—Nothing of the kind.

Senator CLEMONS.—I have dealt with the first object which the section was intended to secure, and so far as that is concerned, I say that there was absolute unanimity in the Senate. We are now told that it was also the object of the section to prevent people being introduced under contract.

Senator TURLEY.—Hear, hear.

Senator CLEMONS.—I ask Senator Turley why he objects to men being introduced under contract? I know the honorable senator will answer that we desire that only free men should come here. What does the honorable senator mean by that? Does he mean that we do not want anything in the nature of slavery.

Senator GIVENS.—We do not want men under a bond.

Senator CLEMONS.—I accept that.

Senator GIVENS.—We want them to make their bargains when they know the conditions.

Senator CLEMONS.—That is not what honorable senators wanted. They desired that men should not be brought out to Australia under contract. From the legislative point of view is there anything objectionable in a contract?

Senator GIVENS.—If the parties are not aware of the whole of the circumstances, there is.

Senator CLEMONS.—Will honorable senators opposite say that a man living in Australia, and entering into a contract, has put himself into bonds, or has done anything to interfere with his freedom?

Senator GIVENS.—He knows the conditions.

Senator CLEMONS.—Honorable senators admit that he does not. Yet some of them, who speak of Imperial unity, and of their loyalty in connexion with preferential trade, will contend that, while a man in Australia, who enters into a contract to do work, does nothing to affect his independence, or to make him less respected in their eyes, that that which is in every sense right for a man in Australia, becomes in every sense wrong, if it is a man in England who makes the contract. The whole essence of their contention is that a contract made elsewhere is bad, and that all contracts must be made here.

Senator O'KEEFE. — The honorable and learned senator is not stating our contention fairly.

Senator CLEMONS.—I am stating the case absolutely fairly. The Labour Party say that a contract made here is right and defensible, but that a contract made in

England is wrong and indefensible, and that the contractee puts himself in the bonds of slavery. Their argument is sheer nonsense.

Senator PEARCE.—We say that the contract is wrong, because the man does not know the local conditions.

Senator CLEMONS.—Why should he not take that risk?

Senator PEARCE.—Because it is not fair either to himself or to the men with whom he has to compete.

Senator CLEMONS.—A proposition was made in the Senate to modify this provision. It was urged that if it was intended to interfere with the right of contract simply because it was going to be made in England and not in Australia, at any rate honorable senators, on the other side, could have no fair reason to justify them, in the eyes of Australia, in refusing to insert a proviso that men of forethought and prudence who wished to secure themselves from starvation or the risk of it, could make a contract in England, but that in order not to injure any working man in Australia, it should be subject to this express condition that the rate of wages to be paid should be the highest rate paid in Australia in connexion with that particular employment. That proposition was made here, and rejected by the Labour Party. If they say that it was not made, and was not rejected, will they consent to have the section so modified now?

Senator PEARCE.—The rate of wages is not the only condition.

Senator CLEMONS.—Then there are other conditions.

Senator PEARCE.—Yes, for instance the hours of labour.

Senator CLEMONS.—Surely the honorable senator does not imagine I am quibbling in regard to the terms of the contract. I am perfectly willing to agree that it should be made subject to, not only the rates of wages paid here, but also the hours of labour worked here. Did the Labour Party refuse to insert that proviso in the measure? And if they did, will they accept such a proposition now?

Senator GUTHRIE.—Let the honorable and learned senator introduce a Bill, and then we shall tell him.

Senator CLEMONS.—Have not my honorable friends the pluck to say what they think on the subject? Why do they ask me to introduce a Bill? Why do they masquerade before the people of Australia as

persons who are desirous of encouraging immigration when their policy is to restrict it?

Senator GUTHRIE.—Because we have had experience of men who have fallen in under the contract system.

Senator CLEMONS.—I shall tell the Labour Party exactly what I think of their notion about immigration. I could point to many more cases which have the direct effect of restricting rather than encouraging immigration.

Senator DAWSON.—Do I understand from the honorable and learned senator that if he had an opportunity he would vote for the repeal of the provision relating to contract labour?

Senator CLEMONS.—I should not allow any men to be brought in here for the purpose of settling a strike, but as in the meantime the Labour Party have taken other precautions to prevent strikes, perhaps they do not consider that important. As that proviso is not in the Act, if I had the opportunity of voting with a majority I should do my best to repeal that provision, and if ever a chance comes I shall.

Senator FINDLEY.—Does the honorable and learned senator think that persons ought to be allowed to come in under contract, when Australians are walking about and eating the bread of idleness?

Senator WALKER.—Because they will not work for less than 7s. 6d. per day.

Senator CLEMONS.—I wish to deal with a plank of the Labour Party's platform that we have heard much about. It struck me as very curious that it is called the restriction of borrowing. I understand that if they are restored to power they will introduce a Banking Bill, and that it will provide for taking 40 per cent. of the fixed deposits of the banks. Is that quite consistent with the plank which is called restriction of public borrowing?

Senator GUTHRIE.—That is not borrowing.

Senator CLEMONS.—What is it? If it is not borrowing it must be a forced loan. It is either taking or confiscation. Let my honorable friends make their choice.

Senator DE LARGIE.—It is making use of idle capital.

Senator CLEMONS.—If my honorable friends wish to be consistent they have to say that it is not borrowing, because they intend to restrict public borrowing.

Senator PEARCE.—It is not the kind of borrowing that the banks practised in 1893 anyhow.

Senator CLEMONS.—We are not dealing with that question, but with this prominent plank in the platform of the Labour Party. Are they not ridiculously inconsistent when they talk about restricting public borrowing, while they intend to borrow millions from the banks? Or do they not stand absolutely exposed before the people as being anxious for confiscation? Which of the two is it? It must be either one or the other, for there is no alternative.

Senator DAWSON.—Oh, yes, there is.

Senator CLEMONS.—I should be very glad to hear what it is.

Senator DAWSON.—It is the density of the men on the other side.

Senator CLEMONS.—I am very pleased that we have cleared up that little point. I wish to explain why I am sitting on this side, and why, generally speaking, I am against honorable senators on the other side. I have already indicated that if I have any ambition it is to realize as fully as I can the idea of a Liberal. I intend to support the present Administration because I believe that it is a Liberal Government. And not being a member of a caucus, I intend not to support the Government if ever I find that it is attempting legislatively to do anything which I consider is not liberal. I do not contemplate that contingency arising, but not being a member of a caucus, and being a member of a party which supports the Government, because we believe in its principles, I, to a certain extent, am independent. I regard Liberalism first of all as essentially a political creed of expansion. The main object of every Liberal is to adapt himself to our always changing environment. Another feature of Liberalism, is that it holds out hope to everybody. It is full of hope, not to one class, but to every class. The chief merit of Liberalism is that it is ever expanding. But the creed of my honorable friends opposite means a retrogression towards notions which were exploded years ago. It is also to me a cheerless creed, because it destroys hope to the individual.

Senator PEARCE.—We can get up a lot of enthusiasm anyhow.

Senator CLEMONS.—In their misguided way my honorable friends can. It presents itself to me as a creed which destroys hope. It is also an endeavour to make political men mere peas in the same political pod. It is because I hold these views that I am forced to oppose my honorable friends on the other side, and I am glad

to stand on this side, where I believe Liberal principles will have full play.

Senator DE LARGIE (Western Australia).—I notice that the last two speakers from the other side prefaced their speeches with a lecturette on bad taste. I do not know why honorable senators on this side should be continually lectured on that subject, because this debate, so far as it has gone, has shown that there is quite as much room for improvement on the other side as on this side. During this debate, we have had references made to honorable senators on this side, and even challenges thrown out to "come outside," with the very liberal saving clause, "if I were only younger."

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—There has not been a word of personality uttered on this side in this debate.

Senator DE LARGIE.—There has. Although an honorable senator on the other side used the words, "absolutely false," in reply to an interjection by Senator Henderson, which, I think, was absolutely correct, still it is only honorable senators on this side who have to be lectured on their bad taste. I do not know that any one of us has ever posed as a model of good behaviour.

Senator Sir WILLIAM ZEAL.—Hear, hear.

Senator DE LARGIE.—I feel quite sure that we shall not take as our model the honorable senator, because all he can do is to lecture.

Senator Sir WILLIAM ZEAL.—God forbid that I should take the honorable senator as a model.

Senator DE LARGIE. — I am afraid that the honorable senator is a very poor practiser. He has not given any signs of ability to teach, but he is always very ready to lecture.

Senator PEARCE.—He always kept the State Legislative Council in order.

The PRESIDENT.—Order! I must ask honorable senators not to make so many interjections.

Senator DE LARGIE.—I do not desire to create any ill-feeling, but merely to point out that there is quite as much need for honorable senators on the other side to see to their behaviour. We are all more or less tempted to be personal at certain times, but I think that when our attention is called to our remarks, we can modify our language and express our views strongly enough without hurting the feelings of any one. I avail myself of this opportunity to

discuss the policy of the Government. At this moment it is somewhat hard to say what it is.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—It is pretty plain.

Senator DE LARGIE.—The speech of the Attorney-General did not contain very much information about the policy of the Government, but the remarks made outside Parliament indicate what it really is. If it is a policy of one thing more than another, it is a policy of anti-Socialism. Time and again the Prime Minister is reported to have said that the policy of the Government and the cause of its existence is to fight Socialism. I hope that we shall have that straight-out issue placed before the country. There can be no doubt that, sooner or later, it must be remitted to the electors, and the Labour Party are very anxious that they shall be asked to vote on Socialism *versus* anti-Socialism. There is no indication, however, at the present time that, in their legislation, the Government intend to be anti-Socialistic. But I hope that their proposals will bear that hall-mark. I hope that the new Postmaster-General will attempt to repeal the provision which provides for the employment of white labour on our mail boats. And I trust that when he is finished with that little job he will attempt to anti-Socialize the Post Office, because there was a time when it was run by private enterprise.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—Not in Australia.

Senator DE LARGIE.—No; in England. Let the Government show that they have the courage of their convictions by proposing to hand over the Post Office to private enterprise. And when that is done perhaps our attention may be directed to the removal of all kinds of bonuses.

Senator DOBSON.—Does the honorable senator think that the control of the Post Office is really at issue between the two parties?

Senator DE LARGIE.—It is for the honorable and learned senator to say what anti-Socialism is. If he is a Christian Socialist, as he has said, he cannot support this Government.

Senator DOBSON.—No Government would suggest such a thing as having anti-Socialism in connexion with the Post Office.

Senator DE LARGIE.—I wish the Government to give their definition of what anti-Socialism is. I know what the honorable and learned senator's definition is, because he has said that he is a Christian

Socialist. If he subscribes to that policy he must sooner or later find himself within the ranks of the Labour Party. I also hope that the new Minister of Trade and Customs will give the gentlemen in Flinders-lane a free hand to practise the form of private enterprise which was so much in vogue before Mr. Kingston took charge of the Department. I hope that he will have the Customs duties farmed out in such a way that the private enterpriser will be able to work his own sweet will again in that direction.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—Does the honorable senator really hope that?

Senator DE LARGIE.—I hope that the Attorney-General will give them an opportunity.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—Oh, no.

Senator DE LARGIE.—I hope that the honorable and learned senator will bring forward measures which will give us an opportunity to resist the Government's policy of anti-Socialism. I also hope that the new Minister of Trade and Customs will give a free hand to the butter enterprisers—Bartram and Co., Dunn and Co. I hope that the control of private enterprise will be again restored to these firms. If I were a private enterpriser I should object very much to the policy of the Government as announced. The private enterprise of the butter-bonus agents is quite as important as private enterprise in other branches of industry. A significant feature is that neither the Prime Minister nor the Minister of Trade and Customs has referred to Old-Age Pensions, but it has been hinted by the Attorney-General that some consideration is to be given to that subject. I do not take that to be anti-Socialism.

Senator MCGREGOR.—Does the honorable senator think that the Government are in earnest?

Senator DE LARGIE.—Whether they are in earnest or not, I suppose we shall hear something about the subject from them. I wish also to say a few words in reference to compulsory arbitration, especially in reply to the remarks made by Senator Gray. I am pleased that we are to have an opportunity to consider the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill. I thought that, considering the attitude of the Government upon this question, they would have dropped that measure. But they have gone on with it in opposition to their proclaimed political principles.

Senator DOBSON.—The honorable senator's leader dropped it.

Senator DAWSON.—Our party did not drop it, but said that they washed their hands of it.

Senator DE LARGIE.—That is a distinction without a difference. Senator Gray said that the English trade unionists were opposed to the principle of compulsory arbitration, and he seemed to think that that is a reason why we should follow their example. But he ought to know that there are many great principles with regard to which we differ from the leaders of the English trade unionists. The fiscal question is a case in point. The majority of the trade unionists and of the working classes in England are in favour of free-trade. I dare say that if I were in Scotland again I also should be opposed to any duties upon the food of the people. The situation is altogether different in Australia. While I might be a free-trader in the old country, I am a protectionist here, and I believe that the majority of the workers of Australia are also protectionists. We must especially bear in mind that there are good and sufficient reasons why the trade unionists in England are opposed to compulsory arbitration. Those reasons are well known to those who have lived in England, and who are aware of the prejudice against trade unionists whenever they go into a Law Court. If the workers of Australia were in the same predicament as are the English trade unionists, they also might be opposed to compulsory arbitration. Professor Thorold Rogers, in his well known work, *Six Centuries of Work and Wages*, a book that for historical research may very well be described as one of the great historical classics, written by a man who is an acknowledged authority on the subject, gives good reasons for the prejudice which exists in the minds of English working people against the Law Courts. He points out that the English working classes have had centuries of compulsory arbitration. Compulsory arbitration laws were in force in England from about the middle of the sixteenth century, right up to the beginning of the nineteenth century. During the whole of that time those laws were, in their administration, utterly unfavorable to the workers. It is no wonder, therefore, that to-day they are suspicious about having anything to do with the Law Courts.

Senator PEARCE.—The honorable senator is referring to compulsory wage laws.

Senator DE LARGIE.—It was compulsory arbitration in the worst form. The workers were not admitted into the Courts to which their employers had access. The employers had the fixing of the wages, with the assistance of their friends in the Courts, and the workers were never allowed to enter the Court to say a word in their own behalf.

Senator PEARCE.—Then it was no arbitration.

Senator DE LARGIE.—It was compulsory arbitration with all the compulsion on one side. The Courts enforced their powers in as drastic a manner as could be. It is because of that lingering prejudice against the Judges that the workers in England are opposed to putting into the hand of any Judge the fixing of their rates of wages.

Senator GRAY.—They do not give that reason themselves.

Senator DE LARGIE.—I beg the honorable senator's pardon; that is the reason they invariably give.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—These are old and obsolete laws.

Senator DE LARGIE.—But, unfortunately, the prejudice still exists—perhaps not to the same extent as in by-gone days.

Senator DOBSON.—The reason given by the English trade unionists for opposing compulsory arbitration is that they do not wish to give up the power to strike.

Senator DE LARGIE.—Because they have not sufficient confidence in the Courts. But the honorable and learned senator must not imagine that the English working man is so much in love with so barbarous a method as a strike that he will not give it up if he can get something better.

Senator DOBSON.—They say that compulsory arbitration is not better.

Senator DE LARGIE.—Let me quote from Professor Thorold Rogers' book, in order to show what I mean. On page 398, of Volume II., he says:—

I contend that from 1563 to 1824 a conspiracy, concocted by the law, and carried out by parties interested in its success, was entered into to cheat the English workman of his wages, to tie him to the soil, to deprive him of hope, and to degrade him into irremediable poverty. In a subsequent chapter, I shall dwell on the palliatives which were adopted in order to mitigate the worst and most intolerable burdens of his life—palliatives which were rendered necessary by no fault of his, but by the deliberate malignity of Governments and Parliaments. For more than two centuries and a half, the English law, and those who administered the law, were engaged in grinding the English workman down to the lowest pittance, in stamping out every expression or act

which indicated any organized discontent, and in multiplying penalties upon him when he thought of his natural rights. I am not deceived by the hypocrisy which the preamble of an Act of Parliament habitually contains, and the assertions which are as habitually contradicted by the details of the measure.

Senator GRAY.—That was class domination.

Senator DE LARGIE.—Yes, with a vengeance! Those are not the words of a labour man or of a trade union leader, although I suppose that the working classes in England never had a better friend than Professor Thorold Rogers. He was no paid agitator, but the Professor of Political Economy in Oxford University. These are the conclusions which he came to after a lifelong study of industrial affairs. There is another sentence from his book which I will quote. He says at page 507—

But from the days of the Stuarts, the judges were servile, timid, and the enemies of personal liberty. Over and over again Parliament has interposed to sweep away precedents which have coerced natural liberty, and interpretations which have violated justice. For generations it seems that the worst enemies of public and private liberty were those courts whose duty it was to adjudicate equitably, and to state the law with fairness.

Further on, at page 508, he says—

For nearly five centuries law after law had been passed under which the workman's wages had been regulated, for the reputed advantage of their employers.

Lower down he speaks of—

The ingenuity of the judges, always interested in the defence of property and very little friendly to that of liberty.

I dare say that no stronger indictment has ever been made against Judges than is contained in this book against the Judges of the English Law Courts.

Senator DOBSON.—Does he give any evidence that such a state of things existed?

Senator DE LARGIE.—The two volumes are crowded with evidence. I should advise my honorable and learned friend to read this book. He will get from it far more of the real history of England than he could get from a dozen of the ordinary historical novels which contain accounts of the lives of Kings and Queens and descriptions of battles. In Professor Thorold Rogers' work we have the real kernel of the history of the English people. In the face of these facts no one need be astonished that the workers of England are opposed to compulsory arbitration, because there is no getting away from the fact that the workers are still hopelessly in a minority in the

English Parliament, and cannot therefore expect that any compulsory arbitration laws would be framed and administered in their interests. In one House, the House of Lords, they are totally unrepresented, whilst in the House of Commons, out of nearly 700 members, there are only about a score who can be said to be in any degree representative of labour. Until such time as the English working classes are able to make their political power felt in Parliament I believe they will continue to be opposed to compulsory arbitration. It is altogether different in Australia, where the workers have political power, where they exercise it, and where they are in a position to secure justice, and to see that the Judges who are appointed are fit for their positions.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—The honorable senator surely does not say that the Judges in England are not fit to deal with these matters?

Senator DE LARGIE.—I do not think it needs any testimony of mine. If the honorable and learned senator will read Professor Thorold Rogers' book, he will get a better idea than any words of mine could give.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—The honorable senator does not say that the Judges of England are not impartial?

Senator DE LARGIE.—It was my experience when I lived in the West of Scotland, that the moment a man was described in Court as a trade unionist, there was a prejudice against him, and justice was to some extent denied to him. If the same state of things prevails throughout the length and breadth of England, I do not wonder that there is such opposition to compulsory arbitration.

Senator DRAKE.—The state of things which the honorable senator has described applies only to a period—from the time of Charles II.

Senator DE LARGIE.—It applies from 1568 to 1824—extending over some hundreds of years.

Senator DOBSON.—The book is of no use, unless it deals with matters later than 1824.

Senator DE LARGIE.—I should now like to turn to the anti-socialistic part of my remarks, and to leave the subject of compulsory arbitration for another occasion. I shall be able, perhaps, to deal more thoroughly with it when the Bill is before us. As the members of the Government have not taken the opportunity to discuss their

anti-Socialism, I am obliged to criticise the remarks of some of their supporters. The leaders of the Government have kept clear of that very touchy subject. I should have thought that those who were opposed to Socialism would have wished to point out what, in their opinion, is bad about it. But we have had mere general statements against it. Senator Dobson has spoken of "the wicked ideas" of the Labour Party. Of course, we know that he used those words in an economic sense.

Senator DOBSON.—How often have I said that the word "wicked" was applied to Mr. Tom Mann's idea of taxing people out of their property? The honorable senator's ideas of Socialism are simply wrong, not wicked, any more than mine are.

Senator DE LARGIE.—I am using Senator Dobson's exact words, as reported. He spoke of the "wicked ideas of the Labour Party."

Senator DOBSON.—It is not wicked to suggest a remedy that is wrong; it is wicked to suggest a remedy that is unjust.

Senator DE LARGIE.—It is for Senator Dobson to say what he means; I am taking the words which he used. It is only right that we should criticise these general condemnations of Socialism. We contend that the present system is wasteful and cruel. It is cruel to the most useful section of the community who are the greatest wealth producers; and it is also unjust. Holding these views, as we do, and aiming at the removal of the injustices due to the present system, when we put forward our case it should receive impartial consideration instead of general abuse. Misrepresentation and abuse will not do our cause much harm. We have been subjected to that kind of thing for a very long time, but it has not prevented the progress of our cause. We at present form the only political party in Australia that is increasing in numbers. The supporters of our party are spreading outside the ordinary ranks of labour. Hitherto it was understood that we could count upon support for the Labour Party only from manual workers and the trade unionists of the community, but the last election showed that there are to-day a very great many supporters of the Labour Party who cannot be included amongst the ordinary trade unionists in the community. Honorable senators opposite who, for want of a case, abuse the other side, are playing a losing game. If they were wise in their generation, believing our principles to be

wicked, they should expose them, and show in what way they are wicked. If they did that they might indulge some hope of augmenting their numbers, but merely to say that our principles are wicked will not add to their numbers in any way. We have given every opportunity for the discussion of our principles in this Chamber. The principles of the Labour Party have been published broadcast throughout the Commonwealth. The representatives of the press are admitted to our annual conferences, and give reports of their proceedings. When the work of the conference has been completed, and the platform has been framed, it is published throughout the land. On the election platform in every State we advocate the same principles. At the late Federal elections the same principles were being advocated by labour candidates in Western Australia, in Northern Queensland, and throughout all the States of the Commonwealth, at the same time. Two of the most important planks in our platform have relation to the nationalization of the tobacco and iron industries, and when the elections were concluded we took the earliest opportunity to place motions dealing with those subjects on the business paper of the Senate, and to have them discussed. I am pleased to say that they were not only discussed, but were carried by majorities in the Senate. This should show that we do not try to burk discussion, or to hide our real opinions. On the contrary, we avail ourselves of every opportunity to have light thrown upon them, and if our opponents are able to refute our arguments they at least have every opportunity to do so.

Senator DAWSON.—When they had the chance they could not do it.

Senator DE LARGIE.—Senator Dawson reminds me that when the two motions to which I have referred were being discussed there was very little opposition to them. Nothing has surprised me more than to find that honorable senators, who are so violent outside this Chamber in their opposition to Socialism, exhibit very little of that opposition inside its walls. Their courage appeared to "ooze out at their fingers' ends" when they had to meet the arguments of Senator Pearce on the motion for the nationalization of the tobacco industry, and my own arguments in support of the nationalization of the iron industry.

Senator PULSFORD.—This is very poor stuff.

Senator DE LARGIE.—The honorable senator is aware that what I am saying is true. He was one of the silent senators on the occasion to which I refer, and did not avail himself of the opportunity to refute the cases we submitted. Let us see what prospect is held out to us by the continuance of the system which honorable senators opposite desire to maintain. What prospect does it offer for enlarging the avenues of employment in this country? If the motion which I submitted in connexion with the iron industry were given effect to, it would find employment for a large number of people. That can only be done by the nationalization of the industry. We were able to prove that it could be effected without injury to any individual or to any interest, vested or otherwise. We were able to show that if the iron industry were established as a national undertaking, it would be the means of establishing other branches of industry, because one result would be that manufacturers would be enabled to obtain the raw material they require at a cheaper rate than they can procure it at the present time. Notwithstanding all this, honorable senators opposite appear to be as far as ever from being convinced of the benefits of Socialism. The only prospect which they hold out to us for the establishment of industries in the future is outlined in the free-trade essays of the present Prime Minister, from which I propose to quote. This is what the right honorable gentleman writes, with respect to the time at which industries are to be established in Australia, and the crop of misery we are to reap at the same time—

The PRESIDENT.—Is the honorable senator proposing to quote from a debate of the present session?

Senator DE LARGIE.—No, from prize essays written by the present Prime Minister, and published many years ago. The quotation I propose to make reads as follows :—

Raw material we possess in abundance. Machinery, skill, and experience can be bought, but it is the high wages and short hours of the workmen of Australia which checks the colonial capitalist who would become a manufacturer. The protectionist declaiming to the electors of Victoria from the hustings, beseeches them to provide employment for their children, but the secret prayer of the capitalist is: Reduce wages and increase the hours of labour. Give him labour at English rates, and willing to work English hours, and he will soon compete with the pauper labour of Europe. But so long as Australian labour remains at its present rates, which, all things considered, are higher than those in

any other part of the world, and so long as eight hours for work, eight hours for recreation, and eight hours for sleep is the maxim of our labour councils, the capitalists know that the idea of a great colonial manufacturing interest—in the sense in which that of England or France or Belgium is great—is an idle and extravagant dream.

What prospect does the right honorable gentleman hold out for the establishment of industries in Australia? Honorable senators who oppose the common-sense practical proposals placed before them by the Labour Party see no prospect but this for the establishment of industries.

Senator PULSFORD.—Can the honorable senator give the date of his quotations?

Senator DE LARGIE.—I believe that what I have read was written many years ago.

Senator PULSFORD.—Twenty-five years ago, probably.

Senator DAWSON.—Have the views of the Prime Minister changed?

Senator PULSFORD.—The population of Australia has changed wonderfully.

Senator DE LARGIE.—Unfortunately for the honorable senator's argument, the population of Australia has not changed wonderfully. I can give Senator Pulsford a more recent quotation from remarks made by the present Prime Minister, when speaking on a want of confidence motion, in another place, during the existence of the late Parliament. This is the prospect which the right honorable gentleman then held out to the workers of Australia—

In the plenitude of time when our millions become tens of millions, we shall have a crop of misery which will solve the difficulty in regard to cheap manufactures.

What a beautiful prospect there will be for workers in the future, if the private enterprise principles of the present Government are given effect to! In the future, when we have ten millions of starving people in Australia, we shall have our industries established.

Senator Sir WILLIAM ZEAL.—Ten millions?

Senator DE LARGIE.—I am quoting the words of the present Prime Minister. The right honorable gentleman speaks of the plenitude of time when our millions shall have become tens of millions of starving people, and he says that the problem as to how we are going to establish industries will then be solved. Under private enterprise we are to have none of these

industries established until we are in a position of beggary and misery. I do not believe that the workers of Australia will wait so long for so poor a reward. We know what private enterprise has brought to every country in the world. Whether we consider England or any part of the continent of Europe we find the same desolate state of affairs in them all. We have it on the authority of no less a statesman than Mr. Campbell-Bannerman that at the present time there are no less than 12,000,000 of starving people in the United Kingdom.

Senator Sir WILLIAM ZEAL.—Mr. Campbell-Bannerman denied that he said that.

Senator DE LARGIE.—I do not know whether he denied it or not, but one thing is sure, and that is that the statistics from which he quoted are in black and white. The statistics are to be found in Rowntree's work on the city of York, and Booth's work on the city of London, and whether Mr. Campbell-Bannerman denied them or not his words remain true.

Senator Sir WILLIAM ZEAL.—The honorable senator has not given a fair quotation of what Mr. Campbell-Bannerman said.

Senator DE LARGIE.—Senator Zeal will be able to see later whether I have misquoted Mr. Campbell-Bannerman or not. The words of the late Secretary of State for the Colonies, the Right Honorable Joseph Chamberlain, should carry some weight in present-day politics, because his is one of the most active minds in the public life of the old country. This is what he says of the present position of affairs in England. I quote from page 24 of a work by Robert Blatchford, entitled *Britain for the British*—

The rights of property have been so much extended that the rights of the community have almost altogether disappeared, and it is hardly too much to say that the prosperity and the comfort and the liberty of a great proportion of the population have been laid at the feet of a small number of proprietors, who "neither toil nor spin."

Senator DRAKE.—What is the date of that speech?

Senator DE LARGIE. — The book in which it appears was published in 1902, but the date of the speech is not given. Mr. Chamberlain also said—

For my part neither sneers nor abuse nor opposition shall induce me to accept as the will of the Almighty, and the unalterable dispensation of His providence, a state of things under which millions lead sordid, hopeless lives without pleasure in the present, and without prospect for the future.

Senator PULSFORD.—Hear, hear; we can all say that.

Senator DE LARGIE.—Mr. Chamberlain also said—

The ordinary conditions of life among a large proportion of the population are such that common decency is absolutely impossible; and all this goes on in sight of the mansions of the rich, where undoubtedly there are people who would gladly remedy it if they could. It goes on in the presence of wasteful extravagance and luxury, which bring but little pleasure to those who indulge in them; and private charity is powerless, religious organizations can do nothing to remedy the evils which are so deep-seated in our social system.

The policy of honorable senators opposite would but bring about a similar state of affairs in this young country. When we are told that we are wicked in submitting proposals which would prevent such a state of affairs, honorable senators who hold that view should try to understand what Socialism is, and what it is not. Here is a quotation taken from a leading article appearing in a recent issue of a Glasgow single-tax newspaper—

Some may be disappointed and dismayed at the fact that more than fifty years after the repeal of the Corn Laws, and just as we are about to celebrate Cobden's centenary we are face to face with a determined attempt to reverse the enlightened policy that Cobden championed. They may be disconcerted to find that even under a system of free imports of food some 30 per cent. of our people are chronically underfed. This, Mr. Chas. Booth tells us is the case in London; this Mr. Rowntree tells us is the case in York; while Sir John Gorst, ex-Minister for Education in the present Government, stated, in an interview published in the *Daily News*, that some months ago two doctors examined 300 children from the public schools of Edinburgh and Aberdeen, and of these children they found that 17 per cent. were diseased, 30 per cent. of them being diseased because they were unfed.

That is the state of affairs existing in the England and Scotland of to-day. That is a condition of affairs which we desire to avoid in this fair young land of ours. I have no doubt that, so long as we have in operation the system of private enterprise, the same results will follow from it as have attended its operations in the past. No doubt compulsory arbitration, anti-sweating laws, and such legislation may do much to remedy the evils of the system, but they can never wholly remove them. What we desire is not to apply a little ointment to ease the sore, but to cut it clean out of the body politic, that we may have a healthy state of public affairs. How is it that in a country like Great Britain such a state of affairs as is pictured in the quotations I have made

can exist? Is it because the country is poor? Every one will admit that Britain is one of the richest countries on the face of God's earth. There is wealth there in abundance, storehouses and granaries are overflowing with wealth of every description.

Senator FRASER.—The result of private enterprise.

Senator DE LARGIE.—And prevented from being used by private enterprise. Great as is the amount of production under private enterprise, it would be still greater under the co-operation represented by State Socialism. The secret of the whole matter is that, while under the present system the production is all right, the consumption is all wrong. Private enterprise produces for profit, and, while I do not blame individuals, I blame the system, which is what we desire to alter. Production for profit is the kernel of the whole problem, and the desire of the Socialists is to produce for use, so that when there is an abundance it may be consumed, and thus create further demand and employment. At present when workers are industrious and produce in abundance they are only preparing a time of starvation for themselves. As they fill the granaries and warehouses, there looms ahead a time of unemployment and starvation—as in England, for example, of 12,000,000 people—as the result of over-production, or rather of under-consumption. I wish to take this opportunity to contradict a few of the charges commonly brought against the principle of Socialism. I do not know that any honorable senators are guilty of using the argument that Socialism means confiscation.

Senator MCGREGOR. — Senator Dobson does.

Senator DE LARGIE.—At all events the charge has no foundation. Senator Dobson lectured the good dames of Toorak and Caulfield on the wicked ideas and proposals of the Labour Party. It will be remembered that when Senator Pearce introduced his motion to nationalize the tobacco industry, neither he nor those who supported him mentioned the word "confiscation" from beginning to end of the debate. Senator Pearce showed that a certain amount of money would have to be provided to buy up plant and property, because there was no desire to destroy vested interests without paying 20s. in the £1.

Senator FRASER.—But how are we to provide the 20s. in the £1?

Senator DE LARGIE.—If the honorable senator had listened to the debate, or if he takes the trouble to consult *Hansard*, he may ascertain how it is proposed to raise the money.

Senator Sir WILLIAM ZEAL.—It is proposed to take the money from the banks.

Senator DE LARGIE.—And I do not know that we should be doing wrong in taking the necessary money from the banks, in the strong-rooms of which at the present time many millions are lying absolutely idle, and of no use.

Senator Sir WILLIAM ZEAL.—The honorable senator does not know anything about the matter.

Senator DE LARGIE.—I am willing to sit at the feet of the honorable senator.

Senator Sir WILLIAM ZEAL.—At any rate, I know more about banking than does the honorable senator.

Senator DE LARGIE.—I never said anything to the contrary; and if the honorable senator can throw any light on the subject, I am not too proud to learn.

Senator PULSFORD.—Is money doing nothing when it acts as a guarantee?

Senator DE LARGIE.—The money could be used and a guarantee given. In reply to Senator Clemons, I may say that there is no desire to injure any one in using money at present lying idle. In 1893 the States Governments had to stand behind the banks with a guarantee, and surely in return the people have a right to some reward, more especially, when no harm can follow. Dr. Parkyn, a Canadian gentleman, was in Australia some time ago in connexion with the Rhodes Scholarships, and I had a long chat with him in Western Australia on the matter of the Canadian Banking Law. Dr. Parkyn assured me that there was no law of which he knew in Canada, that had given such general satisfaction.

Senator Sir WILLIAM ZEAL. — Many people rob other people with great satisfaction.

Senator DE LARGIE.—I can see no robbery or ill-doing in using money that would otherwise be idle. Dr. Parkyn informed me that the Canadian Banking Law had been in operation for something like thirty years, and had given unqualified satisfaction to all concerned; and, in reply to a question from me, he added that there was no likelihood of any attempt to repeal the measure. I am sure honorable senators will admit that no Australian Socialist has

ever advocated anything in the nature of confiscation. But it is said that confiscation is advocated by Socialists of other countries. What have we to do with what is advocated by people in other countries? Surely our load of crime is heavy enough without being called upon to answer for others? No Socialist, parliamentary representative, or political organization connected with the workers, has ever proposed anything in the nature of confiscation, and in my opinion there is just as little ground for saying that there is advocacy of the kind by Socialists of standing in any part of the world. I have here a pamphlet by one of the foremost writers on political economy from the socialistic stand-point—Karl Kautsky. In that pamphlet it is shown that confiscation is no part of the policy of Socialism, and I shall give honorable senators the benefit of Kautsky's words as follows:—

The enemies of Socialism, who, to hear them talk, one would imagine know better than the Socialists themselves what these are after, and who assume to forecast the Socialist Republic with greater accuracy than Socialists do, also declare that Socialism can never come into power except through a wholesale confiscation of property, including the furniture and the small savings of the industrious poor. Next to the charge of contemplating the "abolition" of the family, this one of "confiscation" is a favorite one with the mouth-pieces of capitalism. Confiscation is not at all essential to Socialist society.

It will be seen that there is just as little authority to say that the continental Socialist is in favour of confiscation as there is for the similar charge against the Australian Socialist. Another favorite old "chestnut" advanced against Australian Socialism—though the charge has lost its sting—is that of advocating free love. I should say that this particular charge has been dropped more readily in Melbourne than elsewhere, because we find Mr. Walpole, the mouth-piece of the Employers' Federation, placed on record as having held that it is unreasonable for workers to think that capitalists should pay wages high enough to provide workers with the luxuries of wives and children. If there is one public man in Australia against whom it can be urged that he has advocated something in the nature of free love it is Mr. Walpole, the paid agitator of the Employers' Federation, because he regards marriage as a luxury. His statement is that capitalists cannot afford to pay wages high enough to enable the workers to marry; and if they cannot marry they do something else. The present

commercial system is the greatest encourager of free love possible.

Senator DRAKE.—Has the honorable senator the exact words used by Mr. Walpole?

Senator DE LARGIE.—No; but the sense of the words are burned into the minds of every man in Australia, and it will take some time for the Employers' Federation to remove the impression. Here is a quotation from another pamphlet by Carl Kautsky, entitled *The Working Class*:—

Hand in hand with the accusation on the subject of the family bonds goes the accusation that Socialists aim at a community of wives. This charge is as false as the other. Socialists, on the contrary, maintain that just the reverse of a community in wives, and all sexual oppression and licence, to wit, ideal love, will be the foundation of matrimonial connexions in a Socialist Commonwealth, and that pure love can only prevail in such a social system. What, on the other hand, do we see to-day? The irrational system of modern production tears the sexes apart. It builds up *she-towns* in New England, and *he-towns* in the mining districts of Pennsylvania, Illinois, Ohio, and the farther West, thereby directly promoting and inciting prostitution as a natural and inevitable result.

I think those remarks apply very directly to the condition of affairs in Australia. In Victoria we see the same results, and Melbourne is what may be described as a "she town," whereas in Western Australia we find "he towns" just as depicted in America. Kautsky proceeds:—

Furthermore, helpless women, forced to earn their living in the factories, shops, and mines, fall a prey to capitalist cupidity; the capitalist takes advantage of their inexperience, offers them wages too slight for their support, and hints at, or even brazenly refers them to, prostitution as a means of supplementing their income.

I think we had a controversy in the press some time ago on this very subject.

Everywhere the increase of female labour in industry is accompanied by an increase of prostitution. In the modern State, where Christianity is preached, and pioussness is at a premium, many a "thriving" branch of industry is found, whose working women are paid so poorly that they would be compelled to starve unless they prostituted themselves; and, wonderful to say, in such instances the capitalist will ever be heard to protest that these small wages are indispensable to enable him to compete successfully in the market, and to maintain his establishment in a "thriving" condition. Prostitution is as old as the contrast between rich and poor. At one time, however, prostitutes constituted a middle-class between beggars and thieves; they were then an article of luxury which society indulged in, but the loss of which would in no way have endangered its existence. To-day, however, it is no longer the females of the slums alone, but *working*

women, who are compelled to sell their bodies for money. This latter sale is no longer simply a matter of luxury; it has become one of the foundations upon which production is carried on. Under the capitalist system of production, *prostitution becomes a pillar of society*. What the defenders of this social system falsely charge Socialists with, is the very thing they are guilty of themselves: community of wives is a feature of capitalism. Indeed, such deep roots has this system of community of wives cast in modern society that its representatives agree in declaring prostitution to be a *necessary* thing.

A la Walpole—

They cannot understand that the abolition of the proletariat implies the abolition of prostitution. So deep are they sunk in intellectual stagnation that they cannot conceive a social system without community of wives.

But, be it noted, community of wives has ever been an invention of the upper layers of society, never of the proletariat. The community of wives is one of the modes of exploiting the proletariat; it is not Socialism; it is the exact opposite of Socialism.

I think that is sufficient to prove that there is just as little truth in the charge of advocating free love as there is in the charge of advocating confiscation. A third argument against the Labour Party is that we promote class hatred. We are told that our paid agitators stir up strife, where previously there has been peace between employers and employes; but as to a charge of that kind, I find that Senator Dobson lays himself open to be accused. At Caulfield, only last month, he was reported to have said—

... a fight between class and class was coming, and it would be suicidal folly if organization was not pushed on. It would be necessary at election time to combine with the Employers' Federation and Reform League in the selection of candidates.

To combine with Walpole, for instance—

It was going to be all classes against the Labour Party.

Senator GRAY.—Did not Senator Dobson say he was not against labour, but against the Labour-caucus-Party?

Senator DE LARGIE.—I am sorry I cannot enlighten the honorable senator on the point.

Senator GRAY.—Senator Dobson has stated over and over again in this Chamber that he is not against labour, and Senator de Largie ought to accept his word.

Senator DE LARGIE.—I do not know exactly what Senator Dobson did state—he says so many things which are hard to believe; but I have yet to learn that he did not make use of the words I have quoted.

Senator MCGREGOR.—Senator Dobson said that the Labour Party are “most dangerous men.”

Senator Sir WILLIAM ZEAL.—So they are.

Senator DE LARGIE.—And the honorable senator is a perfect gentleman! So far as Australia is concerned, I am quite satisfied that in Socialism there will be no turning back; we have gone on the track too far. We have in our public institutions too many demonstrated proofs that Socialism is for the advantage of the country, and I have very little fear of this new-born anti-Socialistic agitation. The agitation will fail, and Socialism will go on extending until, at all events, the Socialism advocated by the Labour Party in the near future is an accomplished fact. I believe that honorable senators who now oppose the Labour Party will, before many years are over, be forced by circumstances to adopt and pass into law the ideas advocated to-day by that party. Senator Clemons said he had learned from the Labour Party in certain directions, and I hope and believe that he will go on learning, and be further influenced by their ideas. Compulsory arbitration, old-age pensions, and other humane legislation will extend instead of diminishing. We are, I believe, in this class of legislation, the most advanced people on the earth to-day; I know of no country in the world with such fine codes of social law as are found in Australia and New Zealand. But we have not got to the end of our tether; and I am sure that any Government which may be in power in the future will, by necessity, be forced to pass the legislation which is to-day advocated by the Labour Party.

Senator Lt.-Col. NEILD (New South Wales).—I wish to make a few remarks on some phases of the policy of the Government as recently enunciated, and particularly to address myself to the announcement with regard to old-age pensions. I regret that at this very early stage of their existence, the Government should have acted in a manner which appears to me to be, to say the least, wanting in courtesy—I might almost say wanting in candour. Certainly, it was ungenerous for the Government to adopt the policy of the Senate without acknowledgment. When an author copies something from another source he is called by an ugly name if he does not acknowledge the source of his inspiration. However, I do not intend to use any ugly names, but merely to

make a passing observation. I find that the Government tell us that their policy of negotiation with the State Governments is the only possible policy. If that is the case, why not acknowledge that that policy was enunciated by a unanimous vote of the Senate in September, 1903?

Senator FRASER.—No Government ever took it up, though.

Senator Lt.-Col. NEILD.—I cannot say that, because the then Prime Minister, Sir Edmund Barton, told me that he was going to act at once on the resolution of the Senate.

Senator FRASER.—It was never acted on, nevertheless.

Senator Lt.-Col. NEILD.—The honorable senator perhaps possesses Ministerial secrets which are not in my keeping. I cannot say what the Government did.

Senator FRASER.—It is a matter of public notoriety.

Senator Lt.-Col. NEILD.—I really do not see the appositeness of the observation. On the 2nd September, 1903, I submitted the following motion:—

1. That in the opinion of this Senate it is desirable that a system of old-age pensions be established by and throughout the Commonwealth.

2. That the Government of the Commonwealth be requested to enter into negotiations with the Governments of the States constituting the Commonwealth, with a view to giving effect to the foregoing proposal.

The representative of the Government—Senator Drake—spoke in support of the motion; it was briefly spoken to by various honorable senators, and unanimously adopted. Subsequently Sir Edmund Barton, the Prime Minister, told me that he would certainly at once act on the resolution. Whether he communicated with the Governments of the States or not, I do not know. Senator Fraser says that he did not. We know that he remained in office a very short time after that date.

Senator FRASER.—I did not say that; I only said that there was no public notice that he did.

Senator Lt.-Col. NEILD.—No; though there might have been some private action taken. It would have been only courteous to the Chamber for the Government to acknowledge the source of the inspiration of this item of their policy.

Senator GRAY.—Do Governments ever do that?

Senator Lt.-Col. NEILD.—I think so. Possibly it was through an oversight that it was not done. But I think I am justified

in mentioning the matter without any more than an expression of regret that the action of the Senate was not recognised in this important detail. Another matter has been mentioned, and that is the appointment of a High Commissioner. I am very happy to be able to entirely agree with the intention of the Government to take no action in the making of what, to my view, would be at the present time an expensive and needless appointment. If the Agents-General are got rid of, or transposed into general agents, there might be scope for some work for a High Commissioner, provided that the States required his assistance.

Senator FRASER.—There should be only one representative, as in the case of Canada.

Senator Lt.-Col. NEILD.—I am quite in accord with my honorable friend's view. But if we appoint a High Commissioner we cannot compel the States to make use of his services. Until they are willing to utilize his services we have no need, I think, to make such an expensive and unnecessary appointment. It is proposed to spend a considerable sum on the survey of a route for a transcontinental railway. It seems to me that that proposition is uncommonly like the action of a man who engages the services of an architect to design a house when he does not know whether he intends to build, and when he has not the money to build. Until there is an alteration in the policy of this Parliament on the subject of borrowing it is quite useless for us to be spending money on a survey for a railway that we have not the money to build. We cannot build the line out of revenue, because it is estimated to cost £5,000,000, and unless the policy of this Parliament is changed we cannot borrow. I believe that in New South Wales there must have been spent at least £500,000 on surveys for railways which have not been built. I am sure that I am within the mark when I say that that immense sum has been wasted on useless surveys which were undertaken merely to placate somebody.

Senator MCGREGOR.—Mr. O'Sullivan did not do it all, then?

Senator Lt.-Col. NEILD.—No; it has been done by all sorts of Ministries and all sorts of Ministers during the last thirty years. I do not wish to see a similar course initiated here. If we have made up our minds to build this railway, if it can be constructed at a reasonable cost, then get a survey made, but do not get it made if nothing else is to follow. There

are many points in connexion with the proposed railway. One point is that it is required for the purpose of defence. Surely we might, in the meantime, mount the gun which is lying somewhere about Fremantle? I read the other day that the folks at Fremantle do not want the gun, because they are afraid that if it were fired the windows in the town would be broken. It does not seem to me to be a very wise act to build a railway at a cost of millions to defend a place in which even a gun is not wanted. There was a deputation from the Chamber of Commerce about the gun, or the position of the fort. The General Officer Commanding has told us in two reports that there are no troops to take the field, and that we have no equipment for any field force. He has told us plainly that it is of no use to make this railway for defence purposes unless we have the troops to send by it. These are all propositions that have to be considered. Another question is, are we going to make a survey through the territory of a State which we are given to understand is opposed to the construction of the railway? I do not wish to be a party to blocking any useful public work, but I certainly must see that we intend to do something more than make a survey just to placate some State. If it is to be a *bonâ fide* railway construction, that is one thing, but if it is to be merely a survey to compensate for the loss of a portfolio in the Cabinet, then I do not believe in it. I did not intend to speak for many minutes; but there is one matter that I must mention before I sit down. The other afternoon, Senator Styles, apparently for the purpose of making an attack on the Prime Minister, dragged in my name, and I did not know anything about his reference to me until my attention was drawn to it at luncheon to-day. I do not think that he intended to do me any injury.

Senator STYLES.—Certainly not.

Senator Lt.-Col. NEILD.—I accept the honorable gentleman's assurance. I shall not refer to the matter at sufficient length even to quote the passages, but they appear in *Hansard*, and I think that it is incumbent upon me to make a few observations. If Mr. George Reid in 1896 did anything which was deemed unsatisfactory that is his business. I do not stand here as his apologist; he can apologize for himself and fight his own battle. In making his quotations, Senator Styles overlooked, unintentionally, I am sure, some of the most important features of this little matter. In 1896 I was sent for, and asked if I

would undertake as Commissioner certain very important inquiries in Europe, on the subject of the provision made by English and Continental nations for old-age and accident casualties. I undertook, without emolument, or out-of-pocket expenses, to make the inquiries as completely as any other man ever did, and it was not until I completed my report about two years later that any question of payment arose. I may say, in passing, that there has been no Commission ever appointed on the Continent or in England that reported in less time, and yet I had to go to the other end of the world for nine months of the period. Well, having completed my report, Mr. Reid called me into his room at Parliament House one night, and said to me, "I had no idea that you were going to do such monumental work, and I do not consider that the Colony should be at so great an advantage to the detriment of a single one of its citizens," and he asked my permission to place a sum on the Estimates to recoup me for part of my outlay. Following the practice of every Government for the previous twenty-five or thirty years, a sum of £350 was paid to me on account of out-of-pocket expenses, leaving over the question of honorarium for Parliament to vote on the Estimates. The question of payment was raised, and by a special vote of the Legislative Assembly the members of the Elections and Qualifications Committee—whose report would have been final—were appointed as a Select Committee to inquire into the matter. My seat was challenged very unnaturally. What I regret is that Senator Styles did not catch sight of the report, which is to be found in *Hansard*, volume 100, and which was entirely in my favour.

Senator STYLES.—I scarcely mentioned the honorable senator's name.

Senator Lt.-Col. NEILD. — My name was introduced so frequently into the extracts that I feel compelled to briefly state the facts of the case, and leave it at that. I bear no ill-will to the honorable senator for what he said, but one story is good until the other is told. The whole point was, that after the Committee had unanimously decided that there was nothing in my action that called for any kind of intervention, I paid the £350 back into the Treasury—not before, but after. I would not take the money on the terms. To-day I stand in this position—that the New

South Wales Parliament has paid £181 5s. for translations of foreign documents, which it has never recouped me for purchasing. It has never paid me for my ink used in writing the report, nor has it recouped me the sums charged against my London banking account for documents which could not be obtained from diplomatic sources. I say nothing of the value of my report, and of the work which I did. That work has been pronounced upon by some of the highest authorities in the world, from the present King of England, downwards. As Prince of Wales, His Majesty took an active part upon the Royal Commission in England which dealt with this subject, and has shown in his regard for the sufferings of his people in connexion with the hospitals of England an example that entitles him to our highest admiration as a humanitarian, entirely apart from his distinguished position as the head of the Empire. But, as a matter of detail, I pay more attention to the communication received from such an authority as the Commissioner on Labour in the United States of America, and from men like Sir Charles Dilke and Henry Broadhurst, in England. Mr. Joseph Chamberlain is, I suppose, recognised as one of those principally concerned in the Old-Age Pensions movement. I might refer to his correspondence. But I will let these things pass. I have made this statement in order to put myself right with the Senate. I merely wish, as these matters affecting me have been mentioned to the Senate, to have it clearly understood that I have not received one penny piece—not even the price of a postage stamp—in connexion with the whole affair; and that New South Wales stands my debtor even for cash paid out of pocket for the very documents which the Parliament of that State voted £181 5s. to have translated. I am not sufficient of a linguist to translate from sixteen European languages. I may also refer to the fact that some of the largest public meetings ever held in Australia, in the Sydney Town Hall, have in the most enthusiastic manner recognised my services in this cause, when I have not been present, as well as when I have been present. There cannot be any possible ground for any imputation of any sort against me in the matter, considering the manner in which, three years ago, my fellow men in New South Wales, and at a later date, last December, my fellow men and women, treated me when I was a candidate for mem-

bership of this distinguished Chamber. Merely in order that there may be a brief explanation, as well as to remove the possibility of misunderstanding—not in consequence of anything that Senator Styles said, but on account of the extracts which he read—I have made these personal references. It was painful to me to make them, but I deemed it to be necessary to do so, for those who come after me.

Senator FRASER (Victoria).—I do not often speak, so that I have no apology to offer for rising on this occasion. I should not have spoken, except for the pressure that I feel is upon me to explain some matters that have occurred during the last three and a half years.

Senator GIVENS.—They require some explaining.

Senator FRASER.—Not so far as my own conscience is concerned. That is quite clear. I am responsible to my conscience, not to a caucus. There will be no hauling down of my flag in that respect. I have been challenged with having deserted a former Government. Mr. President, it pained me very much to do so. It has been said that I came into this Senate as a supporter of the Barton Government. I certainly did support, and was willing to support, the first Government of this Commonwealth in many respects. I agreed with the Maitland speech, on the whole, and I was upon the platform to hear the Melbourne Town Hall speech of our first Prime Minister. I listened with pleasure to his statement. I was a supporter of the policy of revenue without destruction. I said then and I say now that it would not be right and proper for the Commonwealth Government to destroy wealth that had been created under State laws, or to take a man's bread and butter away when his means of livelihood had been created under an Act of Parliament. I said that wherever I spoke at the elections, and I spoke in all parts of this State. I am prepared to say the same thing to-day.

Senator DAWSON.—The honorable senator left the impression that he was a protectionist.

Senator FRASER.—I supported native industry wherever I could see that an industry was going to succeed, but I would not support duties for the benefit of an industry for all time where I could see that it would not succeed. I am more inclined to bonuses than to any other method of assisting industries.

Senator O'KEEFE.—The butter bonuses?

Senator FRASER.—What has happened in connexion with the butter bonuses is a revelation to me. Those who are guilty of wrong practices should suffer. No one in this Senate, on either side, is inclined to take the part of a wrong-doer. The wrong-doer should suffer, no matter on what side of politics he may be. But there is not a vote which I gave upon the Tariff which I would alter to-day if I had the opportunity. The first item in the Tariff, as will be remembered, was that relating to ale and porter. Upon that I supported my honorable and learned friend, who is now the leader of the Senate, in reducing the high duty that was proposed, to the level of the duty imposed under the Tariff of the State of Victoria. That duty was high enough. I knew then, and I know now, that had a very high duty been imposed, with a small excise, the big, wealthy breweries of Sydney and Melbourne would have been able to crush out the breweries in the smaller States. When the import duty was excessively high the imports would naturally be diminished, and the great brewing establishments of Melbourne and Sydney—I am proud of them and wish them to succeed, but I do not wish them to succeed by crushing the breweries of Tasmania, or Queensland, or Western Australia—would have been able to import their beer at a cheap rate into the smaller States to the injury of the breweries there. It was purely out of consideration for the smaller States that I was induced to vote for a duty such as had been imposed in Victoria before the establishment of Federation. It did not require much pressure to induce me to do so.

Senator HIGGS.—What caucus supplied the pressure?

Senator FRASER.—The only pressure exercised upon me was the arguments of the present leader of the Senate. No other pressure would have been effective. A caucus would have no effect upon me.

Senator DAWSON.—Was not that after the honorable senator fell out with the Barton Government?

Senator FRASER.—No; but I may as well clear up this matter. I may as well read what I said about another item of the Tariff—the wheat and fodder duties. I invite honorable senators—I do not say I challenge them, because I do not wish to be offensive—to look through the Tariff debates, and challenge me upon any vote which I gave in regard to revenue without destruction. When the duty with regard to

wheat and fodder was before the Senate I used these words—

Then what is the use of pretending to bolster up the farmer, and to give him assistance by imposing a duty upon wheat? It is neither more nor less than throwing dust in the eyes of the farmer. We might just as reasonably propose to put a duty upon merino wool. It is only 100 years ago since McArthur imported three rams and six ewes into New South Wales, and now we are exporting millions of pounds of wool. Our wool industry is only one of yesterday in the history of the nation, but it is a huge industry nevertheless. I do not suppose there is any country on the face of the earth that per head of population exports as great a quantity of wool, meat, and wheat as Australia.

Senator HIGGS.—If the duty will be inoperative, why get so excited about it?

Senator Higgs admitted that the duty would be inoperative. He agreed with me, though he did not like to say so. I replied—

It will be inoperative except at a time like the present, and such a time has never before been known in Australia. God knows what the result will yet be.

Since then £600,000 has been paid in duty on wheat and other produce coming into Victoria, New South Wales, and Queensland. Let it be remembered that 60,000,000 sheep out of the 100,000,000 which we once had in Australia have died from the effects of drought.

Senator DAWSON.—And the honorable senator is supporting the Government who refused to lift the duties on fodder.

Senator FRASER.—I am giving the reasons why I thought fit to change my views, and I think they are reasons which should have appealed to any honorable senator. I saw that the price of fodder was going up right and left, and that starving stock were dying wholesale. God knows, they did die wholesale, and that was only to be expected when millions of acres could not feed a sheep. I say that 60,000,000 sheep have died. It must be well known to representatives of Queensland that even within thirty or forty miles of Brisbane settlers suffered enormous losses. Dairy-men and farmers also suffered losses in Queensland. It is this dire loss of stock which is the cause of the present depression.

Senator PEARCE.—I thought it was the Labour Party.

Senator FRASER.—I do not say so. I do not believe it, and therefore I do not say so. It is the drought that is the cause of the depression, and it will continue to operate as the cause until we recuperate.

Senator DAWSON.—The question I desire the honorable senator to answer is, whether he is not now supporting a Government that is precisely the same Government as that which refused to lift the fodder duties?

Senator FRASER.—No. Another Government has intervened. The two men at the head of the present Government, Mr. Allan McLean and Mr. Reid, are now Ministers in the Federal Parliament, and I have confidence in both of them. The objection that I have to the Trades Hall Party—I prefer always to refer to them as the Trades Hall Party—

Senator STANFORTH SMITH.—The socialistic party.

Senator FRASER.—I answer that by saying that I may be a Socialist myself to a certain extent, and under certain conditions. Some say that because the State here owns the railways, we are Socialists. We could not have railways in this State or in any other State of the Commonwealth, or we could have but only a very few, if they had to be constructed by private enterprise. There might be a line between here and Geelong, and a few other such lines. My complaint against the Trades Hall Party, as I prefer to call them, is that so far as I can judge—I hope I am wrong—they are against the Empire.

Senator DAWSON.—The honorable senator is entirely wrong.

Senator FRASER.—Did they support the sending of a contingent to South Africa?

Senator HIGGS.—They only desire that there should be a series of republics instead of a monarchy!

Senator FRASER.—Exactly. Senator Higgs has openly declared on the floor of this Chamber that he desires a republic. I, on the contrary, am for the flag. I hold up not one but both hands for the flag. Honorable senators opposite do not hold up their hands at all for the flag; they are all for a republic.

Senator GUTHRIE.—We have a new flag for the Commonwealth.

Senator FRASER.—Yes, but it is a part of the old flag. It is a part of the flag which floats over some hundreds of millions of human beings, and over more liberty and more that is sacred and good than the flag of any other nation on God's earth. Where do people fly for liberty and safety?

Senator DAWSON.—To Australia.

Senator GUTHRIE.—To Ireland.

Senator FRASER.—To England, Ireland, and Scotland, and to the countries over which the grand old flag flies.

Senator STYLES.—They run away from Scotland.

Senator FRASER.—The flag floats there, and I say that it is a hopeful sign in any part of God's earth. It offers a welcome to people everywhere. The history of the British Empire is a creditable one in every phase. My quarrel with the Trades Hall Party is that they are against the sending of contingents to assist the Empire in its hour of need, and opposed to the flag.

Senator DAWSON.—And do not support kanaka labour.

Senator FRASER.—I may deal with that later on, though it is but a very small matter. The British Empire is composed of whites and blacks. Do honorable senators opposite desire to change it; could they change it if they wished? Can whites live where blacks only can live? Can whites live in India, China, and many other parts?

Senator MCGREGOR.—They are living there now.

Senator FRASER.—Can whites live in the tropical parts of the earth? Do honorable senators opposite propose to supplant the Almighty? Do they propose to change the nature of things on this earth?

Senator GIVENS.—The whole population of Victoria was black at one time. How does the honorable senator account for the change? He is interfering with the designs of the Almighty now.

Senator FRASER.—My honorable friend is getting black already. In three more generations the honorable senator who interjects will be black also.

Senator GIVENS.—Senator Fraser is black already; he advocates black labour.

Senator FRASER.—Black or white, I am for the Empire. I have no desire to handicap or to act with inhumanity towards any of my fellow creatures. I say that there are parts of this earth, and parts of this Commonwealth, where white men cannot labour with credit and satisfaction to themselves.

Senator DAWSON.—What part of the Commonwealth?

Senator FRASER.—I have often told the honorable senator, and he can answer the question for himself. In Cairns, in the north, for instance.

Senator DAWSON.—In North Queensland?

Senator FRASER.—Yes. I say here, what I said publicly in the Masonic-hall in

Melbourne, that the climate of Cairns is as bad, or worse, than the climate of Mauritius.

Senator GIVENS.—The honorable senator knows nothing about it.

Senator FRASER.—I have been frequently through the district. I drove from Rockhampton almost to the Gulf and back again. That is what honorable senators opposite have never done.

Senator PEARCE.—The honorable senator's chum, Mr. Nicholas FitzGerald, has gone to Cairns to recuperate his health.

Senator DAWSON.—Senator Neild went there also to recuperate his health.

Senator FRASER.—I should like to go there now myself. It is a very pleasant place at this time of the year. But let honorable senators go there in February or January and work in the cane-fields during those months.

Senator GIVENS.—Melbourne is hotter at that time of the year.

Senator DAWSON.—Does the honorable senator mean to say that he drove from Rockhampton to the Gulf?

Senator FRASER.—Yes; from Rockhampton to the Flinders—to McKinley and Croydon.

Senator DAWSON.—By what route?

Senator FRASER.—I will tell the honorable senator. He does not know the country, he only knows the coast. I drove *via* Barcaldine, Aramac, Dagworth, across the Diamantina, and into McKinley township, where there was a telegraph office, and where I had a property.

Senator DAWSON.—And the honorable senator got by that route to Winton?

Senator FRASER.—Right through Winton, with a pair of horses I bought at Rockhampton.

Senator DAWSON.—The honorable senator cannot show that route on the map.

Senator FRASER.—Now, will the honorable senator keep silent. I have another objection to the Trades Hall Party, and it is this: That it was only by the greatest possible pressure that the first Prime Minister, Sir Edmund Barton, for whom I have a great regard, could manage to get the Naval Agreement Bill through the House of Representatives. It was only by threatening the resignation of his Government that he did so. We find exactly the same thing occurring whenever any matter affecting the Empire is brought forward in the House of Representatives, or in the States Parliaments.

Senator PEARCE.—Senator Symon was with us in opposition to the Naval Agreement Bill; the honorable senator should not forget that. He is now prepared to follow Senator Symon, who was at that time disloyal, if we were disloyal.

Senator FRASER.—It is different when Senator Symon is in a responsible position. As a Minister, he is a member of a Cabinet which will discuss matters together, and arrive at a conclusion as to what they will do. At any rate, I charge the Trades Hall Party with having been entirely opposed to that measure.

Senator STANFORTH SMITH.—For good reasons.

Senator FRASER.—What were the reasons? I say that the agreement proposed was the most magnificent agreement ever entered into.

Senator STANFORTH SMITH.—We desired to contribute in men and ships.

Senator FRASER.—What ships could we build here? They would not be worth a straw. What could we do against Japan?

Senator STANFORTH SMITH.—It is degrading to pay tribute.

Senator FRASER.—It is not degrading to be in combination with an Empire such as the world has never seen, and perhaps never will see again. I give this credit to the Labour Party: I believe they will come to see differently by-and-by. I know that there are reasonable clear-headed men amongst them. I am challenging their present principles, and I say that the Naval Agreement Bill was only put through the House of Representatives against their opposition with the greatest possible difficulty. On almost every occasion the Government of the day had to go almost on their knees to get such measures through. I do not complain of the measures introduced by the Barton Government. Looking over them during the last day or two, I saw very little to object to in them, but how sadly were they altered. In the Post and Telegraph Bill, a miserable little clause was introduced which disarranged all our affairs.

Senator DE LARGIE.—Why not repeal it now that honorable senators have the chance?

Senator FRASER.—I hope that we will, but we must have a little time for these things.

Senator HIGGS.—Are honorable senators going to try to repeal it?

Senator FRASER.—Perhaps it can only be done after we have appealed to the people, and thus get the power to do it if we have not the power now. Probably, if we attempted to do it now Senator Higgs would vote against us.

Senator HIGGS.—Hear, hear.

Senator FRASER.—Well, there is no use in our trying to do impossibilities. The introduction of that little clause has had the effect of throwing our mail system into utter disorganization.

Senator GUTHRIE.—We get a mail every week, as usual. Where is the disorganization?

Senator FRASER.—The old contract has not yet expired, and there is no fresh contract.

Senator GUTHRIE.—Give us time.

Senator FRASER.—The honorable senator proposes that we should wait until the old contract has expired. That is a happy-go-lucky way of doing business. When we look for a new contract we may not be able to make one.

Senator GUTHRIE.—It is not necessary.

Senator FRASER.—The affairs of nations are not conducted on those lines; individuals do not carry on business in a happy-go-lucky fashion, but wisely arrange matters beforehand.

Senator GUTHRIE.—Where will be the utter disorganization?

Senator FRASER.—The Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company may not send their vessels here at all, if to send them does not pay.

Senator Lt.-Col. NEILD.—The vessels may make Fremantle their terminus.

Senator FRASER.—That might happen. Then what about the poor producers? The Trades Hall Party do not seem to care about the producers.

Senator MCGREGOR.—Some of the butter producers have been cheating.

Senator FRASER.—Let people who cheat be punished. What I wish to see is good honest government.

Senator GIVENS.—Does the honorable senator think that producers who cheat ought to be in gaol?

Senator FRASER.—Every one who cheats, whether rich or poor, ought to be in gaol. We ought to recollect that, along with the mail contracts, are contracts for the carriage of perishable goods, and that the State of Victoria, for instance, would be insolvent in six months if produce could not be sent to Europe.

Senator MCGREGOR.—We do not subsidize the vessels of the White Star Line or the Blue Anchor Line.

Senator FRASER.—The White Star Line is a carrying line.

Senator GUTHRIE.—It carries produce.

Senator FRASER.—Yes, but the mail boats have special contracts for the carriage of produce, and the work is done to the satisfaction of those concerned.

Senator PEARCE.—On the contrary, there have been great complaints.

Senator FRASER.—If there have been complaints, the cause is the disorganization of the mail service. I do not see why we should risk the loss of the benefits which we now enjoy, in order to place one or two white men in the stokeholds.

Senator DAWSON.—We must consider the safety of the Empire.

Senator FRASER.—Such a policy means risk to the Empire. If we handicap the British ship-owner, we do a positive injury to the Empire.

Senator PEARCE.—Will the British ship-owner fight his ships?

Senator FRASER.—The British ship-owner wishes for as many sailors as he can get.

Senator STYLES.—White sailors?

Senator FRASER.—That is so, if he can get white sailors, but if he cannot, he must take lascars for the stokehold.

Senator STYLES.—A ship-owner can get white sailors if he pays for them.

Senator DAWSON.—Where must we get the Naval Reserve if not from the mercantile marine?

Senator FRASER.—We get our Naval Reserve from the seafaring class.

Senator DAWSON.—What is the seafaring class?

Senator FRASER.—If there are 10,000 Germans sailorizing for Great Britain, and they choose to become British subjects—

Senator STYLES.—Ah, that is the point!

Senator FRASER.—Half the battle is over when they get into a British ship.

Senator STYLES.—Yes; half of their battle.

Senator FRASER.—A considerable portion of South Australia is colonized by Germans; and does any honorable senator say that they are not good citizens? Cannot German sailors on British ships be also good citizens?

Senator DAWSON.—No.

Senator FRASER.—Many of those German sailors do settle here; and I see no

objection to German, Italian, or French sailors being employed on British ships.

Senator DE LARGIE.—We would rather see British sailors all the time.

The PRESIDENT.—I must ask honorable senators not to interject.

Senator FRASER.—I entirely agree with the remark of Senator de Largie.

Senator DAWSON.—I advise Senator Fraser to read F. T. Bullen on this subject.

Senator FRASER.—There are many reasons why I changed my seat, and amongst them was the proposal for a Transcontinental Railway. I had something to do with the Port Augusta railway, and therefore had a knowledge of the subject. I have always held the view which I hold now; I do not change my opinions without good reason. I think I was one of the first to oppose this line, and such was my opposition that great pressure was brought to bear upon me in order to induce me to change my opinions.

Senator DAWSON.—By whom?

Senator FRASER.—That is a secret.

Senator DAWSON.—The caucus?

Senator FRASER.—It was not a caucus. In my opening speech in this House I told honorable senators that I was opposed to the construction of this line; and on other points I did not agree with the programme of the then Government. I know that Australian Governments in the past have been guilty of gross extravagance, a continuance of which must cause them to come to grief, whether the administration be in the hands of the Labour Party or the Conservative Party.

Senator PEARCE.—Kyabram water schemes, for instance.

Senator FRASER.—I believe in reproductive schemes, not in schemes which do not pay, but merely increase the Public Service enormously.

Senator DAWSON.—What about the Maffra sugar-beet scheme?

Senator FRASER.—I lost £500 in that scheme.

Senator GUTHRIE.—And a lot of Government money was lost, too.

Senator FRASER.—It cannot be said that I compelled the Government to lose their money. Even now I am vain enough to believe that if I started a beet-sugar business to-morrow under my entire control, I could make it a success.

The PRESIDENT.—Does the honorable senator think his remarks have anything to do with the Government policy?

Senator FRASER.—I do not think they have, Mr. President, and I thank you for reminding me of the fact.

Senator STYLES.—Do I understand Senator Fraser to say that he is in favour of high excise duties on colonial beer and other stimulants, and low import duties? Is it not such a policy that is shutting up Joshua Bros.' distillery?

Senator FRASER.—My remarks applied more particularly to beer than to spirits. I am entirely opposed to the Labour or Socialistic Party.

Senator PEARCE.—Is the honorable senator opposed to old-age pensions, which are included in the Labour Party's programme?

Senator FRASER.—I am in favour of old-age pensions, which are in force already.

Senator PEARCE.—Not in Australia.

Senator FRASER.—Old-age pensions are in force amongst three-fifths of the population of Australia. If a man has resided ten years, say, in Victoria, and ten years in New South Wales, I see no reason why he should be deprived of an old-age pension should he need one. As to Socialism, can any honorable senator representing that shade of politics show me one place on earth where communistic or socialistic settlements have been a success?

Senator DAWSON.—Can the honorable senator show me a place where Socialism has ever been tried?

Senator FRASER.—Yes.

Senator DE LARGIE.—Socialism is different from Communism.

Senator FRASER.—I do not think so; and I say that in no part of the world is there a country in which such a system has been a success.

Senator FINDLEY.—Socialism was successful in America 150 years ago.

Senator PEARCE.—What about the State-owned railways and postal service?

Senator FRASER.—According to the honorable senator, I suppose that the municipality of Melbourne is claimed as an example of Socialism?

Senator GIVENS.—It is pure Socialism.

Senator FRASER.—Although it is conducted by the rate-payers and property-owners?

Senator GIVENS.—That is so.

Senator FRASER.—Then I suppose the Melbourne Gas Company is Socialism?

Senator PEARCE.—That is private enterprise. The electric lighting system is Socialism; but the Gas Company represents private enterprise.

Senator STYLES.—Why did the Victorian Government spend money in buying suburban railways which were being worked just as well as they are now?

Senator FRASER.—Because those suburban lines interfered with other lines, and it was desired to have one system. There is as wide a divergence between the Commonwealth owning the railways, which open up immense territories, and socialistic—

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—The Government run the railways in order to develop the public estate.

Senator FRASER.—And the public estate could not be developed otherwise.

Senator PEARCE.—It is Socialism all the same.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—Nothing of the kind.

Senator FRASER.—What I say is that the Tom Mann brand of Socialism means the taxation of property-owners out of their own property.

Senator DAWSON.—Nonsense! Do I understand the honorable senator to say that he has some evidence to show that there has been a complete community under Socialism which has failed?

Senator FRASER.—There have been fifty within the last fifty years.

Senator DAWSON.—Will the honorable senator please mention one?

Senator FRASER.—There have been many in South Australia.

Senator DAWSON.—That is Communism, not Socialism.

Senator FRASER.—I was in Queensland when Lane started his socialistic efforts. He chartered the ship *Royal Tar*, and each member of the party had to be possessed of a minimum of £60, and as much more as they chose.

Senator DAWSON.—That is not Socialism.

Senator FRASER.—Lane and his party started for Paraguay, where I believe they got a free grant of land, though I am not positive on that point. Before they got to their destination, however, the most bitter quarrelling started amongst them, and when they got there there was still more bitterness. The Government of Queensland, as an act of humanity, paid the return passages of some of the men. I have a letter on the subject, which was published only the other day; but I do not wish to occupy the time of honorable senators in reading it.

Senator DAWSON.—Does the honorable senator call that Socialism?

Senator FRASER.—Certainly.

Senator DAWSON.—That shows all the honorable senator knows about Socialism.

Senator FRASER.—The settlement broke up in confusion. Mr. Lane remained there for a considerable time, and many of the settlers had to live on wild monkeys. The other day, one of the unfortunate individuals applied to relatives in Queensland—I think in Maryborough or Gympie—to send over £5 to enable him to work his way out of that unfortunate country to the coast. He was a shearer by occupation, and his pay was 1s. 6d. a day—about 1s. in our currency, but 1s. 6d. in a depreciated currency. In that part of the world, when a man is supposed to get 10s. per day he receives what is equivalent to only 6s. per day in our currency. That socialistic colony has utterly failed.

Senator DAWSON.—That is a communistic, not a socialistic colony.

Senator FRASER.—In the United Kingdom a celebrated gentleman spent thousands of pounds making an experiment, and yet it came to utter grief.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—Laurence Oliphant called his settlement Utopia.

Senator FRASER.—Yes; in periodicals I have read articles on the subject. Many socialistic colonies have been started in South Australia.

Senator GUTHRIE.—How many individualistic enterprises have failed?

Senator FRASER.—The honorable senator will not deny that the people of South Australia, while Mr. Kingston was Premier, started socialistic colonies. The land was given to the people free.

Senator GUTHRIE.—No; rent had to be paid, and the colonies were communistic, not socialistic.

Senator FRASER.—What is the difference between one and the other?

Senator PEARCE.—The same difference as exists between a white boy and a black boy.

Senator FRASER.—I have a lot to learn if that is so. The labour crowd outside Parliament frequently credit the prosperity of New Zealand to its labour laws. I hold in my hand some quotations from a work by Mr. Victor S. Clark, who was sent out by the Labour Bureau of the United States to collect information and labour statistics. He is a very level-headed and clever man, and many of his statements are well worth reading.

Senator GUTHRIE.—He has no sympathy with labour laws.

Senator FRASER.—He has no sympathy with any laws unless they are honest ones,

and can bear examination. About twelve years ago New Zealand was in a very tight place financially.

Senator FINDLEY.—She was on the verge of bankruptcy, and it was due to Toryism.

Senator PULSFORD.—Nonsense!

Senator FRASER.—That is quite true. The prosperity of the Colony is entirely due to her enormous and increasing export trade.

Senator FINDLEY.—To land settlement, and the solution of the unemployed question.

Senator FRASER.—I am speaking of a time before the idea of freezing meat had taken hold of business men. In 1889 the frozen meat trade was a mere nothing, but in 1900 it was valued at \$8,000,000, and in 1903 it had increased in value to \$15,000,000. In 1900 New Zealand exported £2,605,000 worth of butter, and in 1903 £8,000,000 worth. In the latter year the total exports had increased from \$50,000,000 to \$70,000,000, and it would have increased to \$80,000,000 but for the low price of wool during the intervening years. The prosperity of the Colony is entirely due to the export business.

Senator GUTHRIE. — Encouraged by Socialism.

Senator FRASER. — Discouraged by Socialism. In New Zealand the authorities have not been game to apply the compulsory provisions of the Arbitration Act to the rural industries. Why? Because they realize that it would be ruinous to do so.

Senator MCGREGOR.—They have never had any cause to do so.

Senator PEARCE.—There is no Agricultural Labourers' Union there.

Senator FRASER.—The Government and the unionists of New Zealand are wise, and, therefore, they have not applied the provisions of the Arbitration Act to rural industries. That is another strong reason which I have against the policy of the Labour Party. The moment that the compulsory powers of the proposed Arbitration Act are applied to the rural industries of the Commonwealth, our producers will be handicapped.

Senator PEARCE.—Will the honorable senator be willing to give in our Bill the same powers that have been given in the New Zealand Act? We should be pleased with a measure of that kind.

Senator FRASER.—I should not trust the Labour Party with them.

Senator GIVENS.—But the honorable senator may have to trust us whether he likes it or not.

Senator FRASER.—I shall not grant the powers willingly. I shall strive to keep the flag flying as long as I can. I shall not help to put a dangerous provision in any measure. Any person who does not realize that we live by our exports has not cut his eye teeth. Every State in the Commonwealth depends absolutely upon the products of the soil which are exported. We live entirely by the producers. If we could not export we should be insolvent within a year. Therefore any legislation which tends to raise the rates of freight must be injurious to the advancement of the Commonwealth. By handicapping British ships we raise the rate of freights against the producer, and increase his difficulties.

Senator GUTHRIE.—What does the honorable senator mean by the term "handicapping"?

Senator FRASER.—By applying compulsory arbitration to the employees of the producers. We cannot raise the price of farm produce. I grant that if it could be raised it would be fair-play to adopt this policy all round, but we cannot raise the price of wheat or gold. The price of coal can be raised, but only against the local consumer.

Senator PEARCE.—We can relieve the farmer of all the parasites who live upon him.

Senator FRASER.—That is impossible, for he depends upon the price which he receives at Home. What is happening in New South Wales to-day? I understand that 500 or 600 coal-miners are idle.

Senator GUTHRIE.—Because the coal-owners are cutting the throats of each other.

Senator FRASER.—The miners are idle because the mine-owners cannot get buyers abroad for their coal. The great consumption of New South Wales coal is abroad, and not in the Commonwealth. And when the foreign trade is destroyed or ruined, no matter from what cause, the miners must perforce be idle.

Senator GUTHRIE.—Is it not a fact that in Melbourne the price of coal has been reduced by 50 per cent. within the last few months?

Senator FRASER.—I do not find that it has been. I have paid 20s. per ton for my coal this winter, as against 22s. 6d. last year.

Senator GUTHRIE.—There has been a further reduction in price since the honorable senator has bought.

Senator FRASER.—The Australian consumer has to pay the price of coal, whatever it is, and no doubt he can afford to

do so. I look upon the worker in a coal mine as a producer. The miner and the mine-owner must work together for the common good, and my complaint against the Trades Hall party is that they are continually trying to create differences between these classes. What is happening now in New South Wales? There are hundreds of cases awaiting the attention of the courts. The Act, instead of being a Conciliation Act, is quite the reverse. It is a misnomer to call it a Conciliation Act. It has created any number of difficulties. Will honorable senators tell me that we can change human nature? Are we not all anxious to do the best we can for ourselves? Was not Senator Higgs anxious to be made Chairman of Committees? Had I been a young man, perhaps I should have aspired to that position myself. Is it not the ambition of every human being to lift himself a little? Has not the condition of the people been levelled up every decade during the last 200 years? Are not people better off to-day than they were 100 years ago? Look at the millions that are spent upon charities! Look at the liberality of the people of England towards the poorer classes and public institutions! Look at what even General Booth has been able to do for the fallen classes! Can any honorable senator say with any sincerity of speech, that human nature can be changed by the methods of the Labour Party? Are we likely to make a confidence man into an honest man, or a drunkard into a sober man, by means of the caucus or the political machine? Has the caucus acted in such a way as to inspire public confidence? Have not the unions of New South Wales acted worse than the butter agents? Have they not shut out their brother man from employment?

Senator PEARCE.—Absolutely, No.

Senator FRASER.—I say that they have done so, and the statement is not to be contradicted. I could mention twenty cases.

Senator DAWSON.—Mention one case.

Senator FRASER.—I mention the Saddler case. Let the honorable senator look it up for himself.

Senator FINDLEY.—There are hundreds of cases of employers who have black-listed employes.

Senator FRASER.—I do not say that employers are not equally guilty with employes. There are faults on both sides. But I do say that, instead of having a

Conciliation Act in New South Wales, we have there an Act which is creating disturbance, and which is doing a terrible lot of injury. I have spoken longer than I intended to do, and I apologize to the Senate.

Senator GIVENS (Queensland).—I did not propose to trouble the Senate with any remarks in this debate, which cannot have much result at the best. I should not have said anything, except for some remarks made by the last speaker, who has continued the libelling that has been going on about the climate in the portion of the Commonwealth from which I come. I wish to remove that false impression from the minds of honorable senators, and of people outside who follow our proceedings. I will mention, in the first place, that the climate of Cairns has received very high encomiums indeed from very distinguished people, as being, not only a good place for white people, but actually a sanatorium.

Senator WALKER.—In the winter months.

Senator GIVENS.—I will tell Senator Walker about the climate in the summer, as well as in the winter, before I have finished. The late Governor-General, Lord Hopetoun, now Marquis of Linlithgow, said that Cairns had one of the finest climates he had ever been in, and that it had a remarkable restorative effect upon his health.

Senator WALKER.—He went to Herberston, did he not?

Senator GIVENS.—He made a casual visit to Kuranda, and also visited the coastal range.

Senator WALKER.—In what month?

Senator GIVENS.—About August; but I will give the Senate some official figures about the climate throughout the year. At the present time, we have a distinguished Melbourne gentleman at Cairns for the benefit of his health—a member of the Legislative Council of this State—and he speaks highly of it. Senator Fraser made use of certain expressions which will require a very great deal of explanation.

Senator HIGGS.—His whole speech was remarkable.

Senator GIVENS.—It was very breezy and enjoyable indeed. We all thought that it was quite a treat. He remarked, however, that in all our efforts to place a white population in certain portions of this Commonwealth, we were simply supplanting the Almighty. I suppose he meant by that that we were trying to alter the Divine law of nature.

Senator FRASER.—Yes.

Senator GIVENS.—If we are trying to alter the Divine order of things by putting a white population on North Queensland, we are also altering the Divine order of things by putting a white population in New Zealand, Tasmania, or Victoria. Because, from what we know of them, the original population of New Zealand, Tasmania, and Victoria were as black as the blackest people that can be found in the northern portion of this continent.

Senator PEARCE.—By the same reasoning British soldiers have no right to be in India.

Senator GIVENS.—That is so. Senator Fraser or any other gentleman who advocates that the northern portion of Australia should be handed over to the blacks, simply because Divine Providence originally intended that it should be occupied by black people, have just as much reason to advocate that Victoria and Tasmania, which are eminently suitable for a white population, should, in accordance with the Divine order of things, be left to be occupied by a black population.

Senator DAWSON.—And we ought also to have a black Federal Parliament!

Senator GIVENS.—There are a great many misconceptions with regard to the Queensland climate which I wish to remove, if I can. I dare say that Senator Fraser and many others agree that the southern portion of Queensland is fit for a white population.

Senator FRASER.—I was speaking of the cane-fields.

Senator GIVENS.—The argument has been that while the climate of Southern Queensland may be fit for a white population, such is not the case in the north, and that Cairns especially should be singled out as a place that is only fit for a black population. I am going to show, from official figures, that the climate of Cairns is a better and more agreeable climate than that of Bundaberg or Brisbane. But I ask honorable senators to remember that climate does not always depend upon latitude. Compare the climate of Ireland, in the United Kingdom, with the climate of Labrador, in the North American Continent. The climate of Labrador is most inhospitable. It is so cold and bleak that it is almost impossible for any inhabitant to live there. But Ireland, in almost the same latitude, has one of the most genial climates any one could live in.

Senator WALKER.—Owing to the Gulf stream.

Senator GIVENS.—Exactly. Therefore, climate cannot always be judged by latitude. Again, in the coastal districts of Cairns, the prevailing winds are south-east. That is, they have to come over a wide stretch of the Pacific Ocean before they reach the land. Every one knows that a hot wind, or any warm wind, is cooled by coming over the sea. Therefore, the people living there have always cool air, when there are south-east winds blowing. Again, if the winds come from the west, or from the north, they cross the high mountains which constitute the coast range. The winds are thereby cooled. Consequently, we have a cool wind, no matter which way it blows.

Senator FRASER.—There are no high mountains there.

Senator GIVENS.—That remark shows how the honorable senator exposes his ignorance on this subject. The highest mountains in Queensland are there in the Bellenden Ker Range, the most considerable mountain in which is Bartle Frere, 5,400 feet above the level of the sea. Let me point out how the temperature at Cairns compares with the temperature in the south portion of Queensland. I quote now from a report made by Dr. Maxwell, to the Federal Government, in 1901. It will be found in volume 4, page 275, of the *Queensland Votes and Proceedings* for the year 1901. The mean minimum temperature in Cairns during four years was 67°6. In Bundaberg it was 61°3. That is, the mean minimum temperature was only 6 degrees higher in Cairns than in Bundaberg. That was during the cool months. Turning to the high temperatures, we find that the mean maximum temperature, in four years, at Cairns, was 83°3, and at Bundaberg, 83°4. So that the temperature was actually a fraction lower at Cairns as compared with Bundaberg.

Senator CLEMONS.—But no reference is made to the humidity of the atmosphere.

Senator GIVENS.—I thought that that question would come, and I am ready for it. I have fought out this question in the Queensland Legislature. Whenever people are bowled out in reference to the question of heat, they ask, "What about humidity?" We have documentary proof from the highest authorities, for a period of four years. When I was a member of the Queensland State Parliament, I moved for a return showing the humidity of the temperature for four years, in various typical coastal stations

of Queensland from Cairns to Brisbane. The very persons who, at that time, were talking about their desire to get the fullest possible information in order that the Commonwealth Parliament might legislate with a full knowledge of the subject, fought all they knew against the laying of that return on the table in the Queensland Parliament. After a fight I succeeded in getting it tabled, and honorable senators, if they care to refer to it, will find it at page 1389 of volume III. of the Votes and Proceedings of the Queensland Legislative Assembly for 1901. The table is a very long one, and I do not, therefore, propose to quote it at length, but I shall give honorable senators the mean humidity for each of the four years at Cairns, Mackay, Bundaberg, and Brisbane. For 1897 the mean percentage of humidity, reckoning 100 per cent. as saturation, was for Cairns, 77 per cent.; Mackay, 74; Bundaberg, 73; and Brisbane, 72. The figures for 1898 were Cairns, 78 per cent.; Mackay, 75; Bundaberg, 76; and Brisbane, 73. For 1899, Cairns, 74 per cent.; Mackay, 73; Bundaberg, 74; and Brisbane, 74. And for 1900 the figures were Cairns, 73 per cent.; Mackay, 72; Bundaberg, 73; and Brisbane 71. In the face of these figures, compiled by the Queensland Government Meteorologist, Mr. Clement Wragge, or, as he was sometimes called, Mr. "Inclement" Wragge, I ask what point there was in the interjection by Senator Clemons, "What about the humidity?"

Senator CLEMONS.—Does not the honorable senator think that he has proved it?

Senator GIVENS.—I am glad to hear the honorable and learned senator admit it. What is more to the point is that the six months of the year in which nine-tenths of the work that has to be done in the cane-fields of the Cairns district is performed, from the 1st July to the middle of December, are the dry months in that portion of the State, and the percentage of humidity during those months is less in the Cairns district than in the southern portion of the State. So that from the climatic point of view, it is absolutely untrue to say that the conditions of cultivation in the northern portion of Queensland are more unfavorable to the employment of white labour than those existing in any other portion of Queensland.

Senator FRASER.—Dr. Maxwell says they are.

Senator GIVENS.—I have quoted Dr. Maxwell as to the temperature returns, and

Mr. Clement Wragge's report as to the humidity returns. I am free to admit that when we had beaten them out of the field on the temperature and humidity returns, our opponents took up another attitude, and said, "It is not a question of either heat or humidity, but of atmospheric tension." I did not bother about atmospheric tension, because I knew that when we had beaten them upon that point also, they would say it was the differential calculus, or something of that kind. There is one other testimony I should like to quote before I conclude this part of the subject. During the first Parliament Senator Neild frequently and forcibly expressed the opinion on the floor of the Chamber that North Queensland, especially at Cairns, was not fit for a white man to live in, much less to work in. Quite recently, however, when, unfortunately, owing to the state of his health, the honorable senator had to obtain leave of absence from the Senate, he actually went to recuperate at the place which he had denounced. And I believe he has since freely expressed the opinion that his stay there did him a great deal of good, and that the place is admirable for the purpose for which he visited it.

Senator GRAY.—He was there in the winter.

Senator GIVENS.—The figures I have quoted prove that the climate of Queensland is not only genial in the winter, but that in the summer time it is not so hot as places far south. Last summer I watched the thermometer readings at Melbourne and Cairns during the months of December and January, and I found that the high temperature in Melbourne exceeded by at least two degrees the high temperature at Cairns; and any one who takes the trouble to consult the official figures will find that what I have stated is the fact.

Senator DOBSON.—I am glad to hear the honorable senator advancing such a good argument against the sugar bounty being continued.

Senator GIVENS.—I have a motion on the notice-paper, which will allow a full discussion of that phase of the question; and I shall be happy to argue the point at the proper time with Senator Dobson, or any other honorable senator. There is just one other statement of Senator Fraser which I should like to controvert. Speaking of the Immigration Restriction Act, and of the White Australian legislation of the Commonwealth Parliament generally, Senator

Fraser denounced, in the strongest possible terms, that portion of the legislation which deals with the class of labour to be employed on British shipping. We have nothing to do in this Parliament with the kind of labour to be employed on British shipping, over which we have no jurisdiction; nor has this Parliament ever presumed to dictate to the British Empire what sort of labour ought to be employed in any of the Empire's ships. What we have done, and what we have a perfect right to do—what I believe we were wise in doing in the interests of the Empire itself—has been to declare that we will not subsidize any vessels which carry other than white crews. Senator Fraser was very impressive when, lifting up both hands, he declared that he held them up for the flag every time—he made an almighty mouthful about his loyalty. I am one who believes that, like a woman's virtue, if it exists, a man's loyalty does not need any protesting. I never yet knew a woman with any claims to respectability, who went about the country "blowing" about her virtue. A woman's virtue is unquestioned. And so with every Britisher's loyalty—there is no need to be continually protesting about it. But Senator Fraser, while making a song about his loyalty to the flag, proved conclusively, over and over again, that, although he might be loyal to the flag, he was disloyal to the British people. I take it that loyalty to the people of the Empire—the race from which we sprang—is greater than loyalty to any flag whatever. Senator Fraser's argument practically is that the interests of the British Empire, and of the British people should be entirely swept aside in the interests of the profits of the ship-owners—that it does not matter what sort of crews are employed so long as the ship-owners are enabled to compete in the open markets of the world and obtain their "pound of flesh" in the shape of profits. I hold that, so far as it can be accomplished by legislation, whether in this Parliament, the British Parliament, or any other Parliament, the employment of any crew whatever, excepting a British crew, so long as that is obtainable, should be absolutely prohibited on any British ship which enjoys the protection of the flag and the trade received from the British people. The integrity of the British Empire depends absolutely on ability to obtain an adequate number of capable seamen for defence in time of difficulty, danger, or war.

Senator Givens.

In a recent contribution to a controversy on this question, the British Navy League, which I do not know can be charged with having any great sympathy with labour ideals, advocated exactly the same policy, namely, that British ship-owners ought to be compelled to man their vessels with British seamen. Their reason is that, otherwise, the supply of British seamen for the British Navy will inevitably be exhausted, as, indeed, it must. What has been the main factor in bringing about the dominance of the British Empire throughout the world? What has enabled the Empire to obtain its present high position amongst the nations of the earth? Undoubtedly, it is the fact that she possessed a seafaring people, always prepared to defend the Empire, and to extend her rule in every quarter of the world. The British Navy is to-day the might of the British Empire. Without the Navy England would sink into the position of a third-rate or fourth-rate power. But the British Navy would be absolutely useless without British seamen—it would be a magnificent machine without the proper means for setting it to work. Unless the mercantile marine is manned by British sailors, inevitably the time is not far distant when the Navy will be starved for want of men. Those facts are pointed out by some of the most enlightened statesmen in England to-day. The British Navy League, which has made a special study of the subject, and has collected a large amount of data on which to base conclusions, has stated, as plainly as we do, that unless something is done to prevent British seafaring men from being driven out of the British mercantile marine, the time must come when there will not be sufficient sailors to man the Navy—when Great Britain will have no reserve of seamen in time of danger, trouble, and difficulty, and must give up her supremacy.

Senator BEST.—Is that the reason actuating the Labour Party in opposing the employment of lascars on mail steamers?

Senator GIVENS.—That is one of the main reasons why we advocate that policy, and why we oppose the immigration of coloured races to the country. One of the main reasons I have always put forward against the introduction of Chinese, Japanese, coolies, kanakas, and other coloured men into Queensland, is that if the hour of difficulty or danger comes to the mother country—we hope the hour may not come—when she may have to put her back

against the wall to fight against a combination, it may be, of European nations, our duty will be, not to add to her burden, but to fight in our own defence; and if we had to depend on such races to fight for our liberty and the integrity of the Commonwealth, it would be a very poor day for us. It has been put forward as an argument that work in the stakehold is not fit for white men, and that they should not be asked to do it; but I say that under proper conditions, a white man can work in the stakehold or anywhere else.

Senator STANFORTH SMITH.—If he has proper ventilation.

Senator GIVENS.—If a white man has proper conditions in regard to hours, food, and accommodation when not actually employed, he can and will work in any place in the world. People who make those barefaced statements have staring them in the face the fact that white men are doing this work, and have done it for all time.

Senator STANFORTH SMITH. — White stokers are employed in the Norddeutscher-Lloyd vessels.

Senator GIVENS.—Ever since steamships were invented, white men have been doing this work. The whole trouble is that the employment of white men does not allow ship-owners so large a profit. The whole ideal of ship-owners is profit; they care nothing, although they talk very loudly, for the British Empire, so long as their pockets are well lined. While ship-owners are continually maligning their race, and saying that they are not fit for this or that work, they forget that Britishers, to whom they refuse employment, have very often to starve. I have said that patriotism does not actuate these people who talk so largely about it, and that is true. Without imparting any heat or passion into the debate, it may be said that we have evidence that when profits are at stake, ship-owners care nothing for patriotism or humanity. We learn from the reports of several Royal Commissions in the old country, which inquired into the circumstances of several manufacturing industries, that human life is sacrificed under the bad conditions which are allowed to prevail in chemical factories, match factories, and similar places. Those who carry on such industries never alter the conditions and prevent this sacrifice of life until they are compelled to do so by law. They care nothing about patriotism, and we have it on the very best evidence, which has never been contradicted, that when Great Britain goes to war,

very often the guns and bullets which are levelled at her soldiers have been made in British factories. The engines of warfare employed by the enemy against British soldiers have very often been manufactured by Britishers who were the loudest in advocating the war. These are facts which I do not think any one will attempt to deny, and they prove conclusively that the patriotism which animates honorable gentlemen like Senator Fraser, who says that both his hands go up for the flag every time, does not amount to much—is of a bogus character. As I pointed out before, there is a higher loyalty than loyalty to the flag, and that is loyalty, not to any one particular section, but to the people of the whole nation.

Senator GRAY.—Does not the flag represent the people?

Senator GIVENS.—Not always. If I were to deal with that question fully I would point out that the flag has often been flown in fights against the people. I do not, however, propose to deal with that matter, which is not altogether relevant. Before dealing with the Government policy in particular, or such portion of a policy as I have been able to discover in a very close search, I should like to refer to one or two statements made by honorable senators. Senator Clemons has condemned the banking proposals of the Labour Party as iniquities which should be condemned by almost everybody, that is, by almost everybody whom honorable senators opposite would characterize as right-thinking persons. I believe I am right in concluding, from an interjection, that Senator Pulsford holds exactly the same view.

Senator PULSFORD.—Quite so.

Senator GIVENS.—The Labour Party are not peculiar by any means as regards their banking proposals, nor have they invented such a method of dealing with the banks. For very many years the Dominion of Canada has had in force an exactly similar law, although there has not been a Labour Party in power in that country. This law was advocated in the first instance, and enacted in the second instance, by men who were not tainted with the doctrines of the Labour Party.

Senator KEATING.—Those proposals were actually suggested from Downing-street.

Senator PULSFORD.—The circumstances of Canada are entirely different from those of Australia.

Senator WALKER.—Where do the Canadian banks keep their coin reserves?

Senator GUTHRIE.—In the Treasury.

Senator WALKER.—In New York largely.

Senator GIVENS.—The coin reserves are, or ought to be, kept by the banks in their vaults, or other places to which they can have immediate access.

Senator WALKER.—Many of the Canadian banks have branches in New York.

Senator GIVENS.—At any rate, the Canadian banks are compelled by Dominion law to keep a certain proportion of their reserves in Canadian stock. What was the case in Australia before ever this idea was advocated here, when things were in the happy condition which honorable senators opposite seem to think is the most desirable? I refer to the time when the banks were issuing balance-sheets showing very handsome reserves. I wonder if Senator Walker ever asked where the majority of the reserves were kept. I should very much like to know now where they were kept, and so would, I believe, any other man who had anything to do with the affairs of the country at that time. When an inquiry was made it was proved that these coin reserves were non-existent to a very large extent, and that the banks would have required a very strong safe or vault to keep hold of coin then.

Senator PULSFORD.—Reserves are not necessarily coin reserves.

Senator GIVENS.—Of course not. In a pamphlet which was sent to us recently by a gentleman in New South Wales, the argument was put forward that it was absolutely necessary to have a very considerable quantity of coin, so that the gold reserves should bear a certain proportion to the total amount of liquid assets. For what purpose are gold reserves held by the banks? These are supposed to be held in the first place as a guarantee that the banks will be able to meet any demand which may be made upon them. Up to a certain point they are supposed to give that guarantee, because no bank pretends to hold the full amount of its liabilities in coin reserves. I do not think that a bank in the world, not even the Bank of England, holds an amount equal to the whole of its liabilities in absolutely liquid reserves, simply because no bank could adopt that plan, and at the same time make a profit. One of the first objects of a coin reserve is to enable a bank to meet any sudden run or demand on it. What causes a sudden run on a bank? What makes the people rush to a bank and want to withdraw their deposits or receive coin

for the bank's notes? It is simply a loss of confidence in the bank. No bank, not even the Bank of England, I believe, could last a week if it had lost the confidence of the public and its customers. In Australia in 1893, we had an experience of a run being made on the banks, and the State had immediately to come to their assistance. In some instances the State had to proclaim a certain number of days as bank holidays, in order to afford to the banks an opportunity to gather in their reserves, and the run on the banks to subside.

Senator WALKER.—That was in Victoria.

Senator KEATING.—No; in New South Wales, where the notes were made legal tender.

Senator WALKER.—But the banks there did not shut their doors for a few days.

Senator KEATING.—If New South Wales had not had Sir George Dibbs at the head of the Government it would have had a bank panic still.

Senator WALKER.—Is the honorable and learned senator aware that the Bank of England can suspend payment if it likes, and that Sir George Dibbs gave the same advantage to the banks of New South Wales as it has?

Senator KEATING.—The State came to the assistance of the banks.

Senator GIVENS.—This all bears out my argument, that where a bank has lost public confidence the State has to step in and restore that confidence.

Senator KEATING.—Has the honorable senator ever known the people of Canada to lose confidence in their banks during the last thirty-four years?

Senator GIVENS.—Not once. We have had other instances where the States have had to step in and guarantee the note issue of banks. The notes were supposed to be payable when presented, and the fact that the State had to give that guarantee was positive proof that, at that time, the notes were not worth the paper on which they were printed. But immediately the guarantee was given by the State, these notes were accepted without question by the general public, even in that time of panic. Now, what are the banking proposals of the Labour Party? Our object, in the first place, is to insure that the public, who are compelled by the exigencies of business to trust the banks to a certain extent, shall have some guarantee that on presentation their notes shall be redeemed, that the assets of the banks shall not be allowed to dwindle into mere paper assets, as had occurred in

the case of many private banks in 1893. We have heard a great deal about the confiscation of the banks' gold. There is not a shadow of justification for supposing that there is a word about confiscation in our proposals.

Senator GRAY.—It is borrowing.

Senator GIVENS.—It is borrowing. It is proposed to compel the banks to do what they say they do without compulsion.

Senator STANFORTH SMITH.—It is the substitution of one security for another.

Senator GIVENS.—Our desire is to give a guarantee to the people that there shall be adequate security to justify their confidence in the banks. Whenever we have had a run on the banks, whether it has been in New Zealand, or in any State of the Commonwealth, the people have always been allowed to "fall in." In Queensland, it came to such a pass that, in order to preserve the people from the probability, or the certainty, of being defrauded by the issue of notes, which had, in some instances, proved to be perfectly valueless, we were compelled to withdraw the privilege of issuing notes from the banks. At the present time, in that State, no bank can issue a note and have it accepted as legal tender.

Senator KEATING.—That is an interference with private enterprise.

Senator GIVENS.—This course was taken by a purely Conservative Government, owing to the rotten condition of the banking institutions at that time. The State issues every note, and the banks have to plank down good gold for the notes.

Senator WALKER.—Excuse me, in Queensland the banks give their fixed deposits for these notes.

Senator GIVENS.—Although Senator Walker is a director of a bank, still I must dispute his word on this point, and refer him to the Statute, which may be seen in our Library.

Senator KEATING.—Even if he is right, a fixed deposit is really the same thing as gold.

Senator GIVENS.—What has been the result of the issue of these Treasury notes? Notwithstanding that Queensland has passed through a time of trouble and difficulty which is almost unprecedented in its history, notwithstanding that it has been alleged that the State was almost bankrupt owing to the recurrence of bad seasons, and the mismanagement of affairs by a corrupt Tory Government, not one citizen has ever objected to accept a Treasury note

for £1 or £5, as readily as he would accept gold. Therefore, I ask, is it not a reasonable thing for this Parliament, in the interests of the people, to say to any banking institution, "Before you engage in a business which may involve a number of persons in ruin if it is not carried on properly, you must give us some guarantee that the people's interest and money shall be safeguarded." We ask that a certain percentage—20 or 30 or 40 per cent. if you like—of the reserves of banking corporations shall be held in Commonwealth securities, so that the people shall have an adequate guarantee that, at any rate, that proportion of the reserves shall be safe. We have a perfect right to insist upon that guarantee being given. Up to the present time, banking institutions have been allowed to carry on their business practically at their own sweet will. What was the consequence in Melbourne some years ago? A state of misery and destitution was brought about by the failure of privately conducted banks that had not to give any guarantee, which was almost without a parallel in the history of the world.

Senator KEATING.—They locked up £54,000,000, and they have not given one pennyworth of security for its repayment.

Senator GIVENS.—In most cases they never will, because the money has been absolutely lost.

Senator WALKER.—In Victoria, the notes are a first charge on all the assets of a bank.

Senator GIVENS.—So they are in every State.

Senator WALKER.—They are not in New South Wales.

Senator GIVENS.—It does not matter whether the notes are a first or last charge on the assets, because the fact remains that they bear on their face this indorsement by the bank, "We promise to pay on demand." You could demand until you were black in the face, but you could not get the money, because the banks had not got it. Even the strongest bank in Australia—the Bank of New South Wales, with which Senator Walker is connected—was glad to get a little saving grace to tide over the position. Nevertheless I believe that the position of that bank was almost unquestioned.

Senator WALKER.—That bank did not ask the Government for grace; the Government offered it.

Senator GIVENS.—There is no question that the Bank of New South Wales asked

for and did receive some sort of Government assistance.

Senator WALKER.—They simply availed themselves of the Act which Parliament passed.

Senator GIVENS.—They wanted Government assistance, and they took it.

Senator WALKER.—We took it—yes.

Senator GIVENS.—Even the facts admitted by honorable senators opposite go to prove that something is necessary to safeguard the interests of the public.

Senator WALKER.—Therefore the honorable senator would take the gold away from the banks.

Senator GIVENS.—We are not going to take their gold away from them, but we are going to insure that a certain portion of their reserves shall be utilized. It is retained for the security of the people who have accepted bank-paper in all good faith. But we have found in the past that, notwithstanding glowing balance-sheets, and notwithstanding the statements often made that the banks held such and such reserves, when the time of stress and difficulty came these reserves were not available. The public had no redress. What was the position in Queensland? One of the banks, doing a very large business—the Queensland National Bank—held State money to the extent of millions, which has been locked up in interminable deposits.

Senator WALKER.—Interminable? I think not.

Senator GIVENS.—Practically so, because there was a certain percentage which the Government were to forego, and the rest was not to be paid for something like from twenty-five to fifty years.

Senator WALKER.—That is not interminable.

Senator GIVENS.—There were several other banks in a similar position. We have a right to demand that a certain portion of the reserves which the banks say that they put by shall be utilized. We have a right, in the interests of the public whom we represent, and upon whom the banks depend for their prosperity, to demand that a portion of those reserves shall be held in the security of the Commonwealth—that is, in the security of the whole of the people themselves—for the safeguarding of the interests of those people. What have the banks got to lose? Absolutely nothing, as is proved by the experience of Canada. Suppose that a bank keeps 30 per cent. of its reserves in gold coin. I

am putting this as a supposititious case, and not as an indication of what a bank would keep. That coin is locked up from year to year, doing absolutely nothing, unless there is a run on the bank.

Senator WALKER.—It gives confidence to the public.

Senator GIVENS.—The public have no guarantee that the money will be there when it is wanted, as I have proved by the cases I have cited. When in those instances the public wanted the gold coin which was supposed to be available it was not there. Suppose, as Senator Walker says, that the gold coin reserve is retained in the coffers of the banks in order to inspire confidence. In that case it is lying useless. Why should not a certain proportion of it be put to use, so long as there is something put in its place which will inspire equal or greater confidence? The experience of Canada proves that that money can be utilized for the benefit of the whole people, that instead of its being locked up it can be put into circulation, accomplishing beneficent works for the benefit of the people, while confidence is not impaired in the slightest degree.

Senator GRAY.—Why not do the same with limited liability companies?

Senator GIVENS.—If they were doing business in the same way as the banks are doing business, and were intrusted with millions of the people's money for investment that argument would be good.

Senator GRAY.—Some of them are doing business in just the same way.

Senator GIVENS.—If those companies held millions of the people's money, call—

Senator GRAY.—A great many of them.

Senator GIVENS.—They are banks, and they do that. I am prepared to extend this proposal to every company that is doing banking business. These banks are receiving money at call, and on fixed deposit from customers all over the Commonwealth. They issue notes, except in Queensland, where the issue of notes is a Government monopoly. The notes they promise to pay on demand, but sometimes when the banks have been asked to redeem their promises they have not been able to do so. Experience has proved that some sort of legislative interference is necessary. We are asked why we require a guarantee from these banks. Because past experience has shown that it is necessary, and because

is absolutely desirable to bring into circulation money which is locked up and doing nothing, inasmuch as it is proved that public confidence can be inspired and maintained equally effectively by other means.

Senator CLEMONS.—Why stop at 40 per cent?

Senator GIVENS.—Because there is always a certain amount of money which is required for the transaction of current daily business. The other portion is not required, unless there is a run on a bank, which is due to want of confidence; and that confidence can be more effectively maintained by a guarantee of the people than by a supposititious cash reserve in the vaults of the bank. I say supposititious, advisedly, because when it came to the point the coin reserves did not exist, although certificates were issued showing that they did exist. In 1893, that was the common experience. The exceptions were few in which the actual coin reserve was in existence to anything like the amount set forth in the balance-sheets of the banks. We have experience in Canada and Australia that a Government guarantee is a surer and more efficacious means of securing public confidence than anything else. Even in the banking crisis of 1893, when the people were almost mad with excitement over the failure of the banks, as soon as the Government guaranteed the notes they were accepted without question in every State of the Commonwealth. Why, when we can do three good things in one Act, should we not do them? Those things are, first, that we can exact a fair guarantee that the people's interests will be safeguarded by these proposals; secondly, we can prevent money from being locked up uselessly in vaults or safes and put it to a beneficent use in carrying on necessary works for the benefit of the people; and, thirdly, we can give an absolute security for that confidence which the public ought to feel in the banking institutions with which they transact business. It would suit everybody except those who want to rake in profits all the time. Not that those gentlemen ever hope to make a profit out of the money which they actually retain as gold reserves in the vaults, because it is impossible to make a profit out of money unless it is put to use. But the profit which they hope to make is this—that if the people are deprived of the use of that money, and are compelled to borrow from other sources, they will have to pay high interest, and in consequence the

money-lenders and the profit-mongers will reap a greater advantage. I think I have said enough to prove that these proposals are in the interests of the people of the Commonwealth. It does not matter whether honorable senators opposite approve or disapprove of them, the people will see that the great example of Canada in this regard is worth following, and will soon wake up to the necessity of following it. No matter whether the present Government or any other Government is in power, they will have to do this thing. I was very much amused the other day at the remarks of Senator Walker when addressing himself to this question. He is not usually humorous—or at least he does not attempt to be. But sometimes he is humorous unconsciously. He said that what was required more than anything else at the present time was fiscal peace. Senator Walker was something like the Melbourne *Argus* in that connexion. That journal supplemented Senator Walker's desire for fiscal peace by saying that one other thing was just as much required, and that was political peace. Other Governments having been turned out of office, and the *Argus* Government now being in office, that journal wants fiscal peace, and no more fighting.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—The honorable senator's Government wanted fiscal peace also.

Senator GIVENS.—I have no desire for fiscal peace.

Senator STANFORTH SMITH.—The honorable senator does not want peace of any kind.

Senator GIVENS.—I do not want it at too high a price. If I see something that does not tend to the well-being of the Commonwealth there will be no cry for fiscal peace from me, or for peace of any kind until it is remedied, no matter whether a Government which I support occupies the Treasury bench or not. There is no peace. Because honorable senators opposite happen to have secured possession of the Treasury bench they desire political peace and fiscal peace. Nobody must attempt to dislodge them. So far as I am concerned, they will get no peace from me. I shall endeavour to dislodge them on the first available opportunity, because I believe it would be disastrous to the best interests of Australia if the present Government were allowed to retain office one hour longer than is absolutely necessary.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—It is necessary for a good many years yet.

Senator GUTHRIE.—Next week will see the end, I think.

Senator GIVENS.—What is the position with regard to fiscal peace? Mr. Deakin, as leader of the Government at the time, put forward a platform of fiscal peace during the life of the ensuing Parliament, at the general elections held last year. But he put it forward with a very considerable qualification. He submitted that platform in conjunction with an idea of preferential trade, and a further idea that there should be certain bonuses granted. The party represented on the Treasury bench at the present time, led by the Right Honorable George Houston Reid, would not accept fiscal peace at any price at the general election. They said it was the white flag, and they fired upon the white flag. They were beaten, and now having been beaten, they say, "Allow us to come in under the white flag." The members of the party to which I belong put forward no such cry as fiscal peace at the elections.

Senator WALKER.—The honorable senator is a fiscal atheist, is he not?

Senator GIVENS.—I am not a fiscal atheist. I believe that one of the most important aims we should have in view for the young nation which we are trying to build up here under the Southern Cross, is that so far as possible we should be placed in the position of a self-contained nation, independent of any portion of the outside world. What is our position as an island Continent? If there were war to-morrow in which we were involved, we should be liable to be cut off from all the supplies for which we have hitherto been looking to the foreigner.

Senator GRAY.—The honorable senator does not suppose that ships would come here empty?

Senator GIVENS.—If an honorable senator is so stupid that he cannot see that in war time it is possible that ships would be unable to trade with an island Continent, it is useless to argue with him.

Senator GUTHRIE.—There has been no communication with Japan for months.

Senator GIVENS.—Though Great Britain possesses a magnificent navy, the finest and most powerful the world has ever seen, it has always been recognised by her statesmen, that were England at war with a first-class European power, it is possible that her

supplies of the necessities of life for her people might be very seriously interrupted.

Senator DOBSON.—With a coast line extending for 8,000 miles, it would take a big nation to cut us off.

Senator GIVENS.—A coast line of 8,000 miles does not amount to very much, considering our present means of communication. We have only three or four ports of the Commonwealth connected by rail. If we could not get goods introduced at Sydney, Melbourne, or Adelaide, and they had to be landed at Brisbane or Rockhampton, we should find very great difficulty in keeping Melbourne or Sydney supplied. Then, what about the enormous areas in other parts of the Commonwealth, which are not connected by rail with the various ports? How would they be supplied? I repeat that it is most desirable that Australia should, as far as possible, be a self-contained nation. That we cannot hope to be, without the establishment of industries of various kinds within the Commonwealth, and they cannot be established without some adequate system of protection. Let it be remembered that the vast bulk of the great industries even of free-trade England were built up under a strictly protective system. I ask why we should not follow the good example of "the dear old mother-land," in that respect. I do not propose to argue the question of Protection *versus* Free-trade in the course of this debate. The subject is too large to be dealt with casually in a debate of this kind. No one could hope to do it justice by mere casual references, and I wish only to define my position in reply to Senator Walker's interjection. I assure the honorable senator that I am not a fiscal atheist. I believe that a fiscal policy of some sort is absolutely essential as a part of the financial policy which any party aspiring to govern in the Commonwealth must have. I hold very strong views as to what our fiscal policy should be, and at the proper time I shall have the courage to freely enunciate those views. Senator Walker referred, amongst other things, to the Western Australian railway. I really do not know what attitude the honorable senator or the party to which he belongs is going to take up on that great question.

Senator WALKER.—I am in favour of it.

Senator GIVENS.—So, I understand, is the present Minister of Home Affairs, who, on various occasions, and on many platforms, has most strongly denounced it.

What an extraordinary change of opinion the translation of an honorable gentleman from one side of the House to another often makes.

Senator MULCAHY.—It does, with members of all parties.

Senator GIVENS.—A month ago the present Minister of Home Affairs denounced this proposal in the most unmeasured language. Nothing was then too bad to say about it. It was a desert railway, which involved an unmitigated steal from the funds of the Commonwealth.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—Who said that?

Senator GUTHRIE.—The present Minister of Home Affairs, Mr. Dugald Thomson.

Senator GIVENS.—We now find the honorable gentleman in favour of the proposal, and actually introducing a Bill dealing with the subject, in another place.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—Why should he not change his mind?

Senator GIVENS.—Certainly, if he pleases. The honorable gentleman's change of mind pre-supposes that he has a mind to change; but what I complain about is that these changes of mind occur only as peculiar coincidences at a time when some political benefit may be gained by the individual changing his mind.

Senator MULCAHY.—Has the honorable senator never changed his mind for a benefit?

Senator GIVENS.—I hope that when I do change my mind, it will not be for place, pay, or power.

Senator GRAY.—I do not think the honorable senator can say that Mr. Dugald Thomson has changed his mind for those reasons.

Senator GIVENS.—I am not saying anything at all about the honorable gentleman, beyond the fact that his change of mind at this time appears to be a peculiar coincidence.

Senator MULCAHY.—The honorable senator may as well say a thing as imply it.

Senator GIVENS.—When we find these coincidences so very apt to arise in the case of honorable gentlemen of a peculiar political brand, we cannot be blamed for drawing certain conclusions—I do not say what those conclusions are. The whole trouble with honorable senators opposite, in their demand for fiscal peace, has been admitted by Senator Millen, in the speech he delivered during this debate. It is that, if

the Labour Party were allowed to remain in power, they would consolidate their position, and strengthen themselves with the people of the Commonwealth. That is what the honorable senator said. What does that mean? There is only one way in which a governing party can consolidate and strengthen its position, and that is by legislating and administering the affairs of the country in the interests of the people. We cannot strengthen or consolidate our position without the approval of the people. Without that approval there can be no improvement made in our position. According to Senator Millen, if the Labour Party had been allowed to remain in power, they would have consolidated and improved their position. That means, if it means anything at all, that the people of the Commonwealth had approved, did approve, and would continue to approve of the legislation and administration of the Labour Party, and because of that those opposed to them thought that they should put them out as soon as possible. The statement made by Senator Millen involves an admission that the people were approving, and would probably continue to approve of the legislation and administration of the Labour Party, as being good for them, and beneficial to the Commonwealth; but, rather than see that good result brought about, Senator Millen, and the party to which he belongs, were prepared to remove from the Treasury bench those who were accomplishing such good work. Merely for the sake of aggrandizing their own party, and for the sake of place and power, they were prepared to turn off the Treasury bench a Government whom they admitted did good work, and in such a way as to obtain the approval and confidence of the whole of the people of the Commonwealth.

Senator GUTHRIE.—No word was ever said against their administration.

Senator MULCAHY.—There was not very much of it.

Senator GUTHRIE.—There was four months of it.

Senator GIVENS.—I have stated the logical conclusions to be arrived at from what Senator Millen said, and I challenge anybody to find a flaw in that logic. Of course, Senator Millen said also that the ostensible object of the published platform of the Labour Party did not cover the whole of our aims. The honorable senator did not disapprove, and was not frightened of anything we propose at present. It was what

was coming after that that the honorable senator objected to.

Senator CLEMONS.—I do not think the honorable senator said that.

Senator GIVENS.—Senator Clemons can look up *Hansard*, and find it for himself.

Senator WALKER.—It is what Senator Millen said.

Senator GIVENS.—We have a difference of opinion on the other side, straight away. Senator Walker is honest enough to admit that I have quoted Senator Millen fairly.

Senator CLEMONS.—I did not for a moment suggest that the honorable senator had not quoted Senator Millen honestly.

Senator GIVENS.—I did not understand Senator Clemons to admit that a minute ago. Senator Millen believes that everything we propose at the present time is right. He is not afraid of anything we have on our immediate programme; it is the ultimate ends we have in view that the honorable senator is afraid of.

Senator WALKER.—Tom Mann-ism.

Senator GIVENS.—I ask whether we have not just as good a right to be afraid of what may be beyond the present platform of honorable senators opposite, as they have to be afraid of what is beyond our present platform. Do they in their published platform show the whole of their ideas and conclusions? Do they, in their public enunciations of policy, give the whole of their aspirations, aims, and objects? Not they.

Senator WALKER.—They have taken a leaf out of the book of the Labour Party.

Senator GIVENS.—I want to show the utter insincerity of the sort of criticism to which the Labour Party has been subjected. It is admitted by honorable senators opposite that they take exactly the same course which they denounce the Labour Party for taking; though we of the Labour Party have not done anything to justify the charges made. So far as the Labour Party are concerned, we are not revolutionary Socialists. We do not want to accomplish reforms by revolution, because we believe that reforms thus accomplished would not be lasting or have a good effect. What we believe in is evolution—a gradual growth. We want to take one step at a time, and judge by the circumstances of that time as to what the subsequent steps shall be. It has been charged against us that we are never satisfied—that we agitate until we get what we want, and then immediately reach out our hands for more. Of course we do, and quite right too. But the Tory

is never content that that should be the case, although a moment's thought should convince him that the very fact that the people are never satisfied, but are always reaching out for more, is the surest guarantee of our continued prosperity, and the best assurance of the vitality and continued life of our race. When we sink to a state of plodding contentment, in which we are satisfied with anything that comes along, that day will spell stagnation, and stagnation will inevitably spell ruin. We desire to continually strive for something better, and that is what the Labour Party means to do—to keep on striving until they arrive at the final goal, whether that be this year, next year, or next century, when human effort can make no further progress towards human happiness. Until the sum total of possible human happiness is obtained, I hope the Labour Party, and every progressive party, will never rest content. I should like to make a passing reference to Senator Millen's observations on what he called the "*Petriana* scandal." These are not my words, but the words of Senator Millen, whom we now find supporting certain members of a Government who perpetrated that scandal. Could anything be more inconsistent or more degrading to the public life of the Commonwealth, than that a man in a representative position should describe a certain course of action as a scandal, and at the same time give his support to the very men who were guilty of what he denounces? The scandal, if scandal there was, lay in the lying and misrepresentations used by the Free-Trade Party of New South Wales for political purposes. It was lying of the most shameless description from beginning to end, and I do not hesitate to say so.

Senator KEATING.—Do not forget the Melbourne *Argus*.

Senator GIVENS.—There was the Melbourne *Argus* too; but it was the Free-trade Party who used this, and other dirty weapons, which I had better not mention in a respectable Chamber of this sort. It has been proved over and over again from the papers laid on the table during the session that the statements made about the *Petriana* case were absolutely false, and the parties who made the statements knew that they were false, but they used them deliberately, and of malice aforethought for the attainment of their own political ends. They could not fight nor win their case honorably, but had to descend to dirty political methods of this sort in their

efforts to discredit the Government then in power. Now, strange to say, we find those gentlemen who denounced the "*Petriana* scandal," and the Government who perpetrated it, arm in arm, and cheek by jowl with the men they denounced.

Senator WALKER.—How about the Stelling case?

Senator GIVENS.—That was a case of a similar description. Honorable senators opposite are so much in love with the criminal that they want to gather him to their bosom with as little impediment as possible. If I were to go into the particulars of the "*Petriana* scandal," the Stelling case, or of the famous six hatters we heard so much noise about, my observations would be of inordinate length. As the Labour Party did not perpetrate the awful things which honorable senators opposite so freely and eloquently denounce, we are not on our defence, and we shall therefore leave it to Senator Drake, Sir George Turner, and other honorable gentlemen who are now associated with honorable senators opposite, to defend and explain the position. Senator Millen, in the course of his remarks said—and I think I quote him correctly—that the Labour Party stands for collective effort, while he stands for individualism; and before I conclude, I intend to deal with that aspect of the question. Senator Millen's statement, or enunciation of policy in this connexion can, I believe, be taken as fairly representative of the views expressed by most honorable members on the other side, and therefore my remarks will apply generally, and not to Senator Millen, or any other honorable senator, in particular. But prior to dealing with this matter I desire to point out for the benefit of the Senate and the people of the Commonwealth that the policy of the present Administration, so far as we have had any enunciation of it, is absolutely a colourless one, containing nothing which has not been promised or taken in hand by previous Administrations. That policy is one which the present head of the Government described in his celebrated speech at Warragul as a "crawling policy"; and now that it has been adopted by him I suppose we are justified in styling the Prime Minister a "crawling" politician.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—That is too elaborate a joke.

Senator GIVENS.—I do not know that. Mr. Reid was not a little bit delicate about applying the epithet, which I admit is not

elegant. But the Labour Party did not invent the adjective in the first instance, and I am now using the eloquent language of such a distinguished statesman as the present head of the Government. So far as we have been able to find any policy in the declaration of the Government, it is that which they have stated on public platforms from one end of the Commonwealth to the other, and which has been stated by Senator Millen here—the policy of anti-Socialism. I do not think there is an honorable senator opposite who will deny that that indicates their real objection to the Labour Party, and is the real policy they are putting forward at the present time.

Senator DOBSON.—The honorable senator had better define "Socialism" before he goes on.

Senator GIVENS.—I shall do that for the benefit of the honorable senator. Honorable senators opposite have denounced each other year after year, and Administration after Administration have denounced each other in the most bitter language; and I suppose we must give them credit for sincerity in advocating separate policies which each has declared would be ruinous to the country. The protectionists said that protection was the chief plank in their platform, and that without it the country would be ruined—that if the destinies of the Commonwealth were placed in the hands of the free-traders, it would be "good-bye" to the prosperity of Australia and of the various States. The free-traders said exactly the same thing about the protectionists, who were described as robbers of one class of the community for the benefit of another. Now we find the free-traders and the protectionists arm in arm.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—So they are in the Labour Party, are they not?

Senator GIVENS.—The Labour Party never deceived the public of Australia, but came forward with a straight-out platform, declaring that they put that platform first and the fiscal issue second.

Senator WALKER.—The Labour Party are apparently divided on the fiscal question.

Senator GIVENS.—Some of the members of the Labour Party hold free-trade principles, so far as fiscal ideas can be called principles, and there are other members who hold protectionist opinions. But, in my opinion, fiscal ideas of one kind or another are not principles, but mere matters of expediency, largely or almost entirely governed by time, place, and circumstances.

Senator PULSFORD.—The honorable senator is evidently a fiscal atheist, after all.

Senator GIVENS.—I am not a fiscal atheist. As we find those ardent free-traders arm-in-arm with the men they denounced as robbers—

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—It shows how forgiving they are.

Senator GIVENS.—It shows that greater than fiscal principles, or any differences which may have previously existed, there is a motive at work, and that great and guiding motive is hatred of the Labour Party—absolute hatred of the Labour Party.

Senator WALKER.—Political hatred.

Senator GIVENS.—I am speaking in no other sense but political.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—I hope the honorable senator does not speak of me as hating the Labour Party, because I am all love for them.

Senator GIVENS.—The Attorney-General is as mild as a sucking dove, and would not, I am sure, say a word to disturb the equanimity or calm of this Chamber. I believe that when he spoke at a public function in Adelaide recently he denounced the Labour Party.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—I think not.

Senator GIVENS.—Is the report wrong again?

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—I spoke in chastening love of them.

Senator GIVENS.—Yes, just like a mother feels when she spanks the baby. It is evident that there must have been some very strong motive to make these erstwhile political enemies on the other side come together.

Senator DOBSON.—When the alliance comes off what are the honorable senator's friends going to do? Go arm in arm together.

Senator GIVENS.—I have always been able to go arm in arm with any reformer, whether he has been a protectionist or a free-trader, because we did not put the fiscal question as a leading issue to the people, and we break no pledge by leaving it sunk. Furthermore, we always told the electors that it was a mere secondary matter, and that labour principles should receive first consideration, because we find that in free-trade England there are millions of persons who are in a condition of absolute starvation to-day, and that the same thing exists in protectionist America, showing conclusively that neither free-trade

nor protection of itself will effect the industrial salvation of the masses of the people. But honorable senators on the other side put their fiscal faith first, and yet they have sunk it, joined together by a common hatred of the Labour Party—that is, of the aspirations of the masses of the people of Australia.

Senator WALKER.—In defence against attacks.

Senator GIVENS.—I shall be able to enlighten the honorable senator before I have finished. As a matter of fact, the party which is stigmatized as being all that is bad have no desire, as they have evidenced time and again, to grasp the governing power for the mere sake of being in office. The only desire we have ever had in entering the parliamentary arena, or accepting any public or administrative position, has been to promote the well-being of the people of Australia, as has been proved over and over again. We are here not to represent property or social position, or anything of that kind, but to represent the common rights of humanity. When honorable senators opposite have sunk their fiscal belief, and every point of difference which has hitherto existed between them, to fight us, unquestionably they are fighting against the well-being of the masses of the people.

Senator DOBSON.—You have a funny way of protecting the rights of the non-unionists.

Senator GIVENS.—We shall have an opportunity to discuss that question by-and-by, and it ought not to be necessary for me to remind an old parliamentarian like Senator Dobson that it is quite unusual, and, I believe, highly disorderly, to anticipate the debate on a measure. We welcome the coalition on the other side, because it places all the enemies of the masses of the people in one camp. We are not now liable to a flank attack. We have all our enemies in front of us, and we know exactly whom we have to deal with, and the people of Australia will continue to deal with them until, as occurred in Queensland the other day, they are practically wiped out.

Senator WALKER.—The Labour Party had to unite with a certain section there to do it.

Senator GIVENS.—Queensland has absolutely the worst franchise to be found in Australia. In some electorates the property vote amounts to 50 per cent. A man may possess a vote for every electorate in the State, and may record a vote for

seventy-two candidates. But, in spite of the franchise and everything else, in a House of seventy-two members, we have thirty-four straight labour men, and we are allied with the Progressive Party of twenty members. In fact, the position is so unprecedented that benches have had to be removed from the Opposition to the Government side in order to accommodate all the Progressivists.

THE PRESIDENT.—Does the honorable senator think that that has anything to do with the policy of the Government?

Senator GIVENS.—So far as I know, sir, this debate is on the question as to whether a certain paper shall be printed or not.

THE PRESIDENT.—Yes, and on that question the policy of the Government and that of the Opposition can be debated.

Senator GIVENS.—I am showing that, according to the results of the recent Queensland elections, a very important portion of the Commonwealth is in entire opposition to the policy of the present Government, and I think, with all due respect to you, sir, I am entitled to quote a fact like that to bear out my argument. The only policy I have been able to discover on the other side, if it is worthy of being called a policy, is that the Government and their supporters are against the Labour Party. What does that mean? It means that they are against the workers of the community, because the Labour Party aspires to represent the workers.

Senator DOBSON.—The honorable senator told us about ten minutes ago that the Labour Party represent all the people.

Senator GIVENS.—I think I shall have to come down to definitions or "fundamentals," in order to instruct the honorable and learned senator.

Senator DOBSON.—I hope that the honorable senator will stick there.

Senator GIVENS.—I do not intend to stick at the bottom all the time. The honorable and learned senator would like the majority of the people to stick at the bottom, and allow him to trample upon them just as he likes; but they are not going to stick there. When I speak of the workers, I speak about the only persons in the community who are worth talking about.

Senator DOBSON.—That is right. The Labour Party are not representing all the people, but only the workers.

Senator GIVENS.—I define a worker to mean any person in the community who

performs a useful function, whether by brain or by hand, either in production, or in distribution. That definition is wide enough to cover at least 90 per cent. of the community. Any man who does not perform a useful function—I do not care if he be a millionaire—is not worth considering. Because, after all, there are only two classes in the community—the workers and the loafers. A millionaire can be a loafer, just as much as a man who is taken up in the street and given six months under the Vagrant Act. The millionaire is very often the worst sort of loafer, because not only is his own capacity for wealth production wasted, but the capacity for usefulness of dozens of persons is wasted in waiting upon him. That is an economic truth which may not be acceptable to Senator Dobson.

Senator DOBSON.—It is very contradictory of former remarks of the honorable senator.

Senator GIVENS.—I have not accused the honorable and learned senator of understanding anything. I am here to state the case as well as I can, and put forward plain arguments in its support. But I am not here to supply the honorable and learned senator with the necessary brains to understand them.

Senator MULCAHY.—What has a senator's personal qualifications to do with the policy of the Government?

Senator GIVENS.—I submit that when stupid interjections are being continually fired off at me, I am entitled to explain the difficulty I am in in meeting a gentleman of the density of Senator Dobson. Why are the Labour Party hated so much by honorable senators on the other side? They hate us so much that they have sunk the fiscal principles which are so dear to them in order to "down" us. Our aims can stand any amount of criticism. We do not desire to do an injustice to any person in the community, whether he is rich or poor. All we ask for is a fair deal for every man, woman, and child. We intend to insist that every person shall get a fair deal.

Senator DOBSON.—The honorable senator called a man who has land or money a robber.

Senator GIVENS.—I refuse to have words put into my mouth by Senator Dobson; I did not call any man a robber.

Senator DOBSON.—Some members of the Labour Party did.

Senator GIVENS.—The honorable and learned senator cannot accuse me of not

expressing my opinions fully and plainly this evening. I have not minced my words, nor shall I. If I believe that a man is a robber, I shall tell him so, either here or outside. The Labour Party will insist upon getting a fair deal for every person. So far, there has been one law for the rich and one law for the poor. It is very likely that the Attorney-General will deny that.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—I do not assent to it.

Senator GIVENS.—That implies that the honorable and learned senator does not deny my statement.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—I do not assent to it.

Senator GIVENS.—If it is denied, I can quote innumerable instances to show where there has been one law for the rich, and one law for the poor. The Labour Party want to make no such distinction as that. We desire to have one law for the rich and poor alike, and to have it clearly understood that no man shall get an exemption from a law because of his social position, or his wealth, or anything else. We want to make the law courts and the fount of justice as free to the poorest individual in the community as to the highest.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—Is not that so now?

Senator GIVENS.—It may be in theory, but it is not in practice.

Senator WALKER.—Is it fair play to give a preference to unionists?

Senator GIVENS.—I have said several times that it is disorderly to anticipate the debate on a measure, and I do not intend to break the rule. I shall argue that point with the greatest pleasure, either with Senator Dobson or with Senator Walker when the proper time comes. The criticism which is levelled against the Labour Party and its methods strikes me as being exceedingly stupid. Only a party that is devoid of any sound logical reason would stoop to make some of the miserable excuses which have been put forward by honorable senators opposite as reasons why they dislike and hate the Labour Party. In the first place, we are accused of putting forward a cast-iron programme. Are we not entitled to tell the people before we seek their suffrages what our views are on the principal questions of the day? Would it be honest for us not to do so? And yet because we put forward our views in plain black and white, because we took the people into our confidence, and told

them exactly what we mean, it is sought to hound us out of public life. That is what it means when they object to our cast-iron platform. We are also accused of signing a pledge. Why should we not sign a pledge to the people? The past political history of every State in the Commonwealth has proved that a number of people have gone on to the platform, and have virtually pledged themselves to certain specific political principles, but have betrayed the people when they got into Parliament. They have afterwards denied that they gave such pledges, simply because there was no definite record that they had done so. We take out of the hands of any member of our party the possibility of deceiving the people in that way. We say, "If you want to be a member of our party, you must subscribe to the broad principles which we believe in, and which every member of our party subscribes to." Is it unreasonable that before a person is recognised by us as one of ourselves, he should be asked to sign and subscribe to exactly the same platform as that to which we have given our adherence? There is no coercion in that. If a man does not wish to sign the platform, he is perfectly free not to do so; only we must be given the same liberty to keep our party clear of men who will not subscribe to our principles. There is nothing improper in any member of Parliament signing a pledge to the people who elect him. Let me remind honorable senators that before they take their place in this Chamber, they have not only to sign a pledge, but to swear to it. Take the case of a minister of religion in any denomination. That holy man—whom we might reasonably be expected to have his word taken without making any definite pledge—is expected to make a public vow that he believes in certain things. Is it not a fact that a justice of the peace, when he is appointed, has not only to pledge his word, but to swear that he will administer justice evenly and impartially? Is it not a fact that in nearly every public office of any consequence a man has not only to sign a pledge, but to swear it? Turn to the highest office in the Empire. Take King Edward himself. Before he mounted the throne of England, he not only had to sign a pledge, but to swear in the most solemn manner; and that pledge was the most cast-iron one that could be imagined. I think that what is good enough for King Edward, who is so much admired by ultra loyal senators opposite, ought to

be good enough for an humble member of Parliament.

Senator DOBSON.—We are governed by discussion, not by cast-iron pledges.

Senator GIVENS.—Every one knows that Parliament is a deliberative assembly, but is it not a fact that every member comes into Parliament with certain definite convictions and principles? Does he not tell the electors that he will enter Parliament with certain fixed ideas in his mind as to the best things to do under certain circumstances? There is plenty of room for discussion and deliberation in reference to the details of those principles and measures to give the fullest possible room for individual liberty. Take a supposititious case. Senator Dobson believes that human life is sacred. He would not hesitate for a moment to go on any platform and say that he was in favour of any law which would prohibit the taking of life and punish any man who did violence to another. Would that pledge deprive him, when he entered Parliament, from exercising a full discretion as to the details of any measure that was intended to carry out that principle? No one knows better than Senator Dobson that it would not, and he is really beating the air in putting forward ridiculous objections of that kind.

Senator DOBSON.—Facts are never ridiculous; this is a deliberative assembly, and the honorable senator's party come into it bound hand and foot, and can do nothing.

Senator GIVENS.—There is not a member of our party who comes into Parliament bound hand and foot in any way. Every member gives his adherence to certain principles which have been agitating the public mind, and which are prominently before the electors. The public are entitled to know the attitude of candidates upon those subjects. But after a member of our party comes into Parliament he has a perfect right to discuss the details of any measure as to how far it is necessary to go, and what it is necessary to do, in order to give due effect to the principles to which he has adhered. Another thing which has been urged against the Labour Party is that we deliberate in caucus. Senator Dobson said that he is in favour of deliberation, yet he denounces us because we deliberate too much.

Senator DOBSON.—I want the honorable senator's party to deliberate in public, not in secret.

Senator GIVENS.—Has Senator Dobson ever attended a caucus meeting?

Senator DOBSON.—I think I held about three in two years.

Senator GIVENS.—That shows what an autocrat the honorable and learned senator was when he was in power, and how dangerous it would be to allow the semblance of power to a man who would not even consult his own supporters more than twice or thrice in two years. What is infinitely worse than caucus government is government by one man who is determined to do what he likes without consulting others. But the very fact that Senator Dobson held two or three caucus meetings gives away his whole case. To hold one caucus meeting is as bad as to hold a dozen. A dozen meetings are just as capable of being justified as one if they are necessary. But the most effective form of caucus meeting of which I have ever heard is a Cabinet meeting. Senator Mulcahy has been a Cabinet Minister. When his Cabinet met did they do so publicly? Did they take the representatives of the people into their confidence? On the contrary, they were sworn to secrecy when they accepted office. The very men who have attended Cabinet meetings, which were absolutely secret, have the unblushing effrontery and the cast-iron audacity to condemn us for holding caucus meetings! How is a party to arrive at the best line of policy to pursue unless they hold caucus meetings? Why should they not consult with each other? Is there anything inherently wrong in it, or anything that can be offensive to any fair-minded man? Undoubtedly not. Those who condemn us for holding caucus meetings without any adequate reason also object to our platform, though not because of what is contained in it, for they are coquetting with most of it themselves. They object to us because they call us Socialists. I do not mince matters for a moment. I never did deny, and I never will deny, that I am a Socialist, nor shall I ever feel a little bit ashamed of being a Socialist. I believe that Socialism is the only system which will secure the industrial salvation of the masses of the people. Socialism is more than justified by everything that we see around us in our civilization. I will not give my own opinion as to what civilization is, but I will quote an expert opinion. Professor Alfred Russell Wallace, in his celebrated work on the Malay Archipelago, in his concluding chapters, makes a few observations upon this subject. It must be remembered that

he is a man in the highest ranks of science. After spending seven years in the Malay Archipelago amongst savage races, he said that if civilization had nothing better to offer us than we see around us to-day, then that civilization stands condemned, as compared with the savagery which he witnessed amongst the Malays. Senator Millen said that the difference between his party and ours is the difference between Individualism and Socialism. I accept that as correct. What is the result of the individualism which we see around us? During the recent debates in England on preferential trade, it has been stated repeatedly that, out of a population of about 40,000,000 in the United Kingdom, there are 12,000,000 who are continually on the verge of starvation, notwithstanding the fact that Great Britain is the wealthiest nation in the world. At the same time, millions of money are lying absolutely idle, because profitable investment cannot be found for them. That is the position in free-trade England; but I am free to admit that the state of things in protectionist America is almost as bad. Go to Germany, to France, or to any other country, and you will find that as wealth has accumulated in the hands of a few, so has misery increased amongst the many. Where are the effects of individualism? Individualism will callously crush the life out of the little child, if that child stands between it and the realization of its profits. It will separate the wife from the husband. It will compel children to go without adequate education or even without adequate food, in the interests of profit-making. Individualism, for the sake of profits, will even poison the children, by giving them adulterated milk and food. What do we see in Victoria, as the result of the inquiries of the Royal Commission on the butter bonuses? If the statements made before that Commission are proved, and they have not been contradicted, men who have moved in the highest ranks of commercial life, men against whom no breath of suspicion was formerly urged, are now being arraigned before the public, and I venture to say that in the minds of the public they must for ever stand condemned, owing to the malpractices of which they have been guilty. They have done what they have been accused of doing, in the pursuit of individualism, the chief ideal of which is the increase of profits, irrespective of the good of the State, or of any canon of

Senator Givens.

morality. They fulfilled the commercial law of getting the highest profits it was possible for them to grab by any means in their power. That is individualism all through. Has not the State been compelled to pass laws to prevent adulteration; to prevent the trade of the country being ruined by the malpractices of exporters in exporting shoddy and inferior goods? Has it not been necessary to have State interference in a thousand and one forms at every turn in every civilized nation? Why has this State interference been necessary? It is owing to the evil results of the system of individualism, a system by which every man grabs all he can for himself, irrespective of the well-being of the State, and of every other individual in the community. The aim of the merchant, the exporter, the importer, and everybody engaged in trade is to grasp every possible profit, and men cannot do that without being hard, cruel, and callous to those with whom they are dealing, those whom they employ, and to all with whom they come in contact. I do not altogether blame people for these things, because the action taken is often absolutely forced upon them by the conditions under which they live. Suppose that an exporter of butter, carrying on business in Victoria, had acted absolutely honestly for the last eight or nine years. Suppose he refused to take anything but his legitimate profit, acted fairly by the men with whom he was dealing here, and by those with whom he was dealing on the other side of the world, as well as with the carriers who transported his produce. He could not possibly have hoped to make a living in competition with the men who were getting secret commissions, the men who were stealing the Government brand and putting it upon their goods without authority or justification, and the men who were guilty of all the malpractices which have been exposed by the Butter Commission. When we see all these evils rampant, is it not time that every individual, who has the welfare of the community at heart, should ask himself what is the remedy, or can a remedy be found? Why are so many of the people poor, and so few very rich. In England at the present time 80 per cent. of the total wealth of that mighty kingdom is in the hands of $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the community. Ninety-eight and a half per cent. of the community have to be content with 20 per cent. of its wealth. Is not that an awful condition of affairs? Is it not safe also to say that

the 98½ per cent., who do not own the wealth, have produced the greater portion of it? Undoubtedly they have. Yet they have little or nothing to-day. Starvation is their lot. The fear of want continually assails them. Although they may be in full work to-day, they may be out of work to-morrow with nothing but starvation staring them in the face. That is the result of individualism. We want something better than that. We require a remedy for that state of things if one is to be found, and no one who has the welfare of the people at heart can rest content until a remedy is found. There should be some means by which, so long as people are willing and capable of working, they should be afforded ample opportunity to produce a sufficiency of all things to supply their daily needs. What is the explanation put forward by honorable senators opposite, and those in all parts of the world who think as they do, for the misery we see around us? What is their explanation for the unemployed, and for times of depression, which they all agree result in a great deal of harm, but which they say cannot be remedied? If there is depression to-day, they generally say it is because of over-production at some other time. The market is glutted, because the harvest is good and prices are very low. There has been over-production, too many boots have been put on the market, production has outpaced consumption, there is a glut in the market, and bootmakers are idle. It is the same with the clothing and every other trade one could mention. I ask whether, to an intelligent man, statements of that kind do not appear to be the utterest nonsense? How can there be over production of wheat and breadstuffs, whilst people are starving for the want of bread? How can there be over-production of boots, when in the old country men, women, and children are without boots to wear? How can there be over-production of clothing and blankets when people are going around suffering from the cold because of their nakedness and their want of these things? So on through the whole gamut. The argument is not sound, and I say that so long as a human want remains unsatisfied there can be no over-production. Why should there be any over-production? Under a proper and well-organized system, if there were over-production of one article, people would immediately set about striking a balance by producing something else that was wanted, and there would be a sufficiency of all things to go round. That is what col-

lective effort means — organized effort against individual effort which has resulted in disaster, and in periods of depression, during which hundreds and thousands of people have been thrown out of work, and starvation has stared them in the face. That, we are told, is the result of over-production, and I deny that there can be over-production when the whole of the people are never fully satisfied in any one particular line. But supposing the explanation given were true, it only furnishes another argument in favour of organized collective effort as against disorganized individual effort. We require some means by which the masses of the people will be enabled, by legitimate toil, to supply themselves with a sufficiency of the comforts and necessities of life. We require also that this shall be accomplished in such a way that people will not be compelled to endure a life of grinding slavery. The statistician, who is the most necessary man in public life to-day, proves that if every able-bodied man were to work a reasonable amount of time there could be a great deal more of the good things of life produced than there is to-day, in a great deal less time. That would mean that no one would have to do too much work, and there would be ample leisure time for recreation and improvement for everybody. This is what we hope to be able to obtain by Socialism. We hope to go on in the direction of Socialism for a very considerable time. We do not hope to reach the ultimate goal to-day or to-morrow. We may not reach it in the next century, or the century after that, but we do hope to go on in the way which we know results in benefits to the people. We desire to take one step at a time, and to be guided by circumstances as to the best and wisest step to take in the future. Members of the Labour Party are not here to represent the privileged classes. We object to all privilege. We do not desire that any one should have privileges, whether he be rich or poor. But let me say right here, that if a privilege should be given to anybody, it should be given to the poor man. Why? Because he needs it most. The wealthy individual can generally look after himself very well, and if a privilege is to be granted to any one, it should be to the poor man, who does not enjoy many of the advantages of this world. But we do not advocate that anybody should be given privileges. We argue that everybody should get absolute justice. If absolute justice were granted to every man, no man

would require charity or favours, and we do not advocate that they should be given them. We are for a fair deal for every man, rich or poor, and we intend to keep on fighting until we get it. I believe that a first essential and preliminary, in order that every man may be given a fair deal in this Commonwealth, is that we should turn out the present Government as soon as possible, and I hope we shall shortly have the pleasure of doing so.

Debate (on motion by Senator PULSFORD) adjourned.

Senate adjourned at 9.42 p.m.

House of Representatives.

Wednesday, 14 September, 1904.

Mr. SPEAKER took the chair at 2.30 p.m., and read prayers.

LEGISLATION IN THE INTERESTS OF PRODUCERS.

Mr. HIGGINS.—I desire to ask the Postmaster-General whether it is true, as he is reported to have said, that it is the intention of the Government to ask Parliament to legislate in the interests of producers, as against persons who make secret commissions upon sales of produce, and, if so, under what power in the Constitution is the Government acting; further, whether it is the policy of the Government to encourage socialistic experiments of that kind?

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—My honorable and learned friend ought to be a good judge of socialistic experiments. I delivered an address at Numurkah on Monday last, in which I incidentally referred to the evidence given by witnesses examined by the Butter Commission. At the same time, I pointed out that it was the policy of the Government to assist in placing the products of the Commonwealth upon the London market.

Mr. WATSON.—That is very good Socialism.

Mr. REID.—It embodies a sound commercial principle.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I stated that it was the policy of the Government to assist the producers by appointing a High Commissioner, and in other ways. I pointed out at the same time that I understood that

honorable members opposite were in accord with the policy of the Government in that direction.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—We do not know what the policy of the Government is.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I said also that we were in favour of assisting the producers by establishing a Department of Agriculture, if we could do so, after a conference with the States Governments, on the lines suggested by the honorable and learned member for Bendigo. I believe that the proposal submitted by the honorable and learned member will receive the general sanction of honorable members. At all events, honorable members may rest assured that it has the strong sympathy of the Government.

MINIMUM WAGE ON GOVERNMENT CONTRACTS.

Mr. MAUGER.—I wish to ask the Minister of Home Affairs whether he will insist upon the union minimum rates of wages being paid to the carpenters and others who are working upon the new offices of the Commonwealth in Russell-street? It has come to my knowledge that the rates now being paid are in some cases 1s. or 2s. per day lower than those which are generally recognised in the trades to which the workmen belong.

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—I understand that our contracts provide, as directed by Parliament, that the minimum wage shall be paid to all workmen employed by the contractor. I have no knowledge of any exception having been made in connexion with the contract to which the honorable member has referred. If that condition, or any other, is not being fulfilled, it will be the duty of the Government to see that that is done.

PAPER.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH laid upon the table the following paper:—

Post Office Money Order Transactions, 1901, 1902, and 1903.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

Motion (by Mr. WATSON) agreed to—

That leave of absence for one month be granted to the right honorable member for Adelaide.

SUNDAY WORK AT FLAT TOP.

Mr. BAMFORD asked the Minister of Trade and Customs, *upon notice*—

1. Whether it is correct that the Minister has withdrawn or altered the regulation, lately in force, which disallowed the loading or discharging of cargo at Flat Top Island anchorage, Queensland, on Sundays?

2. If so, what were the representations made to the Minister which induced him to allow of the resumption of Sunday work at the place named?

3. Further, if the Minister has withdrawn the regulation referred to, were any inquiries made by him, before taking action, as to the objections held by persons interested, other than shippers and consignees, to cargo being worked on Sundays, and as to why the regulation forbidding Sunday work at Flat Top had been issued by previous Ministers?

Mr. McLEAN.—As this question refers to a very important matter, I thought it desirable to obtain all the information on the subject available in the Department.

1 and 2. As a general principle the working of vessels on Sundays is not allowed by the Department, and no regulation in violation of that principle has been made. In July, 1902, Mr. Kingston, who was then Minister, directed that, as a temporary arrangement, and pending further consideration, Sunday work might be allowed in Tidal Ports, Open Roadsteads, and Outer Anchorages or other places on the Queensland coast, where the conditions were of an exceptional nature.

In May, 1904, the following order was issued by the Minister, Mr. Fisher:—

In regard to the carrying out of the regulations the following relaxation may be made with regard to the working of vessels on Sundays, and certain holidays, viz.:—Good Friday, Christmas Day, and Eight Hours Day.

Mails may be taken on board and landed, and passengers may land and embark, but no cargo may be shipped or discharged. (This was in accordance with previous practice.)

As to Queensland: That small ports where coastal vessels are in the habit of calling for (say) an hour or two for the purpose of loading local produce, Sunday work may be permitted when, in the opinion of the collector, there is absolute necessity for it; otherwise the standing rule is to be strictly enforced.

In August, 1904, strong representations were made by representative merchants and others to the Minister (Mr. Fisher) in favour of relaxing the above arrangements (especially in regard to Keppel Bay), as a result of which instructions were issued that the previous practice should not be interfered with at that port till the 1st November next, in order to allow of readjustment of time-table of vessels and trains, &c. The representations above-mentioned were supplemented by a resolution of the Chamber of Commerce, Mackay, indorsed by the Brisbane Chamber of Commerce, and supported by the Queensland Government, to the effect that the conditions prevailing prior to the issue of the order of May, 1904, be reverted to at Flat Top and Keppel Bay, and were forwarded for the Minister's consideration. The Minister decided that the concession granted in the case of Keppel Bay might be extended to Flat Top, the conditions as to both these ports being similar, on the understanding that it should not cover the loading of entire cargoes or large quantities of produce.

3. Representations made on both sides were fully considered, but seeing that the two ports

mentioned had been treated alike up to the beginning of August, it did not seem equitable to grant a concession in one case and refuse it in the other. As a matter of fact, it was found that absolute prohibition of Sunday work had not been strictly enforced up to the date mentioned at those ports.

Before the 1st of November the views of all persons concerned, such as the Queensland State Government, the various bodies connected with the handling of goods, the residents of the districts referred to, and the Chamber of Commerce, &c., will be fully considered with the object of arriving at a satisfactory settlement of the question.

It will be seen that the concession I granted to Flat Top Island was the same that had been granted by my predecessor in the case of Keppel Bay; that is, that the previous practice should be allowed to continue to the 1st November in order to give us time to look thoroughly into the question. But the concession I granted was in a modified form, and only applied to portions of cargoes; where there are large quantities of cargo to handle they will have to wait.

Mr. BAMFORD.—I have reason to believe that that rule has been violated.

Mr. McLEAN.—Those are the instructions I issued.

FORTNIGHTLY PAYMENT OF COMMONWEALTH SALARIES.

Mr. RONALD asked the Treasurer, upon notice—

(1) If he could give an estimate of what the extra cost would be of paying all salaries in the Commonwealth fortnightly rather than monthly, as at present?

(2) What the extra cost would be of paying salaries up to £156 per annum fortnightly rather than monthly, as at present?

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—I am not in a position at the present time to give an estimate of the cost of paying salaries fortnightly, instead of monthly. This is a matter which has been brought up on several occasions. About two years ago I looked into the question, and a reference to the different Departments showed that considerable extra expenditure would be required for this particular purpose, and there were other departmental objections. However, as this is a matter within the control of the Minister of Home Affairs, who has to deal with the Public Service, I propose to discuss the matter with him at an early date, and see whether some arrangement other than that suggested by the Departments, which would mean extra expenditure, cannot be arrived at, by which a certain number of employes may be paid fortnightly. Personally, I am in sympathy with the suggestion, if it does not disturb the Departments or cost too much.

PUBLIC SERVANTS' INCREMENTS.

Mr. RONALD asked the Minister of Home Affairs, *upon notice*—

(1) How many men entitled to increments under section 19 of the Public Service Act of Victoria have been paid according to the decision of the Federal High Court?

(2) What has the cost of litigation been in this matter?

(3) How much was paid in increments according to section 19 without litigation, and to whom were these increments paid? Is the Minister aware that it has been said that all the higher salaries in the service were paid without dispute and litigation? Is such statement correct?

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—I shall endeavour to obtain the information and lay it upon the table of Parliament in the form of a return.

RETIREMENTS FROM THE DEFENCE FORCES.

Mr. CROUCH asked the Minister of Defence, *upon notice*—

(1) Whether it is true, as stated in the press, that Colonel Savage and Colonel Taunton, of New South Wales, were awarded compensation or retiring allowance?

(2) What was the amount in each case, and for what reason was it given?

(3) Does the Minister propose to treat similarly all ranks in all States who retire from the Defence Forces, and, if not, why?

Mr. McCAY.—The replies to the honorable and learned member's questions are as follow:—

1. Yes.

2. Lt.-Col. Savage received £1,154 17s. 2d., and Colonel Taunton £1,619 17s. 3d. The services of these officers were dispensed with in pursuance of a scheme of retrenchment rendered necessary to meet the wish of Parliament for a reduction in Defence expenditure—

that was in 1902-3—

and in view of the exceptional circumstances, Parliament was asked, and agreed to vote a sum as compensation (computed at the rate of one month's pay for each year of service) to members of the Permanent Forces retired in consequence of such retrenchment.

I may add that that compensation was given to every one retired at that time, in consequence of retrenchment.

Mr. CROUCH.—I did not notice it was at the same time.

Mr. McCAY.—The reply to the third question is:—

It was announced to Parliament at the time when these and other gratuities were approved that they were not to be regarded as a precedent; and it is not intended to establish a practice of granting gratuities on retirement.

KALGOORLIE TO PORT AUGUSTA RAILWAY SURVEY BILL.

In Committee (consideration of Governor-General's message resumed from 19 September, *vide* page 4580) on motion Mr. BATCHELOR—

That it is expedient that an appropriation of moneys be made for the purposes of a Bill for an Act to authorize the survey of a route for a railway to connect Kalgoorlie, in the State of Western Australia, with Port Augusta, in the State of South Australia.

Mr. KENNEDY (Moira).—I regret that in my remarks up to the present I have been drawn away by interjection from the subject immediately under discussion, namely, the desirableness or otherwise of entering into an undertaking of the nature without the consent of the State concerned, as provided in the Constitution. But having been drawn aside, I am compelled to follow a little longer the same line of argument. Considerable stress has been laid on the point that from a military point of view this line is absolutely essential for the safe defence of Australia; and I propose to take up the time of the Committee in order to briefly refer to the opinion expressed by the ablest military authority we have in the Commonwealth, Major-General Hutton. I have not the pleasure of a personal acquaintance with the General Officer Commanding, but I may reasonably assume, from the position he occupies—the salary for which is provided by the taxpayers—that he is well qualified for his duties. The report of the General Officer Commanding on this matter was published, owing to the fact that the Minister of Defence saw fit to refer the report of the engineers on the proposed railway to the Defence Department. The first document dealing with the matter is dated 24th March, 1903.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—There is a later report than that.

Mr. KENNEDY.—That interjection reminds me how well it would be if we practised what we preached. The right honorable member for Swan has always held forth to the House the desirability of doing to others as we would be done by, and not later than last evening we had him repeatedly explaining to honorable members who ventured to interject that they would be able to express their opinions in the course of their own speeches. Since I commenced speaking I have been subjected to continuous correction at the hands of the right honorable member, but my desire

to inform the Committee of what, in my opinion, is our position, and not to be advised entirely by the right honorable gentleman. I have no feeling of resentment against the right honorable member on account of his interjections, but he reminds me very much of a spoilt child, who is not subject to reproof in any way. I ask the right honorable member for Swan to consider from my point of view the time involved by his drawing me aside, even momentarily, from the main subject under consideration. The first document of March, 1903, is from the Secretary of the Department over which the right honorable gentleman presided, and is as follows:—

I have the honour to forward herewith copy of Report of the Conference of Engineers-in-Chief upon the subject of the proposed Transcontinental Railway, and to ask that same may be considered by the Defence Department and report furnished, in view of the possible strategical importance of this railway in connexion with the defence of Australia.

The reply to that was—

In reply to your minute of 30th March last requesting that I would submit for your consideration a minute upon the Report of the Conference of Engineers-in-Chief upon the proposed Transcontinental Railway, I beg to observe as follows:—

1. The contemplated extension of railway communication between Kalgoorlie in Western Australia and Port Augusta in South Australia is, from a strategical and military point of view, of unquestionable value. The isolation of Western Australia without direct land communication with the other five States of Australia will, in time of war, cause a general feeling of insecurity. Under the existing circumstances, Western Australia, for purposes of co-operative military assistance from the other States, is as far distant from direct means of reinforcement as New Zealand is from the Eastern States of Australia.

2. In order, however, to correctly view the present construction of the railway in question as an important factor in the defence of the Commonwealth, it will be well to consider the special importance of Western Australia in the eyes of foreign powers, and the description of attack to which Australia is subject, and to meet which intercommunication between the States by land must be regarded as of paramount value.

The potential wealth of the gold-fields, and the vast extent of valuable and unoccupied land in the territories of Western Australia, render the acquisition of that portion of the Australian Continent a most valuable prize to foreign nations. The strategical situation, moreover, of Western Australia, dominating, as it does, the southern side of the Indian Ocean, and the converging trade routes from the West, must be considered as of the greatest importance to British and Australian interests.

As long as the supremacy of the sea is in the hands of the Royal Navy no serious attack on Australia upon a large scale may be considered as practicable. In this regard little attention need be paid to the temporary and local effect

of a raid by one or two of an enemy's ships upon one or other of the undefended ports. It would, however, be the height of folly to disregard the possibility of the supremacy of the sea being temporarily or permanently lost.

I submit that the construction of a line of railway from Port Augusta to Kalgoorlie would not materially influence the condition of the British Navy. Consequently the carrying out of this project would not sensibly affect the military or naval defence of Australia.

Mr. FOWLER.—It would mean a great deal in the defence of Australia.

Mr. KENNEDY.—I will deal with that aspect of the question presently. The report continues—

It is impossible to foresee the result of naval warfare in the future, or to anticipate the effect of fleets acting on the part of a combination of great Powers hostile to British Imperial interests. In the event, therefore, of the supremacy of the sea being either temporarily or permanently lost by either of the foregoing possible contingencies, an attack on a large scale might be attempted with every reasonable chance of success either on the shores of Western Australia or on some other part of the immense coast line of the Australian Continent. It may be assumed that no Power or combination of Powers would undertake an attack of such magnitude without employing from 20,000 to 50,000 well equipped, well trained, and well organized troops, according to the extent of the contemplated operations.

It may be safely assumed that a hostile invasion of the description indicated, and with a view to permanent territorial occupation, would never be attempted in Western Australia with a less force than 20,000 men, and that a force at least equal in numbers and equal in equipment would be required in defence.

It may be as well to state at once that a force of the requisite strength organized and capable of taking the field does not at present exist in Australia, and that there are at present no local means of equipping such a force.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—At present.

Mr. KENNEDY.—Yes. The right honorable member reminds me of the spoilt child again. He desires to see a railway constructed for the purpose of conveying troops which have no existence. Moreover, according to the best authority, we have no local means of equipping such a force.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—We are getting the equipment.

Mr. KENNEDY.—I admit that. We are also growing older. The report proceeds—

The organization is wanting; the departments necessary for a mobile army have yet to be created; and there are neither sufficient guns, arms, equipment, nor ammunition available. It will therefore be seen that the construction of the railway as contemplated would, under existing circumstance, confer no advantage to Australia in its present condition of military disorganization and unpreparedness.

I ask those who argue that the construction of the Transcontinental Railway is absolutely necessary for the defence of Australia, to put forward something in refutation of that statement.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Another report was issued ten months later than that from which the honorable member is quoting—a report which he has evidently not read.

Mr. KENNEDY.—I have read it, and if the right honorable member for Swan will act upon the advice which he so constantly tenders to the Committee, by saying what he thinks during the course of his speech, he will be better employed than in attempting to put his ideas into my mouth. The report further states—

The most that could be expected from the military situation at present existing would be the concentration of a certain number of armed men, who, without adequate organization, administrative departments, or the required equipment, would be quite incapable of coping with even an inferior number of an invader's troops, carefully trained, organized, and equipped with the latest modern appliances, as they unquestionably would be.

It will, therefore, be seen from the foregoing that, important as it would be for defence purposes to possess Inter-State communication as proposed, the establishment of railway communication would in itself be of small value without a military force being in existence which could be utilized by its means with any reasonable hope of success.

It has been stated that a wonderful transformation has been effected in the military establishments of Australia since March, 1903. I would ask those who entertain that view to supply the Committee with authentic information as to the exact increase which has taken place in the strength of the Military Forces since that period, and as to their equipment to-day as compared with that which existed twelve months ago. I do not propose to occupy any further time—

Mr. CARPENTER.—Go on.

Mr. FOWLER.—Criticism will not damage this proposal.

Mr. KENNEDY.—I wish to be fair. Unfortunately, we are not in a position to discuss the merits of the proposed railway. We have only very meagre information in regard to it.

Mr. FOWLER.—Does that not indicate the necessity which exists for a survey being made?

Mr. KENNEDY.—It may. But I have attempted to show that the obligation for completing this survey rests upon those States which will be benefited by the railway if constructed.

Mr. CARPENTER.—The honorable member should not forget his water scheme.

Mr. KENNEDY.—It is that sort of interjection which is responsible for the coining of the phrase "log-rolling." Surely the honorable member will not be a party to anything of that character. Let us deal with each proposal submitted upon its merits. The interjection of the honorable member suggests that in the future I may be interested in some irrigation scheme, and that therefore I should not criticise this proposal too harshly. It implies that if I do not wink at it I shall incur the wrath of those who are directly interested in the project.

Mr. CARPENTER.—I did not imply any such thing.

Mr. KENNEDY.—In the course of his speech the honorable member will have an opportunity of saying what he did imply.

Mr. CARPENTER.—The honorable member is distinctly unfair, notwithstanding that a few minutes ago he declared that he wished to be fair.

Mr. KENNEDY.—I have no desire to be unfair, but it is not pleasant to be blocked in the middle of a sentence.

Mr. CARPENTER.—The honorable member makes insinuations.

Mr. KENNEDY.—I do not. I shall be only too delighted if the honorable member is in a position to refute my statements. Last night I referred to the astuteness of those gentlemen with whom previous Prime Ministers had to deal. I pointed out that the present Prime Minister occupies a unique position, in that, both in season and out of season, he has advocated the construction of this railway. If I understand their utterances aright, a number of members of the present Cabinet were not always wedded to this undertaking, or to the expenditure of any money. The correspondence which I have read proves that previous Prime Ministers did not entertain any idea of proceeding with this work until the assent of the States concerned had been obtained. Up to the present, the assent of the South Australian Government has not been secured. That Government has refused to consent to the construction of this line, even if the closest investigation proves that the estimate of the probable cost will not be exceeded, and the survey does not disclose any unforeseen difficulties. I have already referred to a statement made in the Legislature of Western Australia, which is embodied in a

pamphlet issued, I believe, under the auspices of the ex-Premier of Western Australia, Mr. James. Under the head of "Remonstrances in the Western Australian Parliament," we find at page 10 of this pamphlet, the statement that—

The matter came before the Legislature of Western Australia on October 6, on a motion in the Assembly for adjournment proposed by a gold-fields member, the leader of the Labour Party, when all the gold-fields members took the opportunity to indignantly repudiate what was characterized as "the misinterpretation of the gold-fields sentiments by the Premier of South Australia," and strongly condemned the latter's utterances. Other members spoke in the same strain; and Mr. James read the recent correspondence between himself and Mr. Jenkins on the whole matter of the proposed railway. He announced that he had just received a letter from the latter, dated September 29th, in which it was stated that there was "no likelihood whatever" of South Australia "at any time" passing a Bill for the construction of the Union Railway, "except upon strict conditions as to both route and gauge."

It is most extraordinary that no intimation of this sort has ever been made in any of the correspondence which has passed between the Premier of South Australia and the respective Prime Ministers of the Commonwealth. In correspondence with the Premier of Western Australia, the Premier of South Australia has refused point blank to assent to the construction of the line, except with reservations as to both route and gauge.

Mr. FOWLER.—That is merely the attitude of the present Premier of South Australia. We have had others who held a different view of the matter, and shall probably have such men again in office.

Mr. KENNEDY.—That is so, but I think that particular attention should be paid at the present time to the facts which I have put before the Committee. The present Premier of South Australia, whilst officially expressing the opinion that the Parliament of that State is not bound by promises made by his predecessors in office, would, nevertheless, attempt to bind the Prime Minister of the Commonwealth in that way. He reminded the late Prime Minister, the honorable member for Bland, when a final appeal was made to him, that the Commonwealth Government was practically bound to the expenditure involved in making this survey by a promise which had been made by a previous Prime Minister, but Mr. Jenkins would repudiate all obligations with respect to promises or pledges given by his predecessors in office. When we have to deal with such

a gentleman we cannot be too careful in regard to our position. It is clearly and distinctly stated in the pamphlet to which I have referred that it is only subject to the reservations named that there is any possibility of the South Australian Parliament assenting to the construction of this line by the Commonwealth. What does that imply so far as the questions of route and of gauge are concerned? We know that the lengths already constructed are not laid down on the gauge that we are likely to adopt as the standard for Australia.

Mr. FOWLER.—The Premier of Western Australia has expressed the willingness of his Government to construct a 4ft. 8½in. gauge line up to the fields.

Mr. KENNEDY.—The Enabling Bill passed by the Western Australian Parliament shows that, if it shows anything at all. Between Kalgoorlie and the Western Australian coast there are over 300 miles of railway that will have to be widened.

Mr. FOWLER.—The State Government will lay down a new line.

Mr. KENNEDY.—But what about the cost of making a similar alteration of the line between Adelaide and Port Augusta? Is one of the causes of the objection of South Australia to this proposal to be found in that consideration?

Mr. GLYNN.—There are two breaks there.

Mr. KENNEDY.—I have no personal knowledge of the facts, but I gather from the reports that it would be possible to avoid altering the gauge of the complete length of line by making a deviation at Terowie. From a perusal of the reports, I believe that the question of the alteration of the gauge is a material factor in the attitude taken up by South Australia. That alteration will have to be carried out at the cost of the State, unless the Commonwealth is to control the whole length of the line. In dealing with the gauges of the line from the fields to the sea-coast of Western Australia, and that from Port Augusta back to Adelaide, the pamphlet sets forth that—

It should be borne in mind that the above estimates of cost by Mr. O'Connor, as well as those following by the Commonwealth engineers, do not provide for widening the gauge between Fremantle and Kalgoorlie, a work that will be necessary should the 4ft 8½in. standard be adopted for the trunk line to South Australia. By the Enabling Act passed by the Western Australian Legislature last session, which measure is further summarized in a further section of this pamphlet, the State is pledged to carry out this work of

converting the existing line, if necessary, concurrently with the construction of the new line by the Commonwealth Government. In any case, seeing that the adoption of the 4ft. 8½in. gauge as the standard for all Australia is, in all likelihood, inevitable, the State will, before long, find it necessary to undertake the conversion of its trunk lines to that width.

The extent to which South Australia would go in making the necessary changes is a matter for that State to decide. One of the conditions which South Australia seeks to impose before agreeing to the Union Railway project is in regard to the gauge. To avoid a break at Port Augusta, the South Australian Government aims at stipulating that the line throughout should be on the 3ft. 6in. gauge.

That is the difficulty, and it is for this reason that I insist that we should have, without any reservation whatever, the assent of the South Australian Parliament to the carrying out of this work before we spend even a shilling on a preliminary survey. The cost of the survey will be practically part and parcel of the cost of constructing the line. The report continues—

But this width would not allow of a high enough rate of train speed; besides, it is generally agreed by all engineering authorities that to adopt the narrow gauge for a trunk line of this important character would be a great initial error that would in the near future have to be retrieved at enormous cost. This prospect is the more evident in the face of the almost positive certainty that the 4ft. 8½in. gauge will be adopted as the standard for the Commonwealth. Even if the narrower width were to be decided upon for the new connecting line, there would still remain the awkward break at Terowie, the junction with the broad gauge (5ft. 3in.) portion of the South Australian railway system. The distance from Terowie to Adelaide on this gauge is 13½ miles.

I wish to refer briefly to a statement which I made earlier in my address with regard to the opinions expressed in the Western Australian Parliament as to the construction of a line which would obviate for a considerable time the necessity for the construction of a railway from Kalgoorlie to Port Augusta, that is, the construction of a line from Kalgoorlie to Esperance. What I referred to was a statement made by a member of the Western Australian Parliament when the Bill empowering the Commonwealth to construct the proposed Transcontinental railway was under consideration there. That the fact is mentioned in this pamphlet is evidence that I was speaking according to the book—

In the course of the discussion, the Minister for Lands, himself a gold-fields member, remarked that, though it was true that the people of Kalgoorlie desired the Esperance line, they would not, in a choice between that project and the Union Railway, sacrifice the interests of the Commonwealth for the sake of the purely local convenience to be derived from the former line.

Mr. Kennedy.

It is the general taxpayer of the Commonwealth who will have to nurse the baby if the Union line is made, and the obligation, therefore, rests upon us to see, before we sanction it, that the Commonwealth will benefit by its construction. We must be certain that we are justified in borrowing money for the purpose—a proceeding against which this Parliament has hitherto set its face—before we sanction the construction of the line. Further evidence goes to strengthen the opinion which I have already expressed as to the improbability of the tract of country which the proposed line would traverse being developed to any extent. According to the report of Mr. O'Connor—

Up to the present the test boring operations carried on by the Western Australian Government for some time past have not resulted in tapping any sources of fresh water at moderate depths. But these operations have resulted in indications that reservoirs of the requisite freedom from any undesirable ingredient will probably be reached at greater depths, and this hope is strengthened by the knowledge that such supplies are found in country of similar formation elsewhere.

Mr. FOWLER.—Those anticipations have since been realized.

Mr. KENNEDY.—If that statement can be substantiated by quotations from reliable authorities, I shall be delighted to hear that I am in the wrong; but I have read official reports of later dates, and I have not found anything which contradicts the opinion which I have just read. I have already said that close to the coast there is not even pastoral settlement.

Mr. FOWLER.—The country near the coast is worse than that further inland.

Mr. KENNEDY.—The proposed railway would be only fifty or sixty miles from the coast, and, according to the most eminent meteorologists in South Australia and Western Australia, the country which it would cross has an annual rainfall of only five inches.

Mr. FOWLER.—Fifteen inches.

Mr. KENNEDY.—On the coast, the rainfall may be from twelve to fifteen inches, but what are the conditions which prevail between Port Augusta and the border, or between Tarcoola and the border? The people of South Australia know enough about that country to know better than to try to develop it.

Mr. POYNTON.—They appear not to know as much about it as the honorable member does.

Mr. KENNEDY.—Although a previous Premier of South Australia gave a certain promise in regard to this railway, the State is now opposed to its construction.

Mr. POYNTON.—That is because of the influence of the vested interests at Port Adelaide.

Mr. KENNEDY.—That may or may not be so; but the forecast made many years ago with regard to the possibilities of that portion of South Australia lying beyond what is known as Goyder's line is being confirmed every day—that permanent settlement beyond that line is practically impossible.

Mr. POYNTON.—I do not think that it is an agricultural country.

Mr. KENNEDY.—I would like to know how much stock it can carry. Notwithstanding the advances of settlement in both South Australia and Western Australia, can any honorable member say that stock is being carried on the immense tract of country which stretches from Port Augusta to Kalgoorlie? The public men of Western Australia have stated openly that it would be impossible for a rabbit to cross from South Australia to the fertile fringe of Western Australia.

Mr. FOWLER.—The rabbits have, nevertheless, come across.

Mr. KENNEDY.—They have come round the coast.

Mr. FRAZER.—The statement which the honorable member repeats was made by the *Age* and a few Victorian legislators.

Mr. KENNEDY.—The *Age* is not interested in making a statement of that kind, except for the advantage of the public; but at any rate I am not responsible for statements which appear in that newspaper.

Mr. FRAZER.—The honorable member's opinion seems to agree with them.

Mr. KENNEDY.—I am responsible for my own utterances only. I find that quite enough, without taking responsibility for the statements of a newspaper. I have shown that Victorians have gone to the north-western parts of Western Australia, to the interior of Queensland, and to the western parts of New South Wales, to get land, and is it likely that they would have left untouched the country through which the proposed railway would pass, and which is so much nearer at hand, if it were worth anything?

Mr. FOWLER.—There are millions of acres of splendid country in Western Australia still awaiting development.

Mr. KENNEDY.—That is so, and I have no doubt that Victorians will take up that land before the people of Western Australia. My position is that we are not justified in spending money on the proposed survey until we have obtained the consent of both the States concerned, and that has not yet been granted. Furthermore, I think that the survey should be undertaken jointly by the Governments of those States. The amount at issue is not a very large one.

Mr. POYNTON.—It comes to about 1½d. per head of the population.

Mr. KENNEDY.—For that reason I think that the States concerned should undertake the work, and not ask the Commonwealth to do so. The amount of money involved is not a matter for serious consideration, but the underlying principle is of the utmost importance.

Mr. CAMERON.—An attempt is being made to introduce the thin edge of the wedge.

Mr. KENNEDY.—Just so. I think that Western Australia and South Australia may fairly be asked to come into line, and agree to have the survey made at their own expense—the question of repayment by the Commonwealth may be considered at a later stage—and when the whole of the information necessary has been obtained, we might be called upon to consider the question of the construction of the line. At present, however, I do not think it is desirable that we should spend one shilling in connexion with the project. We have evidence that the South Australian Government have refused point blank to assent to the Commonwealth constructing the line, except under certain conditions which it is thought necessary to impose to protect the interests of that State. I do not think that we should be justified in spending any money under such conditions. It is not in any antagonistic spirit that I object to the proposal now before us. I regret that I was drawn into a discussion on the merits of the line, because I admit that we have not the information necessary to enable us to speak of them except in general terms. There are many undertakings, such as the irrigation schemes referred to by the honorable member for Fremantle, which could be undertaken by the Commonwealth; but honorable members must recognise that this Parliament can do nothing in that direction without first obtaining the consent of the States concerned. We should first have to consult the New South Wales, South Australian, and Victorian Governments. That is why I say that in order to be consistent, to preserve our self-respect,

and to avoid encroaching upon the rights of the States, we should, in all fairness, ask Western Australia and South Australia to proceed with the survey, and to place themselves in a position to make a definite proposal the merits of which could be fully considered.

Mr. McLEAN (Gippsland—Minister of Trade and Customs).—My honorable friend, the member for Moira, during the course of his remarks drew attention to my previous attitude with regard to the construction of this line, and wished to know—I think that he was speaking in a jocular way—if I had altered my views since I took a seat upon the Treasury benches.

Mr. KENNEDY.—I said that I did not know what were the Minister's views; but that I was under the impression that he was an economist.

Mr. McLEAN.—I do not suppose that my honorable friend would, for one moment, suggest that I would alter my views upon an important question of this kind for the sake of a seat upon the Treasury benches; but as I value his good opinion, as I do that of most honorable members, I feel it is only fair that I should briefly explain my position. I say at once that I have always entertained very grave doubts whether the financial prospects of the proposed line would justify the large expenditure involved in its construction. I have expressed this view on many occasions, and my doubts have not yet been removed. I still entertain the same views that I have held for a considerable time past, but I think that it is only fair to say at once that my opinion, like that of other honorable members, has been founded on very imperfect data. I recognise, on the other hand, that the representatives of Western Australia, who know more about the matter than I do, are strongly of opinion that the construction of the line would be justified. Now, what is the question that we are required to consider? We have been asked by the Western Australian Government to make a survey of the line, and satisfy ourselves whether there is any warrant for its construction. Now, it appears to me that that is not an unreasonable request to make. I had long since made up my mind to support the proposal for the survey of the line. The honorable member for Grampians has just handed me a copy of *Hansard* containing an interjection of mine with reference to this matter.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—If the survey is favorable, will the Minister support the construction of the railway?

Mr. McLEAN.—I shall explain my views upon that matter in due course. The honorable member for Grampians, when speaking upon the Address-in-Reply, upon the 17th March last, said:—

I do not see the need for a survey in which every level would be taken, and every peg put into position, because that would be too expensive.

Mr. WATSON.—The honorable member would like to see a flying survey made.

Mr. SKENE.—Something a little more definite than a flying survey.

Mr. McLEAN.—A trial survey.

I had for a very long time past made up my mind to support a trial survey, in order that we might have some information to guide us in our consideration of the merits of the project.

Mr. CAMERON.—Has the Minister any idea what the survey will cost?

Mr. McLEAN.—The amount allocated for the work is £20,000, and I may tell my honorable friends that I am not the person to advocate the reckless expenditure of £20,000, or of even half that sum. I have, however, to ask myself whether the request now made by Western Australia is a reasonable one. In the first place, we have to consider the position of that State, which is so situated that it does not derive any benefit, that I can discover, from the Federation.

Mr. CAMERON.—How much does Tasmania derive from it?

Mr. McLEAN.—I hope my honorable friend will not interrupt me, as I am making only a very short statement in reply to the honorable member for Moira. The trade carried on between Western Australia and the other States is very large, and is almost entirely in favour of the eastern States. Western Australia is not a producing State, but is a very good customer of the other States, for whom she provides one of our best markets. She does not enter into competition with the producers or manufacturers of the eastern States. The right honorable member for Swan last night pointed out that the trade of Western Australia is at the present time £17,000,000 per annum, and we know that that trade, and also the population, is rapidly increasing. Therefore, honorable members will see that an expenditure of £20,000 is a mere fraction, in comparison with the benefits that the eastern States get from their trade relations with

Western Australia every year; and it would be churlish on our part if we were to refuse so small a request as is involved in a survey to set the question definitely at rest. My opinion, as I have stated, is that the results of the survey will not prove favorable to the construction of the line; but I may be doing an injustice to Western Australia in entertaining that opinion, and it is right that the question should be settled on its merits. I do not think that the amount involved is an unreasonably large concession to make to a State from which we derive such large advantages in connexion with trade. In addition, I may say that the last three Governments have pledged themselves to this work, and it would require very strong reasons to justify us in ignoring the pledges given. I admit at once that the Government have no power to bind Parliament; but, at the same time, we ought to consider that Western Australia consists of our own kith and kin, and is the only portion of the Commonwealth which derives, so far as I can discover, no visible benefit from the Federal union. In view of the fact that we derive the large advantages to which I have referred, we should give some consideration to the request for a survey of this line. At any rate, we should think twice before repudiating the promise or promises made by former Governments. This is my position in a nutshell. I do not intend to be a party, unless the results of the survey justify it, to committing the Commonwealth to the expenditure involved in the construction of the line; that is a serious matter, to be dealt with on its merits. But the construction of the line is not the question before us. What we have to consider is whether we should or should not accede to the request of the people of Western Australia, and ascertain for ourselves at a very moderate cost all the facts connected with the proposed railway. I have for a long time thought that the information now desired should be obtained. I would be one of the last members in the House to now commit the Commonwealth to the larger and further expenditure involved in the construction of the line. Of course, if the results of the survey afford any justification, I shall be very pleased indeed to learn that I have been wrong; but I am strongly of the opinion, from the meagre information at my disposal, that the line would not pay. When we obtain the information disclosed by the survey, and when we have the whole of the facts before us,

we can consider the further question of the construction, and we shall also then have to consider the terms in regard to the proportion of the loss to be borne by the States which derive most benefit from the work. The honorable member who last spoke knows that the South Australian Government consented to the survey through their territory; and I do not agree with him that we should refuse to get the necessary information in the meantime because that Government attach a condition to their consent. If it be found that the financial prospects do not justify the construction of the line, it will not be necessary to proceed further. The people of Western Australia are reasonable, and will be satisfied with the results disclosed; I understand that their only desire is to have the matter dealt with on its merits.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—What does the honorable member call "justification"?

Mr. McLEAN.—If the returns from the line would substantially pay the interest on cost of construction.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Then the Minister would borrow money at once to construct the line?

Mr. McLEAN.—When the honorable member says "at once," that is a very different matter.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—It bears on this question.

Mr. McLEAN.—No. In the first place this survey will take a considerable time. We know that at the present time the money markets of the world are not in a favorable condition for borrowing for a large work. To borrow under present conditions would be to load this line for all time to come with an unfairly large interest charge. I am perfectly sure that the Western Australian members would be the first to say that, if the results of the survey do justify the construction of the line, we ought to wait for more favorable conditions for borrowing before entering into the obligation. But those are matters which will be dealt with at the proper time. In the meantime we have only to consider whether we shall accede to the wishes of the people of Western Australia to the extent of expending £20,000, in order to ascertain the financial prospects of the undertaking, and to guide us in determining whether we are justified in proceeding further. I believe I am as strongly impressed with the necessity for economy as is any member of the House, but, careful as I should be before committing the Commonwealth to the con-

struction of the line, I hold that the request now made is reasonable and moderate. It is due to our friends in Western Australia that we should accede to their desire to the extent they now ask.

Mr. MAHON (Coolgardie).—I intend to imitate as far as I can the excellent example set by the Minister of Trade and Customs, who dealt with this question in a very brief way. There are many reasons for taking that line of action. There is the consideration that this debate has arisen, as few debates have done, in this or any other Parliament, on a motion in connexion with the introduction of a Bill; and I quite agree with the right honorable member for Swan that this is a most extraordinary proceeding. Western Australia, as the Minister of Trade and Customs has admitted, receives absolutely no benefit from Federation; and yet, on the very first occasion on which the representatives of that State ask for what may be considered a right, the request is met by an innovation in the procedure, and a reluctance even to give leave for the discussion of a Bill to make a small appropriation. As this debate will have to be gone over again on the various stages of the Bill, if leave be given to introduce the measure, it seems to me that we are now following a very purposeless procedure. In one respect I have great pleasure in congratulating the Minister of Trade and Customs, who certainly gave me the impression some time ago that he was opposed to this railway, and even I think to a survey. It is very satisfactory indeed to witness such a rapid conversion. I would not suggest for a moment that the fact that he now occupies a seat upon the Treasury benches is in any way responsible for this remarkable change of front. I can only attribute it to the fact that some additional information has reached the honorable gentleman. I think that he is quite consistent in the matter, and I congratulate him upon desiring more information in reference to the project, before we finally decide to construct the railway. I feel sure that when the final survey has been made, the honorable gentleman will be agreeably disappointed to find that the information thus obtained will justify him in voting for the construction of the line. Before dealing with that aspect of the matter, however, I wish to refer briefly to the remarks of the honorable member for Moira. He appears to blame Western Australia, as he blames South Australia, for neglect in bringing this

matter to a practical issue. All I can say is that nothing has been left undone by the Government and the people of Western Australia to advance this project. They have met the Government of South Australia upon every possible occasion, and in every possible way. But a most extraordinary thing has happened. Two Premiers of South Australia pledged themselves to endeavour to induce the Parliament of that State to give legislative sanction to the construction of this line. Subsequently a third Premier came into office, who absolutely repudiated those pledges. I think that nothing more could have been done by Western Australia than has been done. To explain the action of South Australia in this matter, I should like to quote the report of an interview with a gentleman who at the time dominated the politics of that State, although he was not its Premier. Mr. John Darling, upon 3rd March, 1903, whilst on his way to London, was interviewed in Perth in reference to this project. He said—

We, in South Australia, are extremely anxious for the development of our northern country, and for that reason I would not be prepared to recommend the Western Australian line until the line from Oodnadatta to Port Darwin is accomplished. I may tell you candidly that as far as I am concerned at the present time, if a Bill to give the consent of South Australia to your line were introduced into Parliament I would oppose it. We want our own Transcontinental line, and the Kalgoorlie-Port Augusta line would very prejudicially affect our chances of getting it.

Then the interviewer asked him this question—

What better prospects does the Port Darwin line offer?

To that inquiry Mr. Darling replied—

We have very fine country in the north to develop, and we have the possibilities of a great gold-field at the Macdonnell ranges, about 1,200 miles from Adelaide.

The interviewer then put this further question to him—

Is it a better field than Kalgoorlie?

Mr. Darling's answer is significant. He replied—

Perhaps not; but it is in South Australia, you see.

That is the secret of the opposition to this railway. That interview explains why the Premier of South Australia repudiated a promise which was given by two of his predecessors—a promise which is upon record in the papers that have been laid upon the table of this House. Many people in the eastern States appear to be ignorant of the

great resources of Western Australia. I regret to say that it appears to be what theologians call "invincible ignorance" in some respects, for the newspapers will not give the people an opportunity of learning the true facts of the case. I have in a small pamphlet here some particulars of the developments which have recently taken place in Western Australia, which I wish could be conveyed to the electors of the Commonwealth. I quite agree with the right honorable member for Swan that if we could get to the people of Australia and place our case fairly before them we should gain their enthusiastic approval of the construction of this line. Unfortunately, for some reason or other—perhaps because New South Wales, South Australia, and Victoria, particularly the last named, have sunk a large amount of loan money unprofitably in railways—this great national work which is essential to connect the scattered portions of the continent is decried. When this little pamphlet was prepared by the Premier of Western Australia some two years ago, its population numbered 220,000, of whom an exceptionally large proportion were adult males. Its territory embraces an area of upwards of 640,000,000 acres, and comprises almost one-third of the area of the Continent. Its revenue amounts to upwards of £3,600,000 per annum, although no income or land tax has yet been imposed. Its Savings Bank shows a sum of £1,908,898 to the credit of depositors, while the ordinary banks have local assets of nearly £6,500,000 sterling. These figures have since been added to considerably, because the population has materially increased. Its imports amount to upwards of £7,000,000 per annum, and its exports to upwards of £9,000,000 per annum. It has eighteen declared gold-fields, for which full administrative facilities are provided. These gold-fields have produced more than £40,500,000 worth of gold, weighing upwards of 330 tons (avoirdupois), the output for 1902 being worth £7,947,663; whilst for the last four years the output has exceeded £6,000,000 per annum. The Minister of Trade and Customs has said that Western Australia is not a great producing State.

Mr. McLEAN.—But it is a great consuming State.

Mr. MAHON.—That fact is to the advantage of Victoria and the other States. I think that the Minister unintentionally conveyed a wrong impression. Not only

is Western Australia a great producing State from a mineral point of view—

Mr. McLEAN.—I merely desired to show that our trade relations with Western Australia were all to our advantage, because that State consumes what the other States produce.

Mr. MAHON.—The Minister's remarks, nevertheless, might convey a wrong impression. Western Australia possesses upwards of 400,000 cattle, and 2,750,000 sheep, and has more than 250,000 acres under cultivation. Its pastoral leases comprise upwards of 100,000,000 acres—

Mr. McLEAN.—Western Australia is not exporting to the other States.

Mr. MAHON.—Certainly not. I merely wish to correct the statement of the Minister, which might, perhaps, convey a false impression to the public. I feel sure that he did not intend to reflect upon Western Australia.

Mr. McLEAN.—I said that we were under an obligation to that State.

Mr. MAHON.—Quite so; but as I happened to have the figures before me, I thought it *apropos* to submit them to the House. Western Australia annually produces almost 1,000,000 bushels of wheat, or an evenly distributed average of 10 bushels to the acre; over £80,000 worth of coal; £110,000 worth of copper; £50,000 worth of tin; and over £73,000 worth of sandalwood. She exported, in 1902, £7,500,000 worth of gold bullion and specie; £500,000 worth of timber; £500,000 worth of wool; and over £111,000 worth of hides and skins. In addition to that, she had an output of £178,000 worth of pearls and pearl-shell, and about £200,000 worth of other products. It is also worthy of mention that provision is made for a sinking fund in connexion with every loan floated by the State, and that out of its loan indebtedness of £15,000,000, no less than £13,500,000 represents expenditure on reproductive works. In other words, the whole of that sum is yielding interest. I have no desire to weary the Committee by any lengthy address, because I feel sure that the spirit of fair-mindedness which prevails in this House will cause honorable members to recognise the desirableness of leave being granted to introduce this Bill, and that, if necessary, we shall be able at a later stage to present all the facts required to enable honorable members to arrive at a decision. I was rather amused, however, by the

speech made last night by the honorable and learned member for Parkes, who proposed that Western Australia should be called upon to pay the cost of the survey, subject to the condition that if the railway were constructed, and proved a sound investment, the State might approach the Commonwealth, and induce it to recoup it in respect of this indebtedness. That is a suggestion which might have emanated very well from a pawnbroker, or from some person having but a limited political vision; but coming as it did from one who professes to have the widest political outlook, it certainly occasioned me some surprise.

Mr. ROBINSON.—His outlook is so wide that he cannot cover its whole extent.

Mr. MAHON.—That is so. Another remark which was made by the honorable and learned member for Indi also caused me some astonishment. The right honorable member for Swan very pertinently inquired whether the opponents of this proposal objected to it on the ground of the expenditure which the construction of the railway would involve, and went on to ask, "If that be so, are they prepared to give a private company the right to build the line, and to control it for a prolonged period?" The honorable and learned member for Indi subsequently objected to anything being done in that direction, urging that, although the Commonwealth might not be prepared to build the line, we should very naturally object to hand over the undertaking to a syndicate. But the right honorable member for Swan expressed the opinion that if a syndicate were prepared to undertake the construction of the line, believing that it would be a profitable undertaking, the Government of the Commonwealth ought not to hesitate to build it. I am sure that will be the opinion expressed by the people of Australia. If the undertaking be good enough for a syndicate, it ought surely to be good enough for the nation. The honorable member for Moira indulged in a variation of the proposition made by the honorable member for Parkes, that South Australia and Western Australia should be asked to share the cost of the survey; but from the quotations I have made, from the opinions expressed by a leading South Australian politician, it will be seen that it is simply absurd for any one to tell us that we should first obtain the assent of South Australia to this project. As I have al-

ready explained, that State has a rival line in contemplation; and while this scheme holds the field she will never look with a kindly eye upon the proposal to construct the line which Western Australia desires. I am free to admit that it would be very foolish for South Australia to attempt the construction of the great Northern Railway. What population would it serve at Port Darwin? There we have a population of some 300 or 400 Europeans, whilst the remaining residents consist chiefly of Chinese. On the other hand, a railway extending to Coolgardie and the eastern gold-fields of Western Australia would serve a white population of at least 50,000, all earning good wages, and spending their money freely. If Kalgoorlie were on the route of the projected northern line, South Australia would be very anxious indeed to connect it with the railway systems of the States. I agree further with the right honorable member for Swan that the principal advantages derived from the construction of the trans-continental line would be reaped, not by Perth or Fremantle, but to a very material extent by South Australia. I am absolutely convinced that a large number of the residents of the eastern gold-fields of Western Australia would avail themselves of this railway to travel direct to Adelaide when they wished to visit the eastern States, in preference to journeying *via* Perth and Fremantle, as they do at the present time. In these circumstances the construction of this line would not be in the interests of the coastal towns of Western Australia. Nor can it be said that there is anything inconsistent in this proposal with the projected construction of the railway mentioned by the honorable member for Moira, running from Kalgoorlie to Esperance Bay. It is absolutely idle for any honorable member to speak about obtaining the assent of the South Australian Government to this proposal. The Commonwealth Government has already done all that is possible in that direction. The late Prime Minister certainly did all that he could to obtain the assent of South Australia. He pressed the Premier of South Australia for a reply to an inquiry whether the Parliament of that State would consent to pass a Bill, allowing the line to pass through South Australian territory. In a final answer to a message, asking the plain question whether he would carry out the promise made by his predecessors to introduce a Bill giving legal authority for

the construction of the line, the Premier of South Australia telegraphed as follows:—

I have nothing to add to mine of 12th inst., further than to state that survey and reliable estimates are always prepared before we ask Parliament by Act to sanction the construction of any line of railway.

The present Government, following the action of its predecessors, has now asked the House to agree to pass a sum necessary to allow the making of a survey which is the preliminary regarded by South Australia as essential to the giving of her consent to the construction of the line. That being so, I think that the representatives of Western Australia have a fair claim to consideration. I would urge the Parliament to consider very seriously the position of the western State. The Minister of Trade and Customs has truly said that Western Australia has received no benefit, and is not likely to receive any advantage from Federation. He might well have gone further, and have said that Western Australia has made very considerable sacrifices for Federation. In these circumstances I think it is incumbent upon the people of the other States to consider the position of the western community. It cannot be denied that the isolation of Western Australia constitutes a serious menace to the permanency of the Federal Union. We know very well that in the corporeal sphere the disuse of a member is followed by its atrophy.

Mr. EWING.—And then by death.

Mr. MAHON.—Exactly. I am afraid that unless you make your Union felt in the extreme western State of the Commonwealth, unless you give the people there some tangible advantages as a reward for the many sacrifices which they have made, a strong feeling of antagonism against the Federation will grow up in that community.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—There is no doubt about it.

Mr. MAHON.—I would ask the members of this Parliament to consider what it was that lost England her North American Colonies, and estranged Ireland from the Empire for centuries? Was it not that the legislators of Great Britain attempted to rule in defiance of the wishes of the people of the North American Colonies and against the wishes of the people of Ireland? And are we, in this twentieth century, to repeat the disastrous mistakes which have clouded the history of Great Britain? I am not one

to talk secession, or the dismemberment of the Union; but if the people of Western Australia are goaded into action, I should not be surprised if within the next four or five years a very strong agitation arose against the Union in that State. Of course it would be our duty to deprecate anything of the kind; but if the people of Western Australia were to say, "We no longer wish to remain federated," how could we prevent them from collecting their own Customs duties, and managing their own affairs, as they did prior to Federation.

Mr. GLYNN.—The southern States of America were very soon prevented from doing that.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Yes, by the use of swords and bullets.

Mr. MAHON.—If honorable members are so niggardly as to grudge a small outlay for the construction of a railway which would cement the Union, can they contemplate with equanimity the possibility of a much larger outlay later on to keep it intact? That is a consideration which should not be lost sight of by responsible men. I do not say that any prominent person is likely to advocate secession; but at this stage of our history we should not allow anything to happen which would give the people of Western Australia, or of any other State, reasonable grounds for resentment or antagonism to Federation. We have hitherto endeavoured, so far as we could, to legislate for other parts of the Commonwealth in accordance with the wishes of the persons concerned. We have made great sacrifices to maintain the policy of a White Australia. The people of Western Australia have never grumbled at having to put their hands into their pockets to pay the sugar bounties, nor have they grumbled because the State of Victoria has received the major portion of the benefits which have been obtained from Federation. Neither are they likely to grumble if, in the future, New South Wales, which has large coalfields, becomes the home of manufactures, whose competition may drive similar manufactures out of Western Australia.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Some of the Western Australian manufacturers have already left that State and come to Victoria.

Mr. MAHON.—I hope that Parliament will consider the aspect of the matter which I have put before it. I do not wish to be accused of talking dismemberment or disunion; but we should endeavour to see a little ahead, and not give to any part of

our community reasonable grounds for feeling that it has been tricked into joining the Federation, and that it is now being unjustly treated.

Mr. EWING (Richmond).—I do not desire to unduly extend this debate; my intention is to offer only a few remarks pertinent to some of the statements I have heard in this Chamber. I believe that the vast majority of the people of Western Australia would not affirm the truth of the statement that any State entered the Union only to obtain material advantages. Behind the creation and the existence of the Australian Union is something very much greater than material interest—the spirit of fellowship and brotherhood. Federation was the result of an uprising in the direction of nationality, and was not brought about for material reasons. But while saying that, I differ from those who think that no weight should be given to material considerations in our national life, and that the proposal which we are discussing is a novel one. It is nothing of the kind. The Dominion of Canada is probably more like our Australian Commonwealth than is any other Union which now exists, and we find, on looking back upon her history, that several of the States of the Dominion, prior to joining the Union, made requests similar to that which has been made by the State of Western Australia. Let me give the Committee one or two instances. Although the population of Prince Edward Island was probably as patriotic as any other community which is now part of the Dominion, it refused to join the Canadian Union until some £300,000 had been promised by the Dominion to get rid of the private ownership of land which existed in the State. The people of Prince Edward Island were not disloyal or selfish; but they felt that the matter was one with which they could not deal themselves, and therefore they asked the Dominion to assist them. Then, again, in 1870 the Dominion paid the old historic Hudson's Bay Company some £300,000 before Rupertsland and the North-West Territory would join the Union. Again, to take a more nearly analogous case, British Columbia in the same year refused to join the Union until the Dominion Parliament had definitely undertaken to construct the Canadian-Pacific railway. Further back—in 1867—at the time when the Canadian Federation was consummated, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick took up a

similar attitude in regard to the construction of the railway from Quebec to the seaboard of the Maritime Provinces. In all these cases what were primarily local or State needs were attended to by the Federation, which had, perhaps, only a secondary interest in what was done. Therefore what is now proposed is no new thing in the history of Federal Governments. The honorable member for Coolgardie made reference to the unwisdom which characterised the attitude of Great Britain towards its colonies in North America, which we now know as the United States. It is unnecessary to enter into a dissertation on the principles of taxation. The statements of Burke form a treasury for the intellectual world, and he summed up the situation in this way, "It does not matter very much," he said, "whether we are taxing the people of North America or whether we are not: the question is, do they think we are taxing them?" To determine a similar question, I have spent some little time in investigating the speeches made to the people of Western Australia in regard to the proposed Transcontinental Railway. Whether those who were in power were entitled to make promises or not, and whether such promises were sufficiently definite to be tangible, there is no doubt that the vast majority of the people of Western Australia believed that a compact was entered into. Then, taking Burke's view of the situation, we come to the question, not whether a promise was made, but whether they believed that it was made. I feel sure that they did so believe.

Mr. POYNTON.—There is no doubt that it was made.

Mr. EWING.—The honorable member knows that some honorable members who believe that no such promise should have been made, state that it was made by persons without authority, and it would be very difficult to say on whom responsibility should rest.

Mr. FRAZER.—A promise was made by persons holding responsible positions.

Mr. EWING.—That aspect of the question has also been discussed, and it has been contended that the responsibility incurred was personal rather than national. I thoroughly believe that if the people of Australia thought that a contract had been made, they would have no hesitation in consenting to the proposed survey, which would cost little more than one penny per head of the population of the Commonwealth.

Mr. POYNTON.—One-penny farthing per head, or sixpence per family.

Mr. EWING.—That is not very much to pay for a principle, and I do not think that the Australian public would worry themselves over that aspect of the matter. It is very much more difficult to display enthusiasm with regard to national questions than with regard to personal matters. I am quite satisfied that the honorable member for Melbourne Ports would be very enthusiastic with regard to any work that would ameliorate the condition of the electors in his constituency. Similarly, the Mayor of Bundaberg would no doubt be very enthusiastic with regard to any proposal for bonuses which would tend to ameliorate the condition of the sugar-growers of the north. But when honorable members are asked to deal with a question which relates to some portion of the continent far removed from their own constituencies, and beyond the region of local interest, they feel that they have to accept a grave responsibility. They will, without hesitation, do what they know their constituents would like, but few men care to be called upon to explain that they have done something with regard to which their constituents are in doubt, or which may be they believe is not necessary, or that they have not been prompted by their knowledge of the benefit to their constituents, as much as by the higher sense of responsibility to the people of the Commonwealth as a whole. We are under the same obligation to do what is right and just to the people of Western Australia as we are to see that justice is done to our own constituents. We cannot, perhaps, expect our constituents to view the matter in quite the same light as we do, but we ought to endeavour to divest ourselves of local influences, and to do the best we can for the whole Commonwealth. Even though an honorable member may have doubts with regard to the construction of the railway—and I grant that I have serious doubts—he can scarcely object to take the view adopted by the leader of the Opposition. The honorable member for Bland said, and quite rightly, “We go no further than the question of exploration and inquiry; so far Australia is prepared to go.” So far he bound himself, and we are not asked to go any further. When the Transvaal war broke out we were astounded to find that the English officers knew nothing of the topography of the country—we were equally

astonished to learn that the Japanese knew all about Manchuria—and yet we are not at all astounded that the representatives of Australia and the Defence authorities should know nothing about that vast tract of country which extends from Port Augusta to Kalgoorlie.

Mr. FOWLER.—We have had foreigners making more careful inquiries than have our own Defence Department.

Mr. EWING.—It appears to me scandalous that we should have no knowledge of a tract of country extending half-way across the continent, and it is incumbent upon us to make the proposed inquiry. Even if an honorable member does not believe in the railway, he might still vote in favour of the proposal for a survey. I should support it even though no railway were projected, because it is imperative that we should know something with regard to the continent we are called upon to govern. If in any other State there was 1,000 miles of territory, regarding which the States Departments and the representatives of the people knew nothing, I should gladly vote £20,000 to defray the cost of an investigation. Without binding myself to the construction of the railway, I think it is right and proper that the Parliament should vote the proposed sum of money for investigation purposes, in order that we may be furnished with essential information as speedily as possible.

Mr. FRAZER (Kalgoorlie).—I am gratified at the tone which the debate has taken, and I am also glad that it is thoroughly understood that all that we are required to do at present is to make out a reasonable case for a survey of the proposed line. Some time ago I was told that a number of honorable members were under the impression that the line was being advocated in the interests of a small gang of persons in Perth and Fremantle. A statement to that effect was made in the Chamber, and I take the first opportunity to say that it is absolutely incorrect. The people of Western Australia are almost unanimously of opinion that a line should be built to connect that State with the eastern railway systems. It is not surprising that this feeling should exist, when we consider the number of persons from the eastern States who have settled in Western Australia, but who still have interests of a domestic or other character in the places from which they came. I have a return prepared by the manager of the Money Order Office in West-

ern Australia, dated 11th April, 1904, showing the amount of money forwarded through his Department from 1898 to 1903 inclusive to the other States. During that period £426,721 15s. 6d. was remitted to South Australia.

Mr. FOWLER.—That amount was made up of small sums, forwarded by means of money orders, and was apart altogether from any remittances by cheque or draft.

Mr. FRAZER.—Quite so. £1,316,353 8s. was remitted to Victoria.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—That was an absolute present to Victoria; we received no *quid pro quo*.

Mr. TUDOR.—I suppose that the men who sent the money had to work for it?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Yes, but they presented it to the people of Victoria.

Mr. FRAZER.—During the same period £491,511 11s. 5d. was remitted to New South Wales, £68,904 4s. 10d. to Queensland, and £96,033 9s. 3d. to Tasmania, the total being £2,399,524 9s. In view of the ties which exist between many of the workers in Western Australia and their families and relatives on the other side of the continent, it is only natural that kindly feelings should be entertained by them towards the other States, and I can assure honorable members that they feel greatly disappointed when antagonism is expressed towards the proposed railway. The promise given to Western Australia prior to her joining the Federation imposes a moral obligation upon representatives of at least some of the States to do all they can to assist in bringing about the construction of the proposed line. Some reference has been made to the remarks of two Premiers of South Australia, but unfortunately the position of affairs is not thoroughly understood by honorable members, or by the people of Australia. The right honorable member for Adelaide, when Premier of South Australia, used expressions which fully justified the people of Western Australia in believing that they would receive the hearty co-operation of South Australia in securing the construction of the railway. The right honorable gentleman, in one of his letters to the right honorable member for Swan, said—

This would, indeed, be an Australian work worthy of undertaking by the Federal authority, on behalf of the nation, in pursuance of the authorities contained in the Commonwealth Bill. It is, of course, a work of special interest to Western Australia and South Australia, and I devoutly hope that the day is not far distant when the representatives of Western Australia

and South Australia may, in their places in a Federal Parliament, be found working side by side for the advancement of Australian interests in this and other matters of national concern.

Some doubt having been subsequently expressed as to the attitude of South Australia, the right honorable member for Adelaide communicated with the honorable member for Swan as follows:—

Cannot understand reference to probable reluctance of South Australia to permit Federal construction of railway connecting colonies. We have no fear of any such anti-Federal, "dog-in-the-manger" policy.

These communications clearly show that the people of Western Australia were justified in expecting that the great national work which they desired to see carried out would receive strong support in the Commonwealth Parliament. It is not, however, our wish that the commencement of this great work should rest on sympathy, so I desire to present a few facts concerning the great Western State, which do not appear to be universally known in the East. At the present time, Western Australia possesses a population of nearly 250,000, a great proportion of which is comprised of adult males. It cannot be disputed that Western Australia is the greatest mining State in the Union. It contains eighteen declared gold-fields, and during the period that mining has been actively carried on £10,000,000 have been disbursed in dividends. Last year the dividends paid aggregated £1,500,000. During the same period the coal produced was valued at £86,000, the copper at £110,769, and the tin at £52,102. I think it will be generally admitted that a State which is capable of producing such a large quantity of gold is worthy of some consideration. At the present time, Western Australia has about 100,000,000 acres under pastoral lease. Despite the statements which appear in the newspapers of the eastern States, it is a fact that a considerable portion of the country which would be traversed by the proposed railway has been taken up by pastoralists, who have stocked it. In dealing with the pastoral resources of the western State, and particularly those on the route of the proposed line, it is only reasonable that I should quote from the report of Mr. Muir, who travelled over it upon camels at the instance of the Western Australian Government, and made a flying survey. He states—

I was led to believe, prior to starting this trip, that the country to be traversed consisted almost entirely of a desert—

Had he been resident in Victoria we should probably have said that he had been reading the *Age*—

composed of sandhills and spinnifex flats. This impression proved, however, to be perfectly erroneous, unless a waterless tract of country, though well grassed and timbered, can be called a desert. Interspersed through this forest are numerous flats covered with grass, as well as with salt-bush and other fodder shrubs. The soil is of good quality, and the growth of grass and herbage luxuriant. At about 200 miles, rolling downs of lime-stone formation are met with, covered with a luxuriant growth of grass, and occasionally a salt-bush flat. This country is lightly timbered with myaporum, and presents a beautiful park-like appearance.

Honorable members should bear in mind that Mr. Muir occupies a responsible position, and that his estimates in the past have always proved absolutely authentic. Yet what has been pictured by the newspapers as a desert, he describes as country "presenting a beautiful park-like appearance." His report continues—

Close to the coast a narrow belt of mallee runs, and further inland small belts of myall and myaporum are met with. This country is also well grassed, and salt-bush and other feed bushes are plentiful. To the north, near the 31st parallel of latitude, the country is more open. In fact, from the South Australian border, for 250 miles in a westerly direction, it is one large open plain of limestone formation, fairly well grassed throughout. Taken as a whole, this stretch of country is one of the finest I have seen in Australia, and, with water—which doubtless could be obtained if properly prospected for—it is admirably adapted for grazing purposes, and will, without doubt, be taken up some day from end to end. At the time of our visit this tract of country must have been at its driest, as the settlers at Eyre and Eucla informed us that it was the worst season they had experienced for the last twenty years. From our observations, it was quite evident that there had been a long dry spell, extending over fully twelve months, I should think. Still the grass was sound and strong, growing for the most part to a height of twelve inches.

When a report of that description is presented by a gentleman, who certainly should be a reliable authority upon the matter, and whose reputation is at stake, I think that honorable members should attach more weight to it than to the rash statements published by newspapers which desire to cater for the lowest instincts of a few people in other portions of the Commonwealth. I believe that, if the facts were fairly presented to the people of Australia, they would unhesitatingly support this proposal. I would further point out that last year Western Australia possessed 3,000,000 sheep and 400,000 cattle. In addition to that, she produced about 1,000,000 bushels of wheat.

The State has also enormous possibilities for agriculture. There are about 10,000,000 acres open for selection, extending from Geraldton in the north to Esperance and Albany in the south, which contain some of the finest agricultural land to be found in any portion of Australia. I have travelled over a vast extent of that country, and its fertility cannot be questioned. When experienced settlers take up this land, Western Australia will become a very important agricultural State. I do not think that too much weight should be attached to the arguments of the honorable member for Moira on the question of defence. He urged that at the present time the eastern States have not large standing armies, which, in the event of Western Australia being seriously threatened, could be readily transported across the Continent. But the same remark, I would point out, would apply to any country in regard to any war which has ever taken place. At the opening of hostilities in South Africa, Australia did not possess a large number of troops which she could immediately place in the field. Nevertheless it was soon realized that if troops were required for patriotic purposes, they could very speedily be organized. I think it will be readily conceded that the defence of a country is to be measured by its strength at its weakest point. Personally, I am of opinion that, in the event of hostilities, the first State in Australia to be attacked would be that which possessed large resources in the shape of rich gold mines, which had not many men to defend them, and which possessed no means of obtaining assistance from its eastern neighbours. It will be seen that, under such circumstances, the western State would occupy a very precarious position indeed. Looking at the matter from a common-sense stand-point, I think that, in the interests of the defence of the Commonwealth, facilities should be provided for the transport of troops with the least possible delay. I would further point out that at the present time there is a large passenger traffic between Western Australia and the eastern States—I believe the official estimate sets it down at about 50,000 annually. If it were possible for people in the western State to travel to the east without being called upon to undergo the inconvenience and discomfort attaching to a sea trip, I venture to say that the number of passengers travelling to and fro would be considerably increased. There is always considerable uncertainty as to the hour of sailing, and that in itself

constitutes an objection to the present means of communication. We must also remember that many people have a natural objection to travelling by sea. There is another aspect of this proposal which has an important bearing on Western Australia. It is well known that the Commonwealth is visited from time to time by a large number of European tourists and others who combine pleasure-seeking with business, and are always anxious to obtain information as to the opportunities for profitable investment which Australia affords. The people of Western Australia believe that if facilities were given to these visitors to leave the mail steamers at Fremantle and to travel thence by rail to all parts of the Commonwealth, they would spend at least a week at the metropolis and a week at the gold-fields before proceeding overland to the eastern States.

Sir LANGDON BONYTHON.—How many oversea passengers leave the mail steamers at Adelaide and continue their journey to Sydney or Melbourne by railway?

Mr. FRAZER.—I have no figures before me that would enable me to reply to the honorable member's question; but I would remind him that to travellers from other parts of the world Adelaide does not offer as many attractions as does Western Australia. I therefore assume that any return which might be prepared on the subject named could not be taken as a fair indication of the number who, if this line were constructed, would leave the mail steamers at Fremantle and travel overland.

Sir LANGDON BONYTHON.—My question was, how many people travelling by mail steamer—apart altogether from Western Australians—land at Adelaide and go on to Melbourne or Sydney by train?

Mr. FRAZER.—I was under no misapprehension as to the question put by the honorable and learned member.

Mr. GROOM.—But the honorable member cannot answer it.

Mr. FRAZER.—I have no data bearing on the question, but I think I have supplied a sufficient answer to it. I have heard many passengers on mail steamers express their determination to land at the first available opportunity, and I consequently conclude that a large number of travellers by the mail steamers bring their sea voyage to a termination on reaching Adelaide. The attitude taken up by Western Australia in regard to this question has been somewhat severely criticized by two honorable members who have addressed themselves to this

question. The honorable and learned member for Parkes last night expressed the opinion that Western Australia should be called upon to pay for the cost of the preliminary survey. He urged that if the Government of that State wished to obtain information relative to the projected line they should be prepared to pay for its collection. But in the event of the Commonwealth constructing the line and working it, would the honorable and learned member be prepared to support a proposal to give Western Australia the larger proportion of the profits that might be obtained from it? That is an aspect of the matter which the honorable and learned member has not seriously considered. I believe that Western Australia is acting in a very generous way, and that there is no desire on the part of the representative men of that State that the Commonwealth should be called on to bear the whole burden should the line be constructed and prove less successful than we hope it will be. Mr. James, the late Premier of Western Australia, made what I consider was a fair offer to the late Prime Minister. He stated in a telegram dated 18th May last—

On condition that Commonwealth is allowed a free hand as to route and gauge of railway, this State will be prepared, for ten years after line constructed, to bear a share of any loss in excess of our contribution on a population basis. It would be premature to fix exact proportion we are prepared to pay at this stage; but I am confident it will be liberal, and abundantly satisfy the Federal Parliament of our sincerity in this connexion, and our belief that the work will soon be a directly paying one.

The tone of that message does not suggest any desire on the part of the representative public men of Western Australia to place the Commonwealth in a false position. I would point out further, that under the Enabling Act passed by the Western Australian Parliament, the Government of that State are pledged to an enormous undertaking. I refer to the lifting and relaying of the railway from Fremantle to Kalgoorlie, in order that it may correspond with the gauge adopted by the Commonwealth for the great national line. It must also be remembered that the alteration in the gauge of that line would render it different from the other State lines. In view of the undertaking given in the Enabling Act, I think we may safely assume that the Government of Western Australia are quite prepared to undertake their just responsibility in this matter. The attitude adopted by two honorable members who

have spoken during this debate is worthy of some attention. The honorable member for Moira asserted that the cost of the survey must be seriously considered, and the same view was expressed by the honorable and learned member for Indi. In glancing over the pages of *Hansard* this morning, I was unable to discover any evidence that these honorable members had always been so ready to take exception to the proposed expenditure of a few thousand pounds. We urge that the building of this railway is a great national undertaking which should be entered upon by the Commonwealth, in order that the pledge given to Western Australia, prior to Federation, by a number of the leading public men of Australia, who advocated the Union, may be redeemed. But the honorable member for Moira, and the honorable and learned member for Indi object to the preliminary survey simply on the ground of the cost. When various other proposals—involving considerable expenditure—of a far less important character, have been submitted to the House they have not taken up that attitude. I find that they joined with other honorable members in voting a sum of £10,000 to enable the Duke and Duchess of York to be lavishly entertained during their visit to Australia in connexion with the opening of the Commonwealth Parliament.

Mr. CROUCH.—When they voted in that way the money had already been spent.

Mr. FRAZER.—That is immaterial to the point at issue. The money should certainly not have been spent in that way, and the fact that it was so expended did not relieve the Ministry of their responsibility to this House. We find, however, that these two arch-priests of the gospel of economy, while not prepared to support a comparatively small expenditure in connexion with an undertaking designed to cement the Commonwealth, did not hesitate to vote for the expenditure of a sum of £10,000, most of which was handed over to Victorian society. The greater part of that amount was expended, I suppose, in the purchase of champagne, and on decorations, in order that the Duke and Duchess of York might be lavishly entertained; but it was of no material benefit to any citizen of the Commonwealth.

Mr. LIDDELL.—Tone?

Mr. FRAZER.—That was it. If those honorable members were prepared to support a vote that was of no lasting or even temporary benefit to the people of the Commonwealth, surely they

should not censure such a proposal as that now before the House, which involves the interests and the welfare of a vast number of people. I believe that the Committee will adopt a course that will enable the fullest investigation to be made and the most complete data to be obtained before we are asked seriously to determine whether the Commonwealth should construct this line. Its construction would be undoubtedly a momentous undertaking involving a very large expenditure, and I think that the feeling manifested during this debate shows that there is a desire on the part of honorable members to obtain the information necessary for our guidance. I hope that the division will show that a majority of the House is prepared to take into consideration the whole of the facts which have been presented in justification of the Government proposal, and that the ultimate result will be assent to a proposal, designed to secure the safety and the peace of the citizens of the Commonwealth.

Mr. SKENE (Grampians).—I may say at once that I intend to vote for the motion, but that I shall do so on the distinct understanding that I shall not bind myself in any shape or form to support the construction of the railway if the survey does not disclose some better possibilities than have, so far, been presented to our view. There is to be no implied contract. We have heard much of implied compacts, but I desire to make my position perfectly clear. I consider that the proposed undertaking will be rather a work of exploration than an actual railway survey. Since this question was first brought before us, a good deal of additional information has been presented, which throws some light on the character of the country through which the railway would pass. It cannot be denied that the line would run through some excellent grazing country, but the difficulty seems to be to secure an adequate water supply. I assume that the survey party would be provided with boring appliances, and would do its best to discover any underground supplies that might exist. The honorable member for Kalgoorlie read some extracts from a report by Mr. Muir, which I had previously seen, and which I think bear out the statements made to me by the right honorable member for Swan and others in regard to the grazing capacity of the country through which the projected line would run. The right honorable member for Swan tells us that in his early explorations he passed through some excellent

grazing land along the southern line. I do not know to which of these routes Mr. Muir refers in his report; but I think that he deals with a line designed to go further north than this railway would run. There can be no question, however, that a large area of good grazing country would be traversed, although, as I have already remarked, there is a difficulty in regard to securing a water supply. Mr. Muir deals with difficulties in the way of boring and of tapping any sources of fresh water, but he is very indefinite in regard to the rainfall. He states that the average rainfall is from seven inches upwards per annum—a very low one—but the statement appears to be somewhat inconsistent with the paragraph in which he informs us that the route passes through an area in which there are periodical rains, some of them of a tropical nature.

Mr. POYNTON.—How could he possibly determine the rainfall there?

Mr. SKENE.—That difficulty occurred to me when I was reading the report, for I know that no one has lived in the part of the country referred to long enough to enable any reliable data as to the rainfall to be obtained. I feel also that a good deal might be said from the point of view that the gold-fields are likely to be permanent, and to carry a large population for many years to come.

Mr. FOWLER.—There is no doubt about that.

Mr. SKENE.—It is also to be remembered that where there is a long haulage, the rates for railway transport are proportionately cheaper than where the distances are short. Some years ago, when Mr. Speight was Commissioner for Railways in Victoria, I found that in this State we were paying as much for the transport of our wheat for a distance of 160 miles as was being paid in New South Wales for haulage for a distance of 300 or 400 miles, and that the case was similar in regard to fat stock. Mr. Speight told me that the reason for the difference was that the New South Wales Commissioners could afford to charge less for a long haulage than he could afford to charge for a short haulage. Then, again, although the country through which the proposed line will pass may not afford much traffic to the line, that will not matter much if a full train load is obtained at one end and carried right through to the other end. The honorable member for Wilmot

has referred to the likelihood of water competition; but that competition is not likely to be so severe as it is in the eastern States, where the distances are shorter. At the present time goods intended for the gold-fields have to be placed on steamers in Melbourne, transferred to the train at Fremantle, and then conveyed some 400 miles by rail, whereas if the proposed railway were constructed, only one handling would be necessary, and the total railway journey would be only about 1,000 miles.

Mr. POYNTON.—That argument applies particularly to passenger traffic.

Mr. SKENE.—I do not think that the passenger traffic alone would be sufficient to justify the construction of the line, though no doubt the passenger fares would materially supplement its earnings.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—There would also be the conveyance of mails and of stock.

Mr. BRUCE SMITH.—Does the honorable member think that stock would be carried over the line?

Mr. SKENE.—Stock are now travelled and conveyed by steamer from Kimberly to the gold-fields, and properties many hundreds of miles distant have become valuable because of the market which has been given by the gold-fields. In America stock are taken by train much longer distances than that under consideration.

Mr. FOWLER.—And they lose less condition in the trucks than they lose on a bad track.

Mr. SKENE.—No doubt, because they are taken care of, taken out of the trucks to be watered, and are not in the trucks for a very long period at a time. Possibly the construction of the Esperance line would create competition by water. I have not altered my opinion in regard to this matter. When speaking on the address-in-reply, I said that I was disposed to vote for a trial survey of the line, and the information which has since been obtained has confirmed me in the view that it would be a wise thing to have the survey made.

Mr. LIDDELL (Hunter).—It seems to me that there has been a great deal of discussion upon this motion which is not altogether necessary. We are not now being asked to decide whether £6,000,000 should be spent upon the construction of a Transcontinental Railway; all that we are asked to do is to vote a certain sum of money to enable a survey of the route of

the proposed line to be made, so that we may know the nature of the country through which it would pass, and the prospect of the railway becoming a paying one. This is not a parochial or a provincial matter. The proposed railway is not to connect two points in a State; it is a continuation of one of the greatest highways of the world, the continuation of a highway which practically encircles the world. The object of the line is to unite the railway systems of the east with the railway systems of the west, to complete a magnificent chain which, when finished, will extend from Cairns on the north, round to Fremantle on the west. In a country like Australia, where there are very few large navigable rivers, no canals, and an almost unindented coastline, so that means of water carriage are few and inconvenient, it is necessary, in order to give opportunities for settlement and progress, to provide other means of communication. If we are to progress as we deserve to do, we must construct railways to give free intercourse amongst our people, and to carry goods readily from one part of the continent to another. This is one of the chief means by which we may increase our population. We have heard a great deal about the falling off of population; but we cannot expect our population to increase unless we provide facilities such as I speak of. I believe that the reason why Western Australia progressed so slowly for many years was, that she was almost entirely isolated from the other States; and when the proposed communication is given, she will no doubt progress very rapidly. Prior to Federation, New Zealand felt that, surrounded as she was by the seas, it would be better for her to stand alone; but Western Australia saw that it would be to her advantage to join the Union, and one of the inducements held out to the people of that State for coming into the Federation was, I believe, that the proposed line would eventually be constructed by the Commonwealth. Even if it is not constructed very shortly, the time is not far distant when it must be made, because it is an absolute necessity. Are we going to repudiate a bargain which was made with the people of Western Australia? The bargain made with the people of New South Wales in connexion with the Federal Capital has practically been repudiated, because a site has been chosen where it was never expected that the Seat of Government would be placed, but is this Parliament going to act similarly towards Western Australia?

Mr. CAMERON.—Who made the bargain with Western Australia? There was no bargain.

Mr. LIDDELL.—The construction of the proposed line was held out to the people of Western Australia as an inducement to join the Federation.

Mr. KELLY.—By whom? By the right honorable member for Swan.

Mr. LIDDELL.—If the right honorable member for Swan held it out as an inducement, he had, no doubt, good authority for doing so. When the survey has been made it will be necessary to inquire as to the benefits which would be obtained by the construction of the proposed line. One of the great advantages which I foresee from its construction is that it will tend towards the unification of the great British Empire, because it will bring us nearer to the mother country, by cutting off the long and unpleasant sea journey which those who now come from Europe to Australia are obliged to make in order to get to the eastern States. If we can do anything to draw closer the bonds of union, to tighten the crimson threads which unite us to the mother land, it is our duty to do it. The proposed railway would shorten the journey to Europe by some days, and would make it a much pleasanter one than it is now. Those who have travelled between the eastern States and Europe know that the most unpleasant part of the journey is that between Fremantle and Adelaide. In summer time cyclones sweep across the vast expanse of water which has to be traversed, while in winter time icy blasts come from the south, making the journey round the Leeuwin and across the Great Australian Bight a very unpleasant one to the average traveller, so that many who have not suffered from sea sickness in the earlier part of the voyage become ill there. I believe that every one who could avail himself of the overland journey would take it, in preference to the voyage by sea. The proposed railway would also give us a great many advantages in connexion with the carriage of our mails. Our letters would be delivered in shorter time than they are now, and thus trade and commerce with Europe, and between the eastern and western States of the Commonwealth, would be facilitated and accelerated. Whatever may have been the report of Major-General Hutton on the subject, I believe that the proposed railway would be of great advantage to us if we were at war with a foreign nation. We know how Russia has

been pushing forward her railways. We have read how a former Czar took his ruler and drew a line on the map from St. Petersburg to Moscow, to indicate how he wanted a railway to run. The question of cost was of little importance to him. We see now how the Russians have carried their railways through Siberia, and across Manchuria, and we know the use to which they have been put for transport purposes during the war. The Dominion of Canada, by the construction of the Canadian-Pacific railway, and the United States, have both set us examples which we might well follow in this matter. When the railway which now runs from San Francisco to New York was in contemplation, no one cared much for the fact that for many miles it would have to traverse the desert. It was not required to pay foot by foot. What the people of the United States desired was to get quickly from one part of the Union to another. That railway runs for thousands of miles across barren, waterless, alkali plains, where from his rising to his setting the sun never throws the shadow of a human being on the soil. Therefore, although water may be scarce along the route of the proposed line, and the country to be traversed may not be all that we might desire, we must regard it as a highway for the conveyance of passengers and of goods. I think, too, that if the line is constructed on the 4 ft. 8½ in. gauge, which already obtains in New South Wales, that gauge will eventually become universal.

Mr. CAMERON.—Does the honorable member know what it would cost to make that gauge universal?

Mr. LIDDELL.—I have not gone into the question of cost, but the first cost should be the last. We know what inconvenience and expense the present breaks of gauge entail, and we have the assurance of the present Government of Western Australia that they would be prepared to alter their gauge to make it conform with that of the proposed railway. If the same gauge were in use in Western Australia, and in New South Wales, I do not think that it would be long before it was adopted in the other States. If the railway is constructed I hope that we shall have no trouble in connexion with refreshment rooms at various stages. The personal inconvenience to which we now have to submit when travelling upon the railways is considerable, and the health of travellers must be seriously affected owing

to the conditions under which they have to take their meals. This is a matter of very great moment, and I trust that the cars will be so arranged that passengers will be able to dine as they travel. If the construction of the railway were entered upon a considerable amount of work would be provided for those of our citizens who are in urgent need of employment, and the money of the Commonwealth could not be spent to greater advantage. There are no great engineering difficulties to be overcome, because the right honorable member for Swan tells us that the country is level for the greater part of the way. We have heard that water is scarce, and that the rainfall amounts to only seven inches per annum. I consider that the rainfall is a minor consideration, because we know that plentiful supplies of water can be obtained by means of artesian bores. I should like to know the source of the opposition to the project. Is it not instigated to a very large extent by the shipping companies, who fear that their interests will be seriously affected by the diversion of traffic? I have no sympathy with those whose opposition to the railway is prompted by consideration for vested interests, and I entirely object to the introduction of log-rolling into this Parliament. We have had enough of that in the States Parliaments. Some objection probably comes from the magnates of Perth and Fremantle, who would prefer to see a railway constructed from Kalgoorlie to Esperance.

Mr. MAHON.—They do not wish to see that line constructed.

Mr. LIDDELL.—They certainly do not desire to see the connexion made between Kalgoorlie and Port Augusta, and they would prefer the other line as the lesser of two evils. I do not bind myself to vote for the construction of the railway, but I think that £20,000 would be well spent in making a survey, and in securing the information that is essential to a full consideration of the merits of the project. I shall, therefore, vote for the measure.

Mr. POYNTON (Grey).—I feel deeply interested in the proposal now before us, not because the railway would traverse a considerable portion of the electorate which I represent, but because I have, for many years past, advocated the construction of the line. As long ago as 1894, I submitted a motion in favor of the construction of reservoirs, and of putting down artesian bores along the line of route that would probably be followed by a line connecting Port Augusta with Kalgoorlie. I considered then that

the time was not far distant when a railway would be constructed, and I thought we should pave the way for it as far as possible. Upon that occasion I was beaten by only one vote. Later on I obtained a return from the Railway Commissioner of South Australia, in which he gave an approximate estimate of the cost of constructing a railway from Port Augusta to Kalgoorlie, and also of the probable annual expenditure and revenue. He was strongly in favour of the proposal that South Australia should construct a line to the Western Australian border if the Government of the latter State would agree to build a railway to meet it. At a later date I tabled a motion, based upon the recommendations in that report, to the effect that the line should be constructed. At this time Federation had practically been agreed to, and in view of that fact, and of the promises which were distinctly made by representative men in the Commonwealth to induce Western Australia to join the Federal Union, the proposal was withdrawn. I am very sorry that the South Australian Government have taken up an attitude of antagonism to the project. I have no hesitation in saying that they have been largely influenced in this matter by consideration for the vested interests of Port Adelaide, and that Mr. John Darling, who dominates the policy of the Government, is very largely responsible for the present situation. I am glad that honorable members are not disposed to indorse the attitude of the South Australian Government. I am not in a position to-day to say whether or not the line would pay. We may have our own ideas as to the desirableness of connecting the two States by railway; but we shall need more information before we can express any definite opinion as to the commercial prospects of the railway. We have been told that certain gentlemen from Western Australia have traversed the country from Kalgoorlie to the border. They have given us a description of the timber to be found there, and of the various edible bushes which contribute to make the country suitable for pastoral occupation. They have also stated that the rainfall amounts to about seven inches per annum and upwards. No man can be in a position to exactly state the rainfall over that area of country, because no one has lived there long enough to collect the necessary data; but the fact that gum trees are growing in a belt 100 miles long, and about 100 miles broad, is in itself an indication of a good

rainfall over that particular portion of the area. Then again, we are told that well-grassed plains extend for almost the whole distance from Kalgoorlie to the border. In some instances the grass was dry, and in other cases green, and it was in places as high as twelve inches. These are also indications of a good rainfall. I have traversed, and know the character of, about 300 miles of the country from Port Augusta westward. In South Australia, we have passed through one of the worst droughts ever known, which has extended over a period of practically seven years, and the country to which I refer was the only part of the northern pastoral districts of South Australia from which the pastoralists were not driven out by the drought. That is another indication that the 300 miles in question possesses a more favorable climate than do many of the northern portions of South Australia. Personally, I am of opinion that it is desirable to construct this railway for the purpose of connecting the eastern States with Western Australia. I cannot see what Federal tie binds us to the western State if that State is to continue isolated. But altogether apart from that consideration, I claim that the Transcontinental Railway possesses all the possibilities of a remunerative undertaking. At the present time Kalgoorlie has a population of from 40,000 to 50,000. These people have to depend for their supplies upon all parts of the Continent. They have relations with every other State. If they desire to visit the eastern portion of Australia they first have to travel 400 miles to reach the coast. Then the shipping companies charge them about twice as much in fares as they would be called upon to pay if it were possible for them to travel by rail. That is the secret of some of the opposition to the present proposal. In my opinion, Kalgoorlie is destined to occupy much the same position in regard to Australia as Broken Hill occupies in regard to South Australia. It will provide an opening for all the perishable products of the other States. When we consider that between 50,000 and 60,000 persons annually journey between Western Australia and the eastern States, it is easy to imagine what number would travel if a railway were at their very door, and if they could cover the distance in half the time that is at present occupied, and at half the existing cost. I do not fear the result of information being obtained relative to this project. I do not think it would be proper

to say to Western Australia, "You must incur the expenditure necessary to obtain a survey of the line proposed, and if we subsequently ascertain that it is likely to prove a remunerative work we will recoup you your outlay." That would be a very unfederal spirit to evince. But, apart from these considerations, I claim that the construction of the proposed railway opens up great possibilities from a mineral standpoint. In South Australia some 300 miles along the route which the line would traverse, there is a gold-field which has already produced thousands of ounces of the precious metal. I believe that this railway, if constructed, would prove a base from which prospectors would go out and make rich discoveries. I feel pleased with the tone that has characterized this debate, and I am confident that no honorable member who votes for the motion will have cause to regret it. After all, what does the proposed expenditure represent? The large sum of 1½d. per head. I am confident that no person in the Commonwealth will begrudge that expenditure to obtain information regarding a great national undertaking. If the report is not satisfactory I shall not advocate the construction of the line. Nevertheless, I believe that it will confirm the opinions of men who are familiar with the country which it would traverse. It is a singular circumstance that those who are not acquainted with that country are the loudest in their condemnation of the proposal. For example, last night the honorable member for Moira spoke about "miles and miles of sand hills." Yet to-day the honorable member for Kalgoorlie quoted the report of Mr. Muir, of the Lands Department of Western Australia, a thoroughly practical man, who gave quite a glowing description of the country. In South Australia, Mr. Wells, of the Survey Department, who was engaged exploring this territory for about six months, prepared plans of it for me, and his description of the land upon the South Australian side of the border tallies exactly with that given by Mr. Muir of the territory upon the Western Australian side. I trust that honorable members will support the motion.

Mr. R. EDWARDS (Oxley).—It is not my intention to speak at great length, but I do not think that I should be justified in giving a silent vote upon this question. The utterances of the right honorable member for Swan, and other representatives of Western Australia, would almost incline me to vote in favour of the proposed expendi-

ture of £20,000 for the survey of this railway. I know how anxious they are to secure it. To-night, for the first time in the history of this Parliament, we shall probably witness the whole of the representatives of a State voting together.

Mr. FOWLER. — That shows how solid Western Australia is upon the question.

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—In explaining the Ministerial policy the other day, the Prime Minister declared that, if the Government were allowed to reach recess, they would use it to cultivate cordial relations between the States and the central Governments. Evidently that feeling has already been created in Western Australia, for to-day we find every representative of that great State voicing the same opinion upon this question. I trust that during the remainder of the session they will support the Government as they are doing now. Personally, I have to bear in mind that I represent a portion of Queensland, and I must therefore consider the best interests of that State. Much as I should like to support the right honorable member for Swan, I feel obliged to vote against this motion. If the proposed railway is of so much importance to Western Australia, why cannot that State incur the expenditure necessary to obtain a survey of the route? Why cannot it satisfy this Parliament that the construction of the Transcontinental Railway is possible, and that the territory through which it would pass is not a barren and waterless waste? If it were to expend £20,000 upon its own account, I think that it would be able to make out a very good case indeed. Such an expenditure would show that its people had confidence in the undertaking. But apparently they are not prepared to risk £20,000 to satisfy themselves and this Parliament that the construction of the line is practicable. I will not venture to say how many millions sterling the proposed railway would cost, because it has been variously estimated at £4,000,000, £5,000,000, and £6,000,000, and upon each occasion the right honorable member for Swan has contradicted the estimate. It is undeniable, however, that the undertaking would involve an expenditure of some millions.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—How much does the sugar bonus cost?

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—If Queensland were allowed to secede from the Federation she would be very glad to forego the sugar bonus. It has been urged by several speakers that there was an understanding between the Premiers of the various States

that the Transcontinental Railway should be constructed. Possibly there was also an understanding that one of the first measures submitted to this Parliament should have for its object an interference with the great sugar industry of Queensland. During the last election campaign I was frequently asked whether I would support an expenditure of £20,000 upon obtaining a survey of the proposed railway from Port Augusta to Kalgoorlie. This was a live question in Queensland. I had no hesitation in declaring that I would not be a party to penalizing Queensland to that extent. The northern State has already been penalized sufficiently, and has received very little consideration at the hands of this Parliament.

Mr. WATKINS.—Queensland has received more consideration than has any other State.

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—She has not received the slightest consideration. Indeed, the feeling in Queensland to-day is that if it were possible to do so that State would gladly withdraw from the Federation. This afternoon, the honorable member for Coolgardie stated that if this railway were not constructed it would create a feeling of antagonism throughout Western Australia, and that its people would use every means in their power to secede from the Federation. All I can say is that Queensland would be only too glad to join with that State with a view to gaining the same end.

Mr. WATKINS.—The electors do not show that by their votes.

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—Why does Western Australia desire special treatment? The Constitution provides that every State shall be treated alike by the Commonwealth. No preference is to be given.

Mr. SKENE.—No sugar bounties.

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—There is to be no interference with States rights. The Constitution provides that there shall be no discrimination shown in dealing with the States, and yet we have now before us a proposal to give two States an advantage over the others.

Mr. WATKINS.—Why?

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—Why should we specially legislate for South Australia and Western Australia at the expense of the other States? Queensland will be called upon to pay something like £4,000 as her proportion of the £20,000 which it is proposed to spend in making a preliminary survey.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Western Australia has helped to pay for the sugar bonuses which benefit Queensland.

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—Whose fault is that?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—It is not the fault of Western Australia.

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—Did Queensland ask that there should be any interference with the sugar industry of that State, that kanaka labour should be abolished, and bonuses given by the Commonwealth to enable white labour to be substituted?

Mr. FOWLER.—She did, through her representatives.

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—The latest proposal is that the Chinese throughout the rest of the Commonwealth shall be sent to Queensland to engage in the sugar industry. A suggestion to that effect has repeatedly been made in the Victorian press. It is thought that if the Chinese were sent in this way to Queensland the white traders of other parts of the Commonwealth, and more particularly of Melbourne, would no longer be compelled to compete with them. Queensland is quite prepared to observe the laws passed by the Commonwealth Parliament, but if coloured labourers are to be employed in the sugar-fields of that State let them be kanakas. The people of Queensland are accustomed to the habits of the kanaka, and, although Chinese may be very suitable for some classes of work, they are not fitted for the sugar industry. In the interests of Queensland I shall be compelled to oppose the motion. The State of which I am a representative might very well appeal to this Parliament for a similar vote towards the cost of a preliminary survey for a proposed railway to Somerset, in the extreme north of the Gulf of Carpentaria. It has just as much right to make such a request to this House as Western Australia has to ask that the Commonwealth shall expend £20,000 in this way. But the people of that State would not dream of doing such a thing. All that they ask of this Parliament is fair treatment and consideration.

Mr. WATKINS.—Did they ask for the sugar bonus?

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—I am not dealing with the sugar industry. I should not have mentioned the subject but for an interjection made by the honorable member for Newcastle, who must have a very sweet tooth. I regret that I cannot support the

motion, but I do not think that the State from which I come could fairly be asked to contribute £4,000 towards the cost of the survey of a railway that will be of no advantage to it. It has already been penalized by the extension of the Vancouver contract for the carriage of oversea mails, and by the increase of the subsidy from £7,000 to £10,000 per annum, while it is to suffer still further by the refusal of the Commonwealth to provide in the contract that mail steamers shall make Brisbane a port of call. In the interests of Queensland, I feel constrained to oppose this motion, although I believe that it will be carried.

Mr. STORRER (Bass).—I desire, at the outset to disclaim the suggestion made by the honorable member for Hunter, that the opposition to the motion has emanated from the shipping companies. I have not been approached by any shipping company, or by any individual in regard to this proposal, and I intend to exercise my common sense in dealing with it, as I do with all other matters that come before the House. The honorable member gives the House scarcely any credit for the exercise of common sense. The statement made during the debate, that we are bound by an implied compact to provide for this preliminary survey has, to my mind, no foundation. We are bound by that which was done by the Convention in framing the Constitution Bill, which was accepted by the people. I was opposed to the Bill, but I intend, as a representative of the people, to faithfully carry out its provisions. I would remind the Committee that it contains no reference to this projected railway, and that we are not bound by any Conference of Premiers, which may have met, and have arrived at certain decisions, any more than we should be bound by any Conference of Premiers of the various States that might meet and make certain suggestions to this House. If a Conference of Premiers made certain recommendations, as the result of which Western Australia was led to accept Federation, I can only say that it is a matter for regret that such recommendations should have been made, when the Premiers concerned had no power to give effect to them. It has been stated by the right honorable member for Swan, that those who oppose this motion are adopting a dog-in-the-manger policy.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—No. I quoted the statement made by some one else.

Mr. STORRER.—But the right honorable member interjected during the course of a speech made by another honorable member in opposition to the motion, "Is the honorable member going to adopt a dog-in-the-manger policy"?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—No; I said that we were not going to be dogs-in-the-manger.

Mr. STORRER.—In common with others, I intend to oppose the spending of £20,000 in carrying out the proposed survey; but in doing so, we are not adopting a dog-in-the-manger policy. Even if the Commonwealth refuses to undertake the work, Western Australia will be at liberty to carry out the survey, so that the case is not at all on all-fours with the fable of the dog in the manger, who could not eat the hay itself, and would not allow the ox to eat it.

Mr. FOWLER.—Why does Tasmania come to the Federal Parliament for a subsidy of £7,000 a year for a mail service?

Mr. STORRER.—I might as well ask why the Western Australian Parliament does not subsidize the over-sea mail steamers for carrying her mails to England. It is only fair and reasonable that the subsidy to which the honorable member has referred should be paid; but that question is not now before the Committee. The right honorable member for Swan will not deny that he stated that if this railway were constructed, Western Australia might secure better representation. I do not think that that suggestion is at all complimentary to the present representatives of that State.

Mr. FOWLER.—He did not say that.

Mr. STORRER.—He said that it would extend the choice of the people, and would perhaps lead to better representatives being secured.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I said that the construction of the line would enlarge the choice of the people of Western Australia.

Mr. STORRER.—And that they would obtain better representatives. I do not intend to quarrel with the right honorable member in regard to the matter, but holding as I do that the present representation of Western Australia is very satisfactory, the argument that the making of this railway might eventually lead to a change being made constitutes one reason for my opposition to the motion. The right honorable member also said that land along the line of railway might be reserved for the Commonwealth, as it was not worth much. He is an authority on the value of land in the

country through which the line would pass, and if his statement be correct, the Commonwealth would not be likely to be recouped in respect of an expenditure of £4,000,000 on the construction of the line by the revenue obtained from land so reserved.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The honorable member had better come over and see our country.

Mr. STORRER.—I do not think that the railway would benefit Western Australia to the extent that many of the people of that State imagine. Although there is a railway between Melbourne and Sydney all the goods interchanged by those cities are sent to and fro by steamers, and the railway is but slightly used except for passenger traffic. I admit that if I were going to Western Australia I should prefer to travel by rail rather than by steamer, but at present the Commonwealth is not in a position to incur the proposed expenditure. Queensland, South Australia, Victoria, and New South Wales have spent large sums in connecting their various capitals with the inter-State railway systems, and I think that the least Western Australia might be expected to do is to carry out this survey at its own cost, and to show, before we are asked to construct the line, that some benefit would be gained from it. When I offered myself for election I was asked whether I favoured the construction of the Transcontinental Railway, and I replied in the negative. I said that I was not in favour of the Commonwealth constructing one mile of railway until the whole of the railways and of the debts of the States had been taken over by the Federal Parliament. If we had entered into a unification, and the States' debts and the railways of the States had been taken over by the Commonwealth, we should not have been troubled by many of the difficulties that now confront us. As long as each State controls its own railway system, and the States' debts remain unconsolidated I am not in favour of a single mile of railway being constructed by the Commonwealth.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—If the railways of the States had been taken over by the Commonwealth would the honorable member have favoured this motion?

Mr. STORRER.—In that event the proposal to construct this line would have been taken into consideration with other propositions to build railways in different parts of the Commonwealth, and the railway

would have been constructed had the scheme been shown to be a reasonable one. In any event, however, I should have to be convinced that it would be a payable undertaking, just as a member of a State Parliament requires to be convinced in regard to any projected railway in his own State, that it would be a profitable undertaking. If the people of Western Australia are so wealthy, and if the turnover of that State is as large as has been stated, they might very well carry out the survey at their own cost. If the people of Western Australia are not croakers they might very well build the line to their own satisfaction, and on a gauge in keeping with the remaining lines of the State. I do not wish to introduce to the notice of the Committee any of the difficulties under which the people of Tasmania labour by reason of action taken by the Commonwealth, but there are one or two matters to which I must refer. One reason given for the proposal to construct this line is that it is necessary for defence purposes. Tasmania entered the Federation, believing that it would secure a better system of defence than had previously existed there, but she has obtained not a superior but an inferior one. No provision has been made for a suitable steamer to carry troops to Tasmania from the mainland in the event of a threatened invasion; but we are asked to construct a railway to Western Australia in order that troops may be carried to that State for defence purposes. On the other hand, one-half of the old members of the Defence Forces in Tasmania have been dismissed and recruits have been substituted.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS.—Surely Tasmania has benefited by the larger naval squadron that has been provided since Federation was inaugurated?

Mr. STORRER.—As a matter of fact, Tasmania is worse off now than she was prior to Federation. The people of Launceston have been deprived even of the convenience which they previously enjoyed through the displaying of a flag at the Post Office to indicate that a steamer was entering the heads. A large number of honorable members have committed themselves to the principle that there should be no borrowing of money for Commonwealth purposes; but how is the proposed survey, and the subsequent construction of the railway, to be carried out, unless we borrow money? The States have found out that surveyors and

experts often report upon a proposed line as cheap, and likely to be profitable, when it is really costly and unprofitable; and I think that that will be the case in connexion with this line. An honorable member asked last night, "Would you, by depriving the people of Western Australia of a railway, allow them to starve?" It would be very strange if the people of Western Australia were to starve because of the absence of this railway, seeing that the people of Great Britain, who have to get all their supplies from other countries, are wholly dependent upon sea carriage, and that the people of Tasmania are in that position too. The people of Western Australia have fared very well hitherto, and I am sure that if more vessels are required to provide them with food, they will be supplied. What I desire to see come about eventually is the taking over of all the railways by the Commonwealth. According to my reading of the Constitution, it will be an interference with State rights for the Commonwealth to undertake the proposed survey until the Parliament of South Australia has sanctioned it. A comparison has been made between the construction of the proposed line and the carrying out of Commonwealth works for the conservation of water; but I do not think that the former is nearly so urgent a matter as is the supplying of water to a drought-stricken district. Much has been said about doing justice to the States; but it would be an injustice to four of the States if the Commonwealth Parliament sanctioned the spending, not merely of £20,000 for the survey of the proposed line, but of the further sum of £4,000,000 or £5,000,000 required for its construction. I intend to oppose the motion, though, as we have had of late so many changes of Government, and so many parties have promised to support the proposal, I think it will be carried. If, however, honorable members voted in accordance with their individual opinions, I believe that it would be negatived.

Mr. JOHNSON (Lang).—I have a perfectly open mind upon this question. It is not one which has engaged the attention of my constituency to any extent, and I do not remember to have heard it referred to there; but personally I have given a great deal of consideration to it, and I view the proposal for the construction of this railway with a great deal of misgiving and distrust. Of course we are now

being asked, not to sanction the construction of the line, but to vote a sum of money for a survey to obtain information in regard to its prospects. The information contained in the reports now before honorable members is certainly very meagre. Those reports give very little justification for the construction of the line, though they are admittedly based on the results of only a partial investigation of the country which it will traverse.

Mr. KELLY.—Does not the honorable member think that the States concerned should pay the cost of any survey that is made?

Mr. JOHNSON.—It seems to me a reasonable contention that unless it can be shown that the necessities of the Commonwealth, from commercial, defence, or other national points of view, demand such a railway, the States which will benefit most by the construction of the line should bear the cost of its survey.

Mr. FOWLER.—Will not the construction of the line be of benefit to the whole Commonwealth?

Mr. JOHNSON.—That is a question I cannot at present answer, and is one upon which I desire information myself. The chief question for us to consider is whether the proposal is being put forward as a national one, and has in view the serving of great national interests, or whether it is being made in the interests of land gamblers and speculators. That is a point upon which I wish to be satisfied before committing myself in regard to the matter. I should like to know whether at the present time the land through which the railway would pass is in the possession of the State, or whether it has been alienated, and has passed into the hands of private individuals.

Mr. FOWLER.—It is almost all Crown land.

Mr. JOHNSON.—Then I should like to know what steps are being taken to conserve the public interest by securing for the State whatever increment in value may be created by the construction of the railway, and the aggregation of population in its vicinity. I have seen so much land speculation, and so much expenditure of public money by States Parliaments in constructing unprofitable lines merely to put money into the pockets of private individuals, that I intend to watch very carefully all proposals for railway construction by the Commonwealth Parliament, and to try to as far as possible conserve to the public any incre-

ment of value which may attach to the public estate by such expenditure.

Mr. KELLY.—In this instance the land through which the railway will pass belongs to two States, which will get the increment of which the honorable member speaks. It will not go to the Commonwealth.

Mr. JOHNSON.—Not necessarily; some arrangement may perhaps be arrived at between the States concerned and the Commonwealth under which a certain proportion of the increment will be transferred to the Commonwealth. At any rate, the railway will be the property of the Commonwealth, and the Commonwealth Government before committing itself to any scheme of railway construction should conserve national interests in this connexion. The Engineers-in-Chief of the various States who reported on this proposal on 27th July, 1903, are rather favorable to the construction of the line, though their investigations led them to believe that for a number of years the railway would not be a paying one. They say—

New tracts of country would be opened up for pastoral settlement both in South Australian and Western Australian territory, the chief difficulty at present lying not so much in the want of fertility of the country, and the absence of water, as in its inaccessibility.

The same may be said as regards mineral development. Recent discoveries show that the country for 175 miles east of Kalgoorlie, which is auriferous, may turn out to be highly productive and a source of revenue to the railway. Tarcoola, and other mining centres in South Australia, if rendered more accessible, may come to enjoy prosperity after they have been more thoroughly and systematically prospected. The reports of the Government Geologist are not unfavorable.

We are of opinion that South Australia will gain by the construction of the railway. Not only will the railway revenue receive an impetus, and, as before indicated, opportunity for pastoral and mining development be afforded, but the State generally must be benefited by the increase of passengers and other traffic which will come with the railway.

That statement confirms my opinion that South Australia, which is apparently going to benefit largely from the construction of the proposed line, might reasonably have been asked to contribute something towards the cost of its survey. The Commissioners say that to the question as to "the advisability of constructing the proposed railway"—

We find it very difficult to give an answer, in view of the fact that the monetary loss will, for the first few years, be considerable. The revenue may prove to be higher than we have estimated, and the deficiency may tend to diminish from year to year more rapidly than has been assumed.

Then comes this summary—

Our answers to the questions put to us are, briefly, as follows:—

1. We estimate the probable expenditure in construction at £4,559,000.

2. The probable revenue which may be depended upon after construction is, in our opinion, £205,860. If the past progress in Western Australia is maintained so that the present population becomes doubled in ten years after completion, the revenue may also be taken as double, viz., £411,720.

I do not regard that as an excessive estimate. The Commissioners continue—

The revenue may also be taken as double, namely, £411,720. The probable annual expenditure in working and maintaining the line immediately after construction we estimate at £114,400, which, added to interest on the cost of construction, at 3½ per cent., £159,566, gives £273,966 for the total expenditure. After ten years, under the conditions stated, the working expenses may be taken as £210,000, and, in view of the necessary expenditure in improving works in the meantime, the interest on the enlarged capital will be £183,501, making a total of £393,501.

It will be seen that the estimated loss for the first ten years is £68,160 per annum, and after ten years the estimated annual profit is £18,219. In regard to the prospective loss, certain communications passed between the late Prime Minister and the Premier of Western Australia. On the 6th May the Prime Minister telegraphed to the Premier of Western Australia as follows:—

Re Western Australian Railway.—Representations made to me, feeling of members Federal Parliament towards proposal favours belief that opposition would be materially lessened if your Government indicate willingness to contribute stated proportion of loss, if any, during the first ten years. As matter under consideration of Cabinet, early reply desired.

The reply from the Premier of Western Australia was dated 18th May, and read as follows:—

On condition that Commonwealth is allowed a free hand as to route and gauge of railway, this State will be prepared for ten years after line constructed to bear a share of any loss in excess of our contribution on a population basis. It would be premature to fix exact proportion we are prepared to pay at this stage, but I am confident that it will be liberal, and satisfy the Federal Parliament of our sincerity in this connexion, and our belief that the work will soon be a directly paying one.

That is satisfactory, so far as it goes, but I think that we shall require a greater guarantee than is therein afforded, before we commit ourselves to the construction of the line—a guarantee on the lines I have already indicated in connexion with the future increment in the value of land adjacent to the

railway. There is another aspect of this question, which I admit is deserving of serious consideration, and that is the bearing that the construction of the railway would have on the defences of the Commonwealth, and the protection of our interests in time of war. In that connexion, the General Officer Commanding the Military Forces, Major-General Hutton, was asked to furnish a report, from which I propose to read some extracts, in order to show the importance of the matter. Major-General Hutton, in his report, which is dated 14th May, 1903, says—

In reply to your minute of 30th March last requesting that I would submit for your consideration a minute upon the report of the Conference of Engineers-in-Chief upon the proposed Transcontinental Railway, I beg to observe as follows :—

1. The contemplated extension of railway communication between Kalgoorlie in West Australia and Port Augusta in South Australia is, from a strategical and military point of view, of unquestionable value. The isolation of Western Australia without direct land communication with the other five States of Australia will, in time of war, cause a general feeling of insecurity. Under the existing circumstances, Western Australia, for purposes of co-operative military assistance from the other States, is as far distant from direct means of reinforcement as New Zealand is from the Eastern States of Australia.

2. In order, however, to correctly view the present construction of the railway in question as an important factor in the defence of the Commonwealth it will be well to consider the special importance of Western Australia in the eyes of foreign powers, and the description of attack to which Australia is subject, and to meet which intercommunication between the States by land must be regarded as of paramount value.

The potential wealth of the gold-fields and the vast extent of valuable and unoccupied land in the territories of Western Australia render the acquisition of that portion of the Australian Continent a most valuable prize to foreign nations. The strategical situation, moreover, of Western Australia, dominating as it does the southern side of the Indian Ocean, and the converging trade routes from the West, must be considered as of the greatest importance to British and Australian interests.

These are very strong remarks, and coming from such an authority, are deserving of our most serious consideration. Nevertheless, we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that Western Australia and South Australia will derive the greatest benefit from the construction of the railway, and I have always inclined to the opinion that those States should have been called upon to pay a large share of the cost of the proposed survey. But there is still another aspect of the question to be considered? The Prime Minister has assured us that at the Premiers' Conference, a certain under-

Mr. Johnson.

standing was arrived at between the representatives of the other States and Western Australia. No agreement was embodied in the Constitution, and no written bond was entered into, but an assurance was given by the Premiers of the States other than Western Australia, that they would support a proposal for the survey of the proposed line—I do not know that their promise extended to the actual construction of the line. If the Premiers who spoke for the people of the various States entered into a compact, I take it as binding on those States. They spoke as the representatives of their respective States. The fact that the compact was only of a verbal character, makes the obligation, if anything, the more binding upon us. It has been argued that other compacts, in which other States were concerned, have not been kept, and I know that a certain pledge was made to the people of New South Wales in connexion with the Tariff question, which certainly has not been fulfilled. But I do not think that fact would justify the people of New South Wales in setting aside the promise made to the people of Western Australia in regard to the survey of this railway.

Mr. CHANTER.—What was the pledge referred to by the honorable member, in the case of New South Wales?

Mr. JOHNSON.—I am speaking of the promise made by Sir Edmund Barton to the effect that a protective Tariff would not be imposed, a tacit understanding to that effect having been arrived at. Although I do not personally approve of the compact made with regard to the survey of the route for the proposed railway, because I do not think it was a wise one, I feel bound, under the circumstances, to respect it. At the same time, I wish it to be understood that I do not regard my action as in any way binding me to vote for the construction of the proposed railway.

Mr. WATKINS (Newcastle).—I regret very much that this question is being regarded by certain honorable members from a State stand-point. I recognise that a railway, such as that projected, would be a thoroughly national work, and that its construction is a matter of Federal concern. Whilst I am not at present prepared to commit myself to support the construction of the line, I feel perfectly justified in voting for the proposal to spend £20,000 upon a survey. We may find, after the report is presented to us, that it would not be advisable

for us to construct the railway, but I venture to say that no honorable member is at present in a position to say whether or not the railway would pay, or whether it would develop good country, or traverse what has been described as a desert. If we were contemplating the settlement of a large population upon the country adjacent to the proposed railway line, we should look for arable plains and river flats, which would be capable of growing all kinds of produce; but it must be recognised that, even though the country through which the line would pass may not be capable of growing a bushel of wheat, it may still prove one of the richest tracts in Australia. I believe that the resources of Australia are capable of much higher development, and I think we should do well to have a survey made, so that we may be in a better position to consider the possibilities before us in connexion with the proposed railway. Whilst I admit that at the present time we are not in a position to say whether the proposed railway should be constructed, I claim that the idea of obtaining a proper survey of the country which the line would traverse is an excellent one. It might perhaps be wise for the Prime Minister to suggest to the two States chiefly interested in the undertaking, that they should despatch, under the control of those charged with the duty of making the survey, a number of prospectors who could simultaneously examine the country for some miles upon either side of the route, with a view to discovering any auriferous wealth which may exist there. I intend to vote for the motion, in order that we may gain further information respecting the territory which the proposed line would traverse. It has been urged that this railway should be constructed by the two States, which are chiefly interested in the undertaking. To my mind, with the advent of Federation, the construction of transcontinental railways passed to the Commonwealth. I do not care what compact may have been entered into by the Premiers of the States when assembled in Conference. That does not influence me one iota. I do trust that the Committee will not regard this question from a State stand-point, as has been done by a couple of honorable members who have addressed themselves to it. For example, the honorable member for Oxley urged that Queensland had not been treated by the Commonwealth in the same liberal way as has Western Australia. Since I entered this Parliament I have endeavoured

to view every question which has engaged our attention from a purely national stand-point, and I venture to say that if we come to examine the matter without bias, we shall unhesitatingly declare that under Federation Queensland has received her due.

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—In what way?

Mr. WATKINS.—The people of that State appealed to this Parliament to insure for them what they were unable to achieve for themselves in their own State Legislature, namely, the maintenance of a white population, and adequate protection to the sugar-growers. I believe that the honorable member for Oxley himself voted for the payment of a bonus upon sugar produced exclusively by white labour. In that respect I think that Queensland has received very substantial benefits at the hands of this Parliament. I do not regard the construction of the proposed Transcontinental Railway as a State project in any sense of the word. If the line is to be built at all, it should be built for the benefit of the whole of Australia. At the present time we have not sufficient data to enable us to determine whether or not it ought to be constructed. My own opinion is that any coastal line connecting South Australia with Western Australia would represent an absolute waste of money. Any railway which will compete with the existing service by sea would be utterly useless. In my judgment a Transcontinental Railway ought to traverse the interior of Australia, and to open up the inland portions of the continent. Believing that, I suggest that there should be attached to any party which may be sent out to survey a route from Tarcoola in South Australia to Kalgoorlie in Western Australia, not only a couple of prospectors, but some such officer as Mr. Brown, the Government Geologist of South Australia, who is a practical man in every sense of the word. If that course be adopted, any expense which may be incurred in undertaking the proposed survey will not be entirely thrown away, even if the report be adverse to the construction of the line, because we shall at least ascertain the class of country which the proposed railway would traverse. I would further point out that an expenditure of £20,000 when distributed amongst the States, does not represent any more than each would be called upon to pay for the survey of an ordinary line of railway within its own borders. We have been told that the territory which the Transcontinental

Railway would cross has already been prospected. I do not think that it has been prospected any more than Kalgoorlie or Coolgardie had been prospected before the memorable gold rush took place there. It is one thing for an individual to walk over the country and quite another for him to prospect it. For years before Broken Hill was discovered we know that the graziers in that locality were accustomed to use the galena obtained there as ornaments for their mantelpieces. They did not know that it contained silver.

Sir LANGDON BONYTHON. — Sturt was water-bound at the Pinnacles for six months.

Mr. WATKINS.—We have yet to learn that there is not another Broken Hill in Australia, or that there is not a second Kalgoorlie or Coolgardie. If the proposed survey served no other purpose it would at least offer facilities for the discovery of other rich mineral resources, and in that way the Commonwealth would be amply repaid for the outlay. Considering the importance of this question from a Federal stand-point, and the view which honorable members take as to promises made in this regard to Western Australia, I say that no gigantic work of this description should be attempted by the Federal Parliament unless we have the fullest information at our disposal in relation to the project. It is because of this belief that I propose to vote for the motion, but practically on the condition that the Government will see that a thoroughly organized party is sent out, so that the character of the country may be properly ascertained. It is not sufficient for us to know that the land which would be traversed by the line consists of good agricultural country, or that it is suited to only one purpose. Let us know positively whether it does not present other great possibilities, which would support a railway of this description. I feel that if a party consisting of surveyors only were sent out, we should obtain from them a report very similar to that presented from time to time to States Parliaments for or against the building of various railways. It would deal only with the agricultural prospects of the country to be served, and other cognate subjects. Railway surveyors cannot be expected to have any knowledge of the mineral possibilities of the country to which I have referred. Whilst this survey is being made, it would be easy for members of the party to explore the country north and south of the projected route. In that way they

would be able to furnish us with a general knowledge of the true character of the country through which the line would pass. I do not see that there is much force in the argument that the construction of this line is necessary for defence purposes.

Mr. MAHON.—It may become very important in that respect.

Mr. WATKINS.—That is so. It may be said that if we build such a line solely for defence purposes, it should not go so far south as is proposed. It might be more desirable to start from a point further north on the eastern side; but, in any event, if we spend money on the building of trans-continental railways, we should be careful that they do not run too close to the coastline. It should be our province to see that they penetrate more thoroughly into the interior, so that Australia may be developed in the true sense of the word. It is because I feel that the time has come when this Parliament should do something to develop the resources of Australia, that I am now prepared to support the making of this survey; but whether I shall vote for the construction of the line will depend on the nature of the report to be furnished by the surveyors.

Mr. LONSDALE (New England).—It was not my intention to speak at this stage, but I think it desirable to briefly deal with one or two points. When the Constitution Bill was before the people of New South Wales, I pointed out that the cost of the construction of a railway line of this character would probably be foisted on the eastern States. I suggested that it was probably due to a promise that this line would be constructed that the people of Western Australia had become favorable to the proposal that that State should enter the Federation. I did not know at the time that such a compact had been made; but it appears, from what has been said during this debate, that it was promised that the proposal should be brought before the Parliament, and that it should be pressed to construct the line. I intend to support the carrying out of the preliminary survey, but on the clear understanding that in doing so I shall not bind myself to vote for the construction of the railway. Unless the Bill necessary to provide for the making of this survey is to contain a stipulation that the States concerned shall reserve the land for some fifty or 100 miles on each side of the proposed route, so that speculators may not come in and derive all the benefits flowing

from the construction of the railway, I shall not vote even for the survey. I wish to make it perfectly clear that I shall be no party to giving any private individual an undue advantage. Suppose that prospectors accompany the survey party, and discover a rich gold-field along the route; who is to derive the benefit from that discovery? Are we to construct the line merely for the advantage of a few speculators? Are we to spend the money of the people in this way, with the object of enriching a few private individuals? So far as I am concerned, we are not; I hold that any step taken by us in this direction should be so safeguarded as to preserve to the Commonwealth the benefit of the increased value given to the lands along the line.

Mr. WILSON.—The honorable member is a Socialist; he wishes to nationalize the lands.

Mr. LONSDALE.—There is nothing of Socialism in my composition. I hold that every man has a right to that which he earns or produces, and that no one is justified in depriving him of any part of it. I am equally firm in the belief that that which the State produces, by constructing railways or other public works, belongs to the whole of the people, and that no private individual has a right to derive the sole advantage. If this railway be constructed, with the result that the value of the land along the route is increased, the increment in value should belong to the Commonwealth, or to the States which construct it.

Mr. WATKINS.—Could not that be arranged?

Mr. LONSDALE.—I desire that provision shall be made in that direction. Irrigation works and railways have been constructed in Victoria, which have led to a few men becoming wealthy at the expense of the State; the poor have been taxed in order to enrich a few. I am not here to support anything of the kind, and I wish to make it perfectly clear that I shall vote for this survey upon the understanding that the Commonwealth will be protected.

Mr. WILSON.—The honorable member is now a protectionist?

Mr. LONSDALE.—I am a free-trader. A protectionist is a man who desires to give the capitalist something out of the pockets of the poor; but although I am not a protectionist I hold that we should protect our rights. It has been suggested that a private syndicate would construct this railway.

Suppose some syndicate were prepared to build the line, what concession would it demand? Would it not be given the land on either side of the railway? And surely if a private syndicate be entitled to the land along a line of railway which it constructs, the Federation should not be put in any worse position.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—There is no objection to that.

Mr. LONSDALE.—Such a reservation must be made. We must make it clear that no individual is to reap the fruits of that which is produced by the State, and that the Federation shall secure any increment in the value of the land along the route which may result from the construction of the line. I shall vote for the motion, but I do not say that even if the survey be made I shall support the construction of the railway.

Sir LANGDON BONYTHON (Barker).—The honorable member for Newcastle has made two suggestions. The first, which I think is an excellent one, is that if the survey be carried out, prospecting operations should be conducted in connexion with it. That is indeed an admirable proposal. As to the second suggestion, made by the honorable member, I am more than a little doubtful. He urged that it would be well, in the interests of Australia, that the railway, if constructed, should not touch at Port Augusta, but should be carried very much further inland. If that suggestion be acted upon, I can only say that there will be no enthusiasm manifested by the people of South Australia in the construction of the railway.

Mr. MAHON.—There is none now.

Sir LANGDON BONYTHON.—I intend to vote for the motion. I favour the carrying out of this survey; but I do not wish the Committee to be under the impression that this statement implies that I would approve of the immediate construction of the railway.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Not even if the report of the surveyors be favorable?

Sir LANGDON BONYTHON.—In taking up this position, I believe that I am expressing the view of the majority of the people of South Australia. They are not hostile to the railway, but they feel that it is not a work about which there need be any special hurry. They hope and believe that in the country lying between Port Augusta and Kalgoorlie there is great mineral wealth; but that remains to be proved, and

until we gain much more satisfactory information than we possess at the present time, the people of South Australia think we should go slowly. They hold that there is no justification for immediately plunging the Commonwealth into the tremendous expenditure which would be involved in the construction of the contemplated line. That is a reasonable attitude. There would be no justification in present circumstances for constructing the line. Even if the railway existed, the great bulk of produce and merchandise would be carried by steamer, because of the cheaper rates which the sea route affords. Suppose a railway now existed, there is no doubt that many persons in Western Australia, wishing to visit the eastern States, would travel by train; but very many others would travel by steamer, because, as in the case of cargo, that would afford a cheaper means of passing from Western Australia to the other States. The honorable member for Kalgoorlie stated to-day that if the railway were constructed, persons coming to Australia by the great ocean-going steamers would land at Fremantle, and travel overland to the eastern States. If the line were constructed, the experience of Fremantle would, in my opinion, be a repetition of that of Adelaide. Persons coming to Australia by the mail steamers, and intending to visit Western Australia, would, of course, land at Fremantle. It may be that many of them would continue their journeys to the eastern States by train, but there is no doubt that those travelling to Adelaide, Melbourne, and Sydney, would complete their voyages by mail steamer. Whilst I hold this view, I am ready, as I have said, to vote money for the survey, because I think it is most desirable that the fullest information should be obtained, and I believe that the time will come when such a railway as is now contemplated will be constructed.

Mr. CAMERON (Wilmot).—I intend to vote against this motion. In the first place I do not believe for one moment that 1,100 miles of country could be properly surveyed at a cost of £20,000. It is utter nonsense to say that it is possible to carry out this work for so small an outlay, and the statement that it could be done suggests ignorance on the part of those who make it. It seems to me very contemptible of the people of Western Australia and of South Australia to ask the people of the other States to bear a part in paying for some-

thing which will primarily tend to their individual benefit.

Mr. WILSON.—They look upon it as a national work.

Mr. CAMERON.—It is not a national work; it is simply a proposed survey. In support of that contention, I would point out that Mr. Jenkins, the Premier of South Australia, while perfectly willing to allow the people of the other States to find the money for the survey, declines to pass a Bill enabling the Commonwealth to construct the railway, until it has been made. If Western Australia and South Australia are as anxious as they pretend to be to have the line made, they should carry out the survey, and then say to the Federal Parliament, "Here is a survey, and proper estimates. We know what the line will cost to construct, and we offer you the land through which it will pass." They are putting the cart before the horse, and are asking the other States to pay for a work which they should do themselves. Although we may make this survey, we shall have no power to construct the line until the Parliaments of South Australia and Western Australia have passed enabling measures to allow of its construction. Therefore we may be throwing our money away for nothing. I protest against the carrying out of this work by the Commonwealth, and I shall vote against the motion.

Mr. CARPENTER (Fremantle).—I regret that the first speech made by the honorable member for Wilmot, after taking his place on the Opposition cross benches—

Mr. CAMERON.—I have always sat in Opposition. I am an independent.

Mr. CARPENTER.—At any rate, I regret that the first speech made by the honorable member since I have been sitting on the same side as he is is so unsympathetic towards Western Australia. Since I have had the honour of a seat in this Chamber I have felt a particular sympathy towards the representatives of Tasmania, because that State is situated similarly to Western Australia, though, if anything, its isolation is more complete, and, while it is possible to give overland communication to Western Australia, Tasmania must remain for ever shut off from the mainland by the sea. For this reason I regarded it as quite proper a few months ago for the representatives of the two States to join hands on a matter in which they were mutually interested. But while I regret that most of the representatives of Tasmania are

opposed to the present proposal, I think that it would not be hard to persuade the Committee that the charge which they bring against the representatives of Western Australia of asking for a special concession would lie more at their own door, since the Commonwealth is paying £9,000 per annum to subsidize a Tasmanian mail service, and the amount is, I understand, to be increased to £13,000.

Mr. CAMERON.—But that amount is debited to Tasmania alone.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Tasmania does not pay the whole of it.

Mr. CAMERON.—Yes, it does. Victoria did pay £1,000, but now Tasmania pays the whole sum.

Mr. CARPENTER.—If the honorable member can produce sufficient evidence of that, I shall be glad to accept his denial; but at the present time I understand that Tasmania does not pay the whole of that subsidy. I was particularly glad to have the assurance of the honorable member for Barker in reference to the attitude of the people of South Australia with regard to this proposal. If there is one thing which has caused me pain in connexion with it, it is the supposed attitude of the people of that State towards the project. I had the honour to be a member of the South Australian Parliament when this subject was first discussed. I distinctly remember that when the draft Constitution Bill was before the people of South Australia, two very strong arguments were used by its supporters to induce the people of that State to accept it. One was that South Australia would be able to hand over to the Commonwealth the Northern Territory, whose administration costs £100,000 a year, and the other was that they would thereby obtain railway communication with Western Australia.

Mr. GLYNN.—I do not think that the making of the proposed railway was used as an argument for the acceptance of the draft Constitution, though the opening of markets in Western Australia and elsewhere was.

Mr. CARPENTER.—I do not say that the honorable and learned member used the railway argument, but others did, and those who are acquainted with the Federal movement know that there was a distinct understanding that the railway should be built very shortly after Federation. The right honorable member for Swan has been criticised for not having had that compact put into the Constitution; but we know that one of his characteristics is that he is frank

and open, and trusts people. I believe that when he obtained the assurance of the Premiers of the other States that the railway should be made, he was content to abide by it. He entered into an honorable agreement, and I am not going to say that the other parties to that agreement will not honorably keep it. But the enthusiasm aroused on behalf of Federation died away, and, as a natural consequence, a reaction set in, which in South Australia took the form of a feeling against the proposed railway, because it had been suggested that, instead of going to Port Augusta, it might be taken right across to Sydney.

Sir LANGDON BONYTHON.—Who suggested that?

Mr. CARPENTER.—I do not say that it was suggested by any Government officially, but it was suggested. A rumour to that effect was in existence. The result was that a feeling of antagonism to the proposal grew up in South Australia. I have always said that that antagonism is merely temporary, and when I visited the State a fortnight ago, and spoke to several persons on the subject, I was glad to find that the attitude of the present Premier does not represent the prevailing views on the subject.

Sir LANGDON BONYTHON.—He does not oppose the proposed survey.

Mr. CARPENTER.—I am speaking of the larger project—the construction of the line. So far as I can ascertain, the people of South Australia are not averse to the construction of the line. They do not suppose that injury will result to their State from its construction.

Sir LANGDON BONYTHON.—They wish to have that proved.

Mr. CARPENTER.—If there is not sufficient evidence of the fact already, I am convinced that further inquiry will supply it. I cannot understand how opposition to the project grew up in South Australia. It has always been thought that that State would be the chief gainer by the construction of the line, and I am not sure that that is not so. At any rate, the Committee can afford to treat very lightly, indeed, the supposed antagonism of the State to this project. I believe that when we come to face the question of the construction of the line, it will have no more ardent supporters than the representatives of South Australia.

Sir LANGDON BONYTHON.—When it has been proved that it will be a reproductive work.

Mr. CARPENTER.—If South Australia had never constructed a line until it had been proved likely to be reproductive, her present magnificent railway system would not exist. While I was a member of the South Australian Parliament, a motion was introduced affirming the desirability of constructing a railway from Port Augusta to Tarcoola, as a section of a Transcontinental Railway, but as the State, like most of the other States, was not very flush of money at the time, it was said, "Why should we spend money in making a section of a great national railway which the Commonwealth intends to carry out?" The feeling that the Federal Government would one day construct the line did more than anything else to prevent the motion from being carried. The honorable member for Moira last night, referring to the promise of the late Premier of Western Australia, Mr. Walter James, to treat the Federal Government very liberally in sharing any loss that might accrue from the construction and working of the line, said that it had not been repeated by the present Premier, and that we did not know that he would consider himself bound by the promise of his predecessor.

Mr. KENNEDY.—My statement related to the experience through which we are at present passing with the Premier of South Australia.

Mr. CARPENTER.—I am quite prepared to grant that, in view of the fact that in some cases one Premier will not keep the promise made by his predecessor, the honorable member's criticism was justified. In order to set the matter at rest I decided, after consulting with some of my colleagues, to send a telegram to Mr. Daglish, the present Premier of Western Australia, pointing out that we were open to that criticism. I have recently received the following reply:—

I have wired Government an indorsement of my predecessor's telegram to Mr. Watson re Trans-Australian Railway.

That, I hope, will remove any fear that the present Government of Western Australia does not fully indorse the promise made by its predecessors in office. I desire to reply to some of the statements which have been made with regard to the absence of water along the route of the proposed line. Several quotations have been made from reports, principally with the object of showing that the whole of the country between Port Augusta and Kalgoorlie is a waterless waste. Some few weeks ago I

brought under the notice of the then Prime Minister a report that had been received from Mr. Muir, a gentleman who was sent out by the Western Australian Government to examine the country along the proposed route. I pointed out that in addition to the fact that Mr. Muir stated that he had passed through 10,000,000 acres of good pastoral country, he reported that he had put down two artesian bores. One had struck water fit for human consumption, whilst the other was yielding 70,000 gallons daily of water suitable for stock purposes. Therefore, it is only fair to state that there is every indication that upon further prospecting a supply of artesian water will be found, sufficient to enable the country adjacent to the proposed line to be profitably occupied by pastoralists. At present we have at Kalgoorlie an abundant supply of fresh water, and I believe that water could be conveyed by gravitation for almost any distance along the proposed railway. Therefore, the water difficulty is not a very serious one, and there is no reason why it should be held up to induce honorable members to oppose the proposal for a survey. The suggestion made by the honorable member for Newcastle that the surveying party should partake of the character of an expedition for the purposes of general inquiry and exploration must commend itself to every member of the Committee. I believe that the Western Australian Government would be only too glad to avail themselves of an opportunity to attach one or two good prospectors to an expedition of that kind. The trouble hitherto in connexion with prospecting parties has been due to the absence of some responsible head, and I am sure that if a capable man were intrusted with the control of the survey party, the money devoted to prospecting would be well spent. I shall certainly do my utmost to secure the adoption of the suggestion of the honorable member. We know that for 200 miles to the eastward of Kalgoorlie the country is auriferous, and there is no reason why we should not find another Kalgoorlie, near the eastern border of the State. If we should discover another goldfield of that description, the Commonwealth would no doubt be prepared to construct the proposed line almost without the asking. I think that it is due to the honorable Walter James, the late Premier of Western Australia, who has thrown himself into this movement with very great energy.

and to whom we are indebted for very much of the information contained in the pamphlet from which honorable members have so extensively quoted, that we should express our thanks to him. He has given us a great deal of information about the State, and several honorable members have assured me that they, until they perused the pamphlet, had no true idea of Western Australia or its trade possibilities. I mention this as a matter of bare justice. Before I conclude, may I say that the people of Western Australia have never doubted that the Commonwealth Parliament would, sooner or later, construct the proposed line. They have been a little surprised at the opposition—or the supposed opposition—of South Australia, but I believe that will shortly be removed. When the first step is taken, as I believe it will be shortly, towards the carrying out of this great work, the people of Western Australia will begin to believe that the Federation which they were induced to join is, after all, going to prove to their advantage. I am not suggesting that they joined the Union with any selfish motive. If they did so, they have certainly been disappointed. The Treasurer, at the time of the last election, stated that so far as Federation had gone, Western Australia had not derived one pennyworth of benefit from it. I do not think that that could be said of any other State. We are not speaking selfishly when we ask that some consideration should be extended to our portion of the Continent, and that some evidence should be afforded that Federation will bring advantage to those who need it most. I am very glad indeed that the proposal has been received in such a friendly spirit, and I hope that before long, not only will the survey be completed, but that the construction of the line itself will also be commenced.

Mr. CAMERON (Wilmot).—I desire to correct a mistake made by the honorable member for Fremantle. He said that Tasmania benefited to the extent of £9,000 per annum owing to the other States paying a large portion of the cable subsidy. I interjected at the time that his statement was incorrect. Had the statement been true, the representatives of Tasmania might have been regarded as taking up a selfish attitude in opposing the proposed survey. I would point out, however, that Tasmania has always had to bear her own burdens. The Estimates for 1902-3 and 1904-5 show that Tasmania has received no assistance from the other States in regard to the cable subsidy, and that she is debited, year after

year, with the full amount of her liability in that regard.

Mr. CARPENTER.—My figures were official.

Sir JOHN QUICK.—That is for the book-keeping period.

Mr. CAMERON.—It will be time enough when the bookkeeping provisions of the Constitution cease to operate to talk about making the proposed survey. Tasmania has not received any assistance from the other States, and so long as she has to bear her own burdens, it will be grossly unfair to ask her to contribute towards an expenditure such as that now contemplated.

Mr. GLYNN (Angas).—I should like to explain why, at the present juncture, at all events, I am forced to vote against the proposed expenditure of £20,000 upon a survey for the proposed Transcontinental Railway. I think that, if we agreed to spend £20,000 or £30,000 in the manner described, it could not be said that there had not been some recognition given to the desire of Western Australia. By sanctioning this expenditure we should to some extent prejudice our judgment as to whether or not the railway should be constructed. We should take the first step in the direction in which the people of Western Australia desire us to proceed, and raise anticipations that might operate as an obstacle to the exercise of a free choice when we were called upon to consider the claims of the railway itself. The reports which are before us indicate that the country through which the line would pass is not of such a character as to raise very sanguine hopes that an expenditure of several millions of pounds upon a railway would prove profitable. When I first entered the South Australian Parliament, in 1887, I received a letter from a gentleman who had travelled over a considerable portion of the country that would be traversed by the proposed line. As there was some suggestion at the time that a railway should be constructed to Eucla, he asked me to strongly oppose the idea, because the country was the most hopeless that he had ever passed through, although he had explored a considerable portion of the territory lying between Port Augusta and Kalgoorlie, and also to the northward towards Port Darwin. With regard to the proposal to spend £5,000,000 upon the construction of the railway, I think that those

of us who object to the Commonwealth borrowing ought to hesitate before we encourage the idea of incurring such an outlay. Surely there is not the slightest hope that, within the next ten or fifteen years, this Parliament will be prepared to spend such a large sum of money upon a railway which would pass over 1,000 miles of the most hopeless country in Australia. We have not yet decided what is to be the Australian standard gauge. No doubt we should adopt the 4ft. 8½in. gauge, but that question has not yet been settled. In 1888 or 1889, I induced the South Australian Legislative Assembly to pass a motion to the effect that the Governments of the States should be requested to decide upon the standard gauge to be adopted for the Commonwealth. Victoria was then disinclined to come to any decision upon the point, because she did not wish to surrender her 5ft 3in. gauge. New South Wales was willing that the matter should be considered by the Railway Commissioners, but Mr. Mathieson did not see his way even to enter into a conference on the subject. I do not think that we should entertain any idea of constructing 1,100 miles of railway upon the 4ft. 8½in. gauge until we know that that gauge is to be adopted as the standard for all Australia. It would be just as well if the Government took this matter in hand, and asked the States Governments to decide at once upon a standard gauge, so that any railway stock that may be ordered may be suitable for use when a uniform gauge is established. If we agreed to the proposal for the construction of the Transcontinental Railway, we should have to establish a Department of Railways. The new line would be controlled for 1,100 miles by the Federal Railway Department, whilst portions of the South Australian sections would be controlled by the authorities of that State, and the line from Fremantle to Kalgoorlie would be under the railway authorities of Western Australia. That is a state of affairs the possibility of which we should contemplate. It seems to me, therefore, that we might wisely defer projects of this sort until it has been decided that the Commonwealth shall take over the whole of the railways. Then we shall have power to unify their gauges, and to consolidate their management. Reference has been made to the correspondence upon this question which passed between two ex-Premiers of South Australia, namely, the present right honorable member for Adelaide and Mr. Speaker, and the Government of Western Australia. I certainly

Mr. Glynn.

think that if either of those gentlemen were Premier of South Australia to-day he would be under a moral obligation to submit a Bill to its Parliament with a view to testing its feeling upon the question of granting permission to the Commonwealth to construct the suggested line through South Australian territory. I am sorry that that undertaking was given, but I know something of the circumstances, because I had a good deal to do with the correspondence which passed between the members of the Convention and several prominent public men in Western Australia, in reference to the adoption of the Constitution. To a great extent I had charge of the campaign in Western Australia in favour of the adoption of the Federal Constitution, and I know that some Perth people openly stated that, under Federation, South Australia would never consent to the construction of this line. I am also aware that in some quarters there a strong disinclination existed to enter the Federal union. Indeed, the Executive of the day was disinclined even to submit the Bill to the electors, and there was a strong suspicion abroad that this bogey regarding the disinclination of South Australia to consent to the construction of the suggested line was being held up to frighten the electors from voting in favour of union. Several letters were written to me, asking me to test the opinion of the present right honorable member for Adelaide and Mr. Speaker upon the point, and to ascertain if South Australia would be likely to block the construction of the line. The right honorable member for Adelaide, Mr. Speaker, and I, having tested the feeling of the people of that State, I wrote some letters, which appeared in the Western Australian newspapers, and which, I believe, had the effect of decreasing the opposition—which may or may not have been genuine—evidenced in some quarters against the Federal Constitution. We are aware that there was a strong disinclination on the part of the Western Australian Government to accede to the general desire of the people of that State, and to the almost unanimous desire of the residents of the goldfields, that the question of the adoption of the Constitution should be submitted to the electors.

Mr. MAHON.—The honorable and learned member admits that Western Australia was lured into Federation under false pretences.

Mr. GLYNN.—I do not believe that Western Australia was speaking as a unit then. I know that some of her public men

stated that, unless they got a guarantee from South Australia, prior to the adoption of the Constitution, that the railway would be constructed, it would probably never become a reality. It was asserted, however, that that was not the genuine feeling of the people—that there was no anxiety that a guarantee should be given.

Mr. MAHON.—It is a pity that we did not get the guarantee, all the same.

Mr. GLYNN.—Guarantee or no guarantee, there was a moral obligation on the part of the right honorable member for Adelaide, and upon Mr. Speaker, to see that the voice of South Australia was expressed upon the point by its Parliament. I do not know that the present Premier of that State, Mr. Jenkins, ought not to test the feeling of the people there by submitting a Bill to the State Parliament. But there are difficulties in the way, and I will tell the honorable member for Coolgardie one of them.

Mr. MAHON.—The Port Darwin railway.

Mr. GLYNN.—That may operate as an objection, although I do not think that it does. Why, I ask, did we insert in the Constitution a provision setting out that the construction of any Transcontinental Railway by the Commonwealth should be subject to the consent of the States through which it would pass?

Mr. MAHON.—That provision does not apply solely to the construction of the transcontinental line?

Mr. GLYNN.—It was inserted to enable a State to say "Yes" or "No" to the construction of a line along a route which might prejudicially affect its interests. That is the obstacle which presents itself to our acquiring the consent of the South Australian Parliament to the construction of this line. Naturally, its Legislature desires to know the exact route which it will follow. Personally, if I had the opportunity, I would submit a Bill asking for the consent of that Parliament to the construction of the line, owing to the inducements which were held out to Western Australia by the right honorable member for Adelaide and Mr. Speaker, when they filled respectively the position of Premier of South Australia. Moreover, if the will of Australia were expressed in the Commonwealth Parliament, I hold that no State ought, if the route were a proper one, to dissent from the construction of this line. It is possible that it can be built even without the consent of South

Australia. In America, inter-State lines can be constructed by Congress without the consent of the States. It has been held by some that the provision in our Constitution merely means that we cannot construct a purely State line without the consent of the State interested; that the Commonwealth has power not only to construct an inter-State line, but, with the consent of the State concerned, a State line. That deduction is based upon the assumption that eventually the construction of all lines will be vested in the Commonwealth Parliament. That is the opinion expressed by Professor Harrison Moore, in his work on the Constitution of Australia. I know that our power in this respect is doubtful, but I do not for a moment assume it is certain, that we could not construct a Transcontinental Railway without the consent of South Australia, especially in view of the opinion of such an eminent jurist as Professor Harrison Moore. At the same time, I do not think that the expenditure proposed is at present justifiable, and as it may be construed into an expression of opinion in favour of the line, I shall certainly oppose it.

Mr. CONROY (Werriwa).—I trust that this motion will not be regarded as an expression of opinion in favour of the proposed Transcontinental Railway. The whole purpose of the survey is to obtain sufficient data to enable us to determine whether or not the line should be constructed.

Mr. FOWLER.—In the experience of the honorable and learned member, does a railway invariably follow a survey?

Mr. CONROY.—I believe that in New South Wales about a couple of thousand miles have been surveyed, across which no railways are ever likely to be constructed. If I am asked to deal with this question from economic considerations only, I should say that there is not sufficient evidence before me to enable me to decide whether the proposed railway should be undertaken or not. The motion is intended to assist honorable members to arrive at an impartial opinion as to what ought to be done. But I will go further, and say that the expenditure of a very small sum of money, such as is proposed, ought cheerfully to be sanctioned, when we reflect that by our refusal to grant it, the people of Western Australia will feel they are not receiving that consideration to which they are

entitled. It appears that before they joined the Federation, representations were made to them that this line would be constructed. In order to allay any feeling of irritation in that great State, we ought, therefore, to consent to the expenditure proposed. In dealing with the question of a Transcontinental Railway, I claim that we ought to have regard to something more than its purely economic aspect—we should regard it from a political and moral stand-point. We should view it politically, as bringing the States into closer relationship with one another, and morally as carrying out an implied promise. Although, economically speaking, it might be shown that just at present the construction of such a line would not be warranted by the immediate returns, there might be other advantages which would accrue from its construction, and which would outweigh the disadvantages. At the present time, however, we are merely asked to vote a sum of money to enable a survey of this line to be made. When we are called upon to determine whether or not the railway shall be constructed, we shall be able to weigh the economic advantages or disadvantages which would accrue from such an undertaking, and to consider them in connexion with the political gains to be derived from bringing the other side of the Continent into still closer communication with the eastern States.

Mr. FOWLER (Perth).—There is no doubt that a good deal of discussion upon this subject has been somewhat wide of the mark, inasmuch as we have heard considerable talk relating to the construction of the Transcontinental Railway rather than to the immediate survey of a route. At the same time, I recognise that we cannot, in reason, entirely exclude from a debate of this kind the question of the advisability or otherwise of constructing the suggested railway. I think it is necessary that a *prima facie* case should be established in favour of the construction of the line, even before a survey is undertaken. While I make that statement I admit that a survey does not necessarily bind this Parliament to build the railway. We have heard a great deal about the paucity of information regarding this project, and of the biased nature of the information which has been supplied to this Parliament by the representatives of Western Australia. I am quite willing to admit that the data furnished may not have been as ample as is

necessary, and I am even prepared to concede that some of us may be biased in favour of this project. If that be so, I contend there is a still greater necessity for this Parliament to satisfy itself by an impartial inquiry as to whether the statements of the Western Australian representatives are accurate or otherwise. We could not ask this Parliament to adopt the motion if the construction of the railway appeared upon, the face of it to be an utterly wild-cat scheme. We must submit some evidence to justify the expenditure of this money. I think it has been shown that, in many respects, Western Australia has a claim upon the Federal Parliament for consideration. I do not say that she has any claim for special consideration, because it seems to me that the principle upon which we propose to act has been adopted in some of the legislation which we have already passed. It is said that the live question associated with the Federal campaign throughout Australia was the cry for a White Australia. I agree with that view; but, in making Australia white, we rendered a remarkably good service to Queensland—a service which the State itself could not have carried out so effectively. Western Australia is in this position: that she contended in connexion with the Federal campaign, that Federation meant to her not so much the question of a White Australia as the question of an Australia of any kind. Without this railway there is no Federation in any true sense of the word for Western Australia. She is isolated from the rest of the Commonwealth to as great an extent as is New Zealand at the present time. Even from the sentimental consideration, Western Australia is entitled to plead her cause on the floor of this House, with all the earnestness of which her representatives are capable.

Sir LANGDON BONYTHON.—Would the honorable member support the expenditure of £5,000,000 on a sentimental consideration?

Mr. FOWLER.—Not on a sentimental consideration alone, but I contend that the sentimental consideration which brought Western Australia into the Federation is one that should not be lightly ignored by the Federal Parliament. It is argued that the proposed railway would particularly benefit the western State. As a representative of the capital of Western Australia, I say without hesitation that the direct effect of the construction of this railway on the

business interests of my electorate would be decidedly injurious. There are large numbers of persons in Perth and Fremantle, consisting chiefly of business people, who do not desire the railway. They enjoy a very pleasant monopoly of the trade of the gold-fields, all of which has to pass through their hands, and they realize that if the Transcontinental Railway were constructed, a material part of that trade would pass into the hands of merchants in the eastern States, and particularly of South Australia. To the gold-fields, the railway would undoubtedly be an advantage, because the present roundabout journey which has to be covered by goods and passengers would thus be rendered unnecessary. We are told that few passengers would travel by the overland route. I take it that nearly every person who wished to go to the eastern States from the gold-fields of Western Australia would undoubtedly travel by the direct overland route, because the total expenditure so incurred would be less than that to which those who use the existing roundabout means of communication are put. Time is wasted on the sea route, and hotel and other expenses are incurred that would be avoided by travelling on the Transcontinental line.

· Mr. PAGE.—If that be so, the steamers engaging in the trade between Fremantle and the eastern States will reduce their fares.

Mr. FOWLER.—It is very necessary that they should do so, because they are much higher than they should be. If the railway brings rates down to a normal level, it will even in that respect do some good. I listened with some surprise to the speech made by the honorable and learned member for Angas. I am unable to follow the honorable and learned member in the attitude which he takes up. He wishes us to understand that in some way or other, South Australia, while interested in the scheme, is yet afraid to touch it. It is to be regretted that this attitude of hesitation on the part of that State was so carefully concealed from Western Australia when she was being urged to enter the Federation. We had the most earnest promises of support and sympathy from the statesmen and the leading newspapers in South Australia, and, so far as I have been able to learn, not one warning voice was raised, as the honorable and learned member for Angas to-night suggested, with regard to

the hesitation of South Australia to sanction the construction of this railway.

Sir LANGDON BONYTHON.—But the line then was to be on the 3ft. 6in. gauge, and it was never proposed to take it to Sydney.

Mr. FOWLER.—There were no definite proposals then any more than there are at the present time; the wish was that the Federal Parliament should consider, as soon as possible, the construction of the line. The particular route to be traversed was to be left in abeyance until the Parliament actually dealt with the subject. I do not know of any difficulty which arose in regard to details, or that they were considered at a time probably so remote from the date when the railway would be constructed. I speak as one having some knowledge of the relations of South Australia with Western Australia at the time of the Federal campaign. I took a considerable share in the whole of that prolonged and arduous struggle in the western State, and towards the close of it was secretary for the Federal Executive of Western Australia; but it comes to me as a surprise to hear the honorable and learned member for Angas referring to difficulties which were never suggested to those interested in the Federal campaign in Western Australia. We have heard, on several occasions, of the attitude which was taken up by the right honorable member for Adelaide. Time and again he sent Western Australia the most emphatic messages indicating his enthusiastic support of the proposal now before us; but I do not intend to read those messages. Then again, we have the position taken up by Mr. Speaker, who was then Premier of South Australia, and who, in a letter with which I think most honorable members are now familiar, pledged the Government of that State to undertake the introduction of the necessary legislation to enable the railway to be constructed by the Federal Parliament. In addition to that, Senator Symon, in a letter addressed to the Hon. Walter James, on 27th June, 1900, and published in the Western Australian press, wrote as follows:—

Federation must inevitably give to Western Australia at a very early date the Transcontinental Railway line upon which your and our hearts are set. That will be one outward and visible link to join Western Australia with the rest of the Federating Colonies. In my belief, the acceptance of the Commonwealth Bill by Western Australia will mean the speedy inauguration of that work.

In glancing, almost at random, over the files of South Australian newspapers, I

have come across some interesting statements. In the *South Australian Register*, of 20th February, 1889, we find the following comment on the action of Sir John Forrest, in holding out railway communication with the eastern States as an inducement to the western State to enter the Federation—

Regular communication by rail is an indispensable condition of complete federation, and this is one of the reasons which make it important that the whole Continent, and not a part of it, should be, from the first, included in the Commonwealth.

I have also an extract from an article published in the *Adelaide Advertiser* on 2nd August, 1900, immediately after the triumphant vote cast in favour of Federation by the people of Western Australia. In commenting on that vote the *Advertiser* wrote—

We have been unable to deny the justice of objections to some provisions of the national charter that particularly affect our neighbour on the West. . . . The omission of any definite pledge of a transcontinental railway connecting east and west has been undoubtedly a trial of faith. The Commonwealth is, in duty bound, to reward the confidence displayed in its sense of justice by according to Western Australia considerate, and even generous, treatment, and so shaping its policy as to justify abundantly her people's patriotic choice.

In view of these and a great many other public utterances and press statements, I fail to understand the attitude of the honorable and learned member for Angas, who now declares that there was some considerable hesitation on the part of the State of which he is a representative, and that some warning of it was given to Western Australia. Had that been so, I am perfectly certain that Western Australia would not have been in such a hurry to enter the Federation. As I have already said, the one material factor was the promised construction of this railway, enabling the sentimental consideration to which I have referred to take practical form. We have been asked why Western Australia does not build this railway for herself, seeing that she is so anxious to have it constructed. I wonder if the honorable member, who put that question, meant that Western Australia should run a line of railway into the middle of the desert, and leave it there; or did he think that, notwithstanding its present attitude, we were likely to obtain the permission of South Australia to run a railway in our own particular way through its territory? The suggestion that Western Australia should construct this line is absurd, and need scarcely be argued. This scheme will be of some benefit to Western Australia, but it will

Mr. Fowler.

be equally beneficial to the eastern States. I do not know of any State that will not reap some advantage in the matter of communication with Europe. It will be of advantage to the people of Sydney to have their letters going backwards and forwards at several days' less interval than at present. Queensland will obtain a similar advantage.

Mr. TUDOR.—The saving would not be as much as two days.

Mr. KENNEDY.—If the object is to save time in the conveyance of letters to Europe, the line should go north.

Mr. FOWLER.—A much quicker delivery could be given along the proposed route than along any other route which is possible at the present time. A portion of a report by Major-General Hutton was read by the honorable member for Moira, but he omitted what to my mind was the most important part of it, and made it appear that the General Officer Commanding is unfavourable to the proposal. This is what Major-General Hutton wrote—

The contemplated extension of railway communication between Kalgoorlie in West Australia and Port Augusta in South Australia is, from a strategical and military point of view, of unquestionable value. The isolation of Western Australia without direct land communication with the other five States of Australia will, in time of war, cause a general feeling of insecurity. Under the existing circumstances, Western Australia, for purposes of co-operative military assistance from the other States, is as far distant from direct means of reinforcement as New Zealand is from the Eastern States of Australia.

In order, however, to correctly view the present construction of the railway in question as an important factor in the defence of the Commonwealth it will be well to consider the special importance of Western Australia in the eyes of foreign powers, and the description of attack to which Australia is subject, and to meet which intercommunication between the States by land must be regarded as of paramount value.

The potential wealth of the gold-fields and the vast extent of valuable and unoccupied land in the territories of Western Australia render the acquisition of that portion of the Australian Continent a most valuable prize to foreign nations.

A week or two ago I received from Western Australia a newspaper, containing an article with the somewhat sensational heading—

Spying out the land. Foreigners in Australia. The writer shows what has been happening in Western Australia, because of the free and easy British way in which foreigners are allowed to look about, and to do as they like, so long as they do not break the laws of the country—

Two years ago a German war vessel came here. The officers were shown everything, but the information they were given was not enough, so

they sought it themselves. Every day that cruiser was at Fremantle boat parties were sent out exploring. One day they "did" the coast as far as Rockingham, examining the beach carefully, observing suitable landing places, taking bearings, soundings, and spying out the land generally. Next day the coast-line in the opposite direction was surveyed, and, to cap all, they then came into the Swan River, and were seen by dozens of people. One of these, an official high up in the Lands Department, actually saw them in Freshwater Bay taking bearings, sounding the channel, and sketching the river and the surrounding country. Nothing was said, and they departed with sufficient detailed information to be worked into useful war maps in Berlin.

Sir LANGDON BONYTHON.—Could they not buy charts which would contain all that information?

Mr. FOWLER.—No, I do not think that it is available. The writer also mentioned the fact that two gentlemen have lately visited Western Australia, inquiring into our methods of land settlement and agriculture, and that they were discovered by the officers of the Department of Agriculture to have very little knowledge of the subject on which they professed to be experts, and were regarded by those with whom they came into contact as gentlemen who had some other important business on hand, which was to inquire into the resources of the country, and to make themselves acquainted with the conditions to be met with by an invading force. Those statements indicate the importance of Western Australia to the Commonwealth from a defence point of view. That State has the largest production of gold, and its territory comprises one-third of the whole continent. It is capable of supporting a tremendous population, and every month more land which is suitable for occupation is being discovered. During the last year or so millions of acres similar in character to the Darling Downs have been found in the north-west, in what was alleged to be desert country, and although much of Western Australia is regarded by some people as worthless, envious eyes are being cast upon it by foreign Powers. In conclusion, I would say that no honorable member who votes for a survey of the line need think that the people of Western Australia will regard him as pledged to vote for its construction. All we want this Parliament to do is to inquire carefully into the whole question. We admit that more inquiry is necessary, and if that inquiry turns out unfavorable, we shall be satisfied to wait until circumstances justify the carrying out of the work. It is remarkable, however, that nearly every honorable member who has

visited Western Australia recognises the need for this railway. We had several visitors there some time ago, all of whom said that they had not before even imagined the potentialities of the State to be what they are. I do not think that the motion is likely to be defeated, but if it is, we shall only have to induce a few more honorable members to visit the State in order to secure later on an overwhelming majority. In spite of some display of provincialism, I hope that the true Federal spirit, which has been so much in evidence in this Parliament, will to-night operate in a way which will gladden the hearts of the people of Western Australia, and encourage them to remain faithful to the Federation which they entered in the hope that their interest would be safeguarded. That hope I, for one, continue to entertain.

Mr. McWILLIAMS (Franklin).—I am sorry that I cannot support the motion, because I know how earnest the representatives of Western Australia are in regard to this matter, and I have a great deal of sympathy with them. But I agree with the honorable member for Bass that the proper course for Western Australia to take is to make this survey, and, having proved that the line can be constructed, that it would pass through good land, and that a railway, if made, would pay something like working expenses and interest on cost of construction, they would be able to present a much better case to the House. No doubt the people of Western Australia have to some extent been misled in regard to this matter, though not by the Federal authorities. If the Federal Parliament sets itself to carry into effect all the fairy tales which were told in the States in support of Federation prior to the referendum being taken, it will have a very extensive order to fill. In Tasmania all sorts of ridiculous statements were made as to the results of Federation.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The Commonwealth has to pay for an improved steamship communication with Tasmania.

Mr. McWILLIAMS.—I am reminded by the right honorable member for Swan that the Federal Government, by giving a larger mail subsidy, has improved the communication between Melbourne and Tasmania; but I, for one, never advocated the granting of that subsidy, nor am I prepared to say that I would have advocated it had I been a member of this House when it was

proposed. Most of the States are at present financially embarrassed, and some of the States Parliaments are imposing heavy direct taxation to make up the balance lost to the State Treasurers through Federation. This is, therefore, not the time to ask States which have made great sacrifices for Federation, to pay for a railway from which they will get no direct benefit. To my mind, the matter is purely a State one, and, seeing that the main arteries of communication in Queensland, New South Wales, Victoria, and a great part of South Australia have been constructed at the expense of the States concerned, it would be absurd to dove-tail in a small length of Commonwealth line.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Not a small length.

Mr. McWILLIAMS.—The length is far too big. I believe that the proposed railway would confer enormous advantage upon Western Australia and South Australia, and as Tasmania, Queensland, New South Wales, and Victoria have built their railways out of State funds, Western Australia and South Australia ought to accept the responsibility of building their own. If members like myself, who do not intend to vote for the construction of the railway, consented to the survey, we should mislead the people of the Western State, and perhaps lead people to purchase land along the proposed route. If we do not intend to construct the railway, the money spent upon the survey will be practically thrown away. We have no money to spare for such a purpose at present. I believe that at the end of the current financial year the States will receive very little more than the amount which we are compelled under the Constitution to return to them. When once we reach the end of our tether, so far as the money available out of the Customs revenue is concerned, we shall have to face the imposition of direct taxation upon the people of the Commonwealth, and I am not prepared to consider any such proposals at present. I hope, further, that the Commonwealth will not be under the necessity of entering upon a policy of borrowing for many years to come. I should not be willing to borrow money, except for some very urgent and essential work, from which the Commonwealth would receive a very large direct or indirect benefit. Under these circumstances, I regret that I shall have to vote against the proposal.

Mr. REID (East Sydney—Minister of External Affairs).—I think that the subject has now been pretty well discussed from both points of view. The honorable members representing Western Australia, whilst they have naturally shown a great deal of earnestness in addressing their arguments to the Committee, have adduced very weighty reasons why we should accept this proposal. I have so often expressed my views in favour of this project that I do not propose to detain the Committee on the present occasion. I simply wish to say that, although I have taken up this Bill as the third in the line of succession, I have done so with the sincere desire to see this work become an accomplished fact. Of course, we must not disguise from ourselves the obvious truth that a number of honorable members who are voting with us on this occasion, reserve to themselves the right to review their position if the result of this survey is discouraging to the project. I think that no honorable member can quarrel with them for taking up that attitude, because it is a perfectly fair one to assume. I hope that this preliminary step will be taken, and I think that there is a great deal of value in the suggestion of the honorable member for Newcastle that this survey should be the occasion also for some geological inquiry, and some sort of prospecting as to the mineral resources of the enormous tract of country affected. We know that, while it is not very difficult to discover whether or not soil is suitable for agriculture, the richest discoveries of mineral wealth have been made in the most unlovely and most unpromising localities. We have many instances of that. We need only remember such mines as those at Broken Hill and White Cliffs in New South Wales, and also some of the mines in Western Australia. In the most barren wastes may lurk untold wealth, and this piercing of the Continent, even by means of a survey, may lead to the most valuable discoveries, and bring to the Commonwealth a very large return. To my mind, one of the most pleasant features of this proposal is that it is at least an attempt to make some sort of recognition of what was an absolutely certain understanding—so far as the men in authority in that day could enter into one. My friend, the right honorable member for Swan, pressed this matter upon the Premiers, and he might have pressed it upon them much

more pointedly than he did. He might easily, I believe, have made the construction of the railway a condition of the attachment of Western Australia to the Federal union. But instead of that, he trusted to assurances which, I confess, do not bind honorable members here. I should be very sorry to say that they did bind honorable members, except to the extent that the men in authority who represented the States became parties to a great national compact such as this undoubtedly is. I think every honorable member desires, so far as he conscientiously can, to give effect to such an understanding.

Mr. KENNEDY.—Every honorable member should adhere to his own policy, anyhow.

Mr. REID.—I have always felt, in regard to this matter, a very strong obligation. As I say, it must not be pushed too far. As the honorable member for Barker has said, we cannot spend millions upon sentiment; but I base my support of this project upon the practical ground that I believe it will turn out to be a really great, useful, national work. As the honorable member for Fremantle has suggested, I received a very short time ago a telegram from the Premier of Western Australia, which confirms the statement made by his predecessor in the telegram of the 18th May last, to the effect that Western Australia will be prepared for ten years after the line is constructed to bear its share of any loss in excess of the contribution that would be due from that State upon a population basis. Therefore, the present Premier of Western Australia continues the undertaking that was given by his predecessor, and I think that we must all admit that the great and progressive population over in Western Australia have shown a desire to back their opinions by making a considerable sacrifice. Under these circumstances, I sincerely trust that the Committee will agree to the motion.

Mr. WEBSTER (Gwydir).—I expected that the Prime Minister would give us some outline of the promises that were made by himself and others at the Federal Conventions, and during the Federal campaign. The right honorable member for Swan states that he was clearly given to understand by the Premiers of the other States that if Western Australia consented to enter the Federation the Transcontinental Railway line would be constructed. The Prime Minister has indicated that some promise of that kind was given, and

that he feels under an obligation to carry it out. The debate has indicated to me that the anti-Billites did not overstate the case when they represented that the Federal movement was being engineered by a few men who were running it upon a system of barter; that each State was being invited to come into the Federation, not in any broad spirit of union or brotherhood, but with a view to derive some special benefit that was promised by those who were at the head of the movement. The right honorable member for Swan has indicated how strongly he was impressed by the promises then made, and he stated that if an undertaking had not been given that the proposed railway would be built, Western Australia would never have entered the Union. Now the Prime Minister tells us that if the right honorable member for Swan had desired the Premiers of the other States to enter into a distinct compact, they would probably have acceded to his request. I quite believe that they would have gone to any length in order to bring about the Federation, that they would have given Western Australia all that she desired, and that they would have proceeded even further than they did, in order to meet any objections on the part of Queensland.

Sir LANGDON BONYTHON.—The South Australian promise was made subject to the approval of Parliament.

Mr. MAHON.—There was not a word about that in the communications sent by Sir Frederick Holder and the right honorable member for Adelaide.

Mr. WEBSTER.—The right honorable member for Adelaide has been represented as having pleaded with Western Australia to join the Federation, and as having given a distinct assurance that the railway would be built. It is also alleged that the Prime Minister made a promise of a similar character. It would probably be difficult to ascertain how many persons were out with fishing lines endeavouring to hook Western Australia into the Federation. No doubt the right honorable member for Swan would require a very distinct promise upon the subject, and he has stated that if the proposed railway is not built, Western Australia will reconsider its position so far as the Commonwealth is concerned. Personally, I think that that State is deriving more benefits from Federation than were ever anticipated by the strongest advocates of the movement. I listened very carefully to the right honorable member for Swan, whom I regard as a good judge,

of country, but he failed to give us any assurance that the territory through which the line would pass would be of a character calculated to provide traffic for a railway, or likely to prove capable of any appreciable development. Certainly, there is no prospect of the railway paying the interest on the cost of its construction. Furthermore, we have no information as to the extent to which water will be available along the proposed route. I have listened to the debate very attentively, and I unhesitatingly affirm that no representative of Western Australia has submitted any evidence to show that the country through which the projected line would pass possesses any productive value. No attempt has been made to prove that it possesses a reasonable rainfall, or that it can be artificially supplied with water. I do not propose to detain the Committee at any greater length. Boiled down, the position seems to be, "Is the railway a necessity?" As far as development is concerned, I do not think that it is a necessity. From a defence stand-point, however—quite apart from the compact which it is urged was entered into with Western Australia prior to the accomplishment of Federation—I feel bound to support the proposed expenditure of £20,000. I recognise that a stitch in time saves nine, and, seeing that in years to come we are likely to be threatened with difficulties which will puzzle the most astute statesmen, I claim that we should at least put our house in order. The defence of Australia cannot be effectually undertaken under conditions as they exist to-day. It is necessary to connect Western Australia with the eastern States in order to guarantee a proper line of defence for this continent in the future. From that stand-point I shall support the motion, without committing myself in any way to advocate the construction of the railway should the report of the surveyor be adverse to it. I think that the suggestion which has been thrown out by the honorable member for Newcastle is an admirable one. If any evidence were forthcoming as to the existence of mineral wealth along the route of the suggested railway, it might secure for that undertaking an acquiescence which would not otherwise be given.

Question—That the motion be agreed to—put. The Committee divided.

Ayes	39
Noes	12

Majority	27
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Mr. Webster.

AYES.

Bamford, F. W.
Batchelor, E. L.
Bonython, Sir J. L.
Brown, T.
Carpenter, W. H.
Chanter, J. M.
Chapman, A.
Crouch, R. A.
Ewing, T. T.
Fisher, A.
Forrest, Sir J.
Fowler, J. M.
Frazer, C. E.
Groom, L. E.
Harper, R.
Johnson, W. E.
Lee, H. W.
Liddell, F.
Lonsdale, E.
Mahon, H.
Maloney, W. R. N.

Mauger, S.
McCay, J. W.
McLean, A.
O'Malley, K.
Poynton, A.
Quick, Sir J.
Reid, G. H.
Ronald, J. B.
Skene, T.
Smith, S.
Spence, W. G.
Thomson, D.
Watkins, D.
Watson, J. C.
Webster, W.
Wilks, W. H.

Tellers.

Conroy, A. H. B.
McDonald, C.

NOES.

Cameron, D. N.
Cook, J.
Culpin, M.
Edwards, R.
Glynn, P. McM.
Isaacs, I. A.
McWilliams, W. J.

Storror, D.
Thomson, D. A.
Wilson, J. G.

Tellers.

McColl, J. H.
Tudor, F. G.

PAIRS.

Kelly, W. H.
Deakin, A.
Turner, Sir G.
Thomas, J.
Hughes, W. M.

Page, J.
Gibb, J.
Kennedy, T.
Edwards, G. B.
Cook, J. H.

Question so resolved in the affirmative.
Resolution reported and adopted.

Ordered—

That Mr. Dugald Thomson do prepare a bill to bring in the Bill.

Bill presented and read a first time.

PAPUA (BRITISH NEW GUINEA) BILL.

SECOND READING.

Mr. REID (East Sydney—Prime Minister).—I move—

That the Bill be now read a second time.

This measure has been before the present Parliament and the late Parliament for a very long time, and I shall be very glad if we can dispose of it as soon as possible. On the 12th November, 1901, the late Parliament resolved to accept the control of this Territory, and the measure which is now under consideration was introduced in consequence of the approval then declared by the House. Its provisions were discussed upon a former occasion. It passed through Committee, and was reported to the House. Its clauses are therefore thoroughly familiar to the honorable members, and I shall consequently content myself with submitting the motion in favour of its second reading.

Question resolved in the affirmative.
Bill read a second time.

In Committee:

Clauses 1 to 9 agreed to.

Clause 10 (Office of Lieutenant-Governor).

Mr. BROWN (Canobolas).—We have now reached the machinery provisions of the Bill. Although the measure was dealt with in the last Parliament, we have to remember that there are several members of the House to whom it is new, and that on the last occasion the information at our disposal was somewhat limited. That being so, I think it would be advisable for the Government to postpone the consideration of this and the succeeding clauses of this part of the Bill until the next day of sitting, so that we may have an opportunity to consider whether any amendments are necessary.

Mr. REID.—I should like to say to my honorable friend, that, so far as I can see, there is no possible objection to these clauses. Although they are important, in one sense, they are absolutely unavoidable. We must have a Lieutenant-Governor of the Territory, but this clause does not involve the question of his salary. That matter is dealt with in another part of the Bill. This is a form of machinery similar to that adopted in dealing with territories of all kinds in the British Empire. There is nothing new in it. It has been tested for many years in the administration of Crown Colonies, and it is really very important that we should proceed with business. When we reach any clause which honorable members consider to be open to discussion, or to present any difficulty, I shall be happy to postpone it if requested to do so. We may just as well deal with these clauses, to which, I am sure, there will be no objection.

Mr. BROWN (Canobolas).—There are a number of clauses in this part of the Bill to which I do not take exception, but when we reach the clause dealing with the Executive Council and its powers—

Mr. REID.—I shall be prepared to postpone that clause.

Mr. BROWN.—There is also a clause dealing with the question of land tenure—

Mr. REID.—I shall be prepared to postpone that or any other clause, the consideration of which honorable members express a desire to defer.

Mr. MAUGER (Melbourne Ports).—I intend to propose a new clause of very great importance, with regard to the prohibition

of intoxicants and opium, and I trust that the Prime Minister will consent to its consideration being deferred until to-morrow.

Mr. REID.—It cannot be dealt with at this stage.

The CHAIRMAN.—A proposed new clause cannot be dealt with until the Committee has disposed of the clauses in the Bill.

Mr. MAUGER.—I am aware of that.

Clause agreed to.

Clauses 11 to 16 agreed to.

Clause 17 (Appointment of officers).

Mr. FISHER (Wide Bay).—It has been pointed out by a number of residents of British New Guinea that the appointment of honorary magistrates in the Territory has not been so satisfactory as it might have been. Those who know the country well state that many of the diggers have been unable to secure the appointment of magistrates whom they consider worthy of selection and that the rule which in this respect usually prevails on the mainland, has not been followed. Very strong representations have been made to myself and other honorable members that the honorary magistracy of the Territory has not been recruited in the most desirable way. The clause now before us would enable the Lieutenant-Governor to continue the practice which has prevailed in the Territory, and which does not meet with the approval of the white settlers, especially of the gold diggers. I suggest that if a man is nominated, at a large meeting of diggers, for appointment to the magistracy, that fact should be a strong recommendation to the Lieutenant-Governor. There should be no select class appointed to this office—an office which is very important in a country where so few honorary magistrates are to be found. It has been alleged, however, that appointments to the magistracy have been made solely from a class which is practically a privileged class. I am sure that we have no desire to see that practice continued, and as the complaint which I make comes from a source that I believe to be entirely reliable, I trust that it will receive consideration.

Mr. REID.—I promise the honorable member that I shall bring the remarks made by him under the notice of the present Administrator, and that I shall obtain a report from him. I think that would be the most effective way to give effect to that which the honorable member desires.

Clause agreed to.

Clauses 18 and 19 agreed to.

Clause 20 (Power to grant land).

Mr. REID.—This clause was inserted in the Bill, as introduced by the Barton Government, by the decision of an enormous majority of the House, and I do not propose to suggest that it be altered. As the Territory to which this Bill will apply is so new, I think that no harm will be done, certainly for some time to come, in giving effect to this clause.

Clause agreed to.

Clauses 21 and 22 agreed to.

Clause 23 (Meetings of Executive Council).

Mr. KENNEDY (Moir).—I wish to secure some information in regard to this clause. It appears to me that it would give too wide a power to the Lieutenant-Governor. He is to constitute practically the whole Administration. He will have power to appoint all the officers, to classify them as to seniority, and to dismiss them at his own sweet will. I do not think that is a power which we should grant, more especially having regard to the history of government in some Crown Colonies.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—It is proposed to give the Lieutenant-Governor power to suspend, not to dismiss any officer.

Mr. KENNEDY.—He is to be both prosecutor and judge. I should like the Prime Minister to consider the desirability of postponing this clause. It was subjected to some discussion when the Bill was before us on a previous occasion, and I think that, although no definite action was taken, some very strong opinions were expressed in regard to the powers proposed to be conferred on the Lieutenant-Governor.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Its provisions are similar to those which prevail in relation to other Crown Colonies.

Mr. KENNEDY.—Clauses 21 and 22, which have been dealt with, are, perhaps, the most important. It seems to me that this series of clauses should have been postponed.

Mr. REID.—Clauses 21 and 22 have already been passed, but I am prepared to postpone clause 23.

Sir JOHN FORREST (Swan).—I fail to see why this clause should be postponed. It covers a practice which is followed in every State in the Commonwealth, as well as in the Commonwealth itself. My only objection to this part of the Bill is that it relates to matters which should be dealt with, not in the measure itself, but by regula-

tions. The Letters Patent and the Royal Instructions to Governors deal with all these matters. We propose to provide in the Bill itself that there shall be meetings of the Executive Council, and that a certain person shall preside at those meetings, while various other matters that are really governed by the instructions issued by the Crown to all Governors in the British Dominions, are also provided for. The clause embodies nothing that is new, and I cannot, therefore, see any reason for postponing it.

Mr. McDONALD (Kennedy).—I think that the whole of these clauses should be postponed, so that there may be a fair discussion of them. It is not right to those who are developing New Guinea that we should rush the Bill through as we are doing.

Mr. McCAY.—All these clauses were passed by the last Parliament.

Mr. McDONALD.—I admit that; but since then further information has been obtained. I think that the Executive Council has been a blot on the Administration of New Guinea. Evidence which has been forthcoming during the last few months shows how lax the administration under the old system has been, and it is proposed to perpetuate it by appointing to the Executive Council officers who are practically interested in covering up the abuses which have taken place.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—There is a similar provision in the Constitution of every Crown Colony.

Mr. McDONALD.—That is no reason why we should apply it to New Guinea. I have come into contact with a good many of those who are helping to develop the country. Most of those who go there come back with their health shattered, and are of little use afterwards.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The honorable member is not speaking of the members of the Executive Council, I hope.

Mr. McDONALD.—I am speaking of those who make it possible for the Government officials to draw big salaries in administering the Territory. At the present time the miners who are developing the country have no "say" in its management.

The CHAIRMAN.—The question is whether the clause shall be postponed, and the Prime Minister has agreed to its postponement.

Mr. McDONALD.—I desire to obtain from the Prime Minister the assurance that

the clauses dealing with the Executive Council will be recommitted, since they were rushed through at such a rate that no one could follow what was being done. The honorable member for Moira is to be congratulated for giving us an opportunity to think about what we are doing. In my opinion, those who are engaged in developing New Guinea should be represented on the Executive Council, and, I think, therefore, that the method of appointing that Council should be altered. Will the Prime Minister give an opportunity for the recommitment of the clauses to which I refer?

Mr. REID.—Certainly.

Mr. McDONALD.—Will he agree to the recommitment of clauses 21 and 22?

Mr. REID.—Certainly.

Clause postponed.

Clauses 24 and 25 agreed to.

Clause 26—

The Lieutenant-Governor only shall be entitled to submit questions to the Executive Council for advice or decision; but if the Lieutenant-Governor declines to submit any question to the Council when requested in writing by any member so to do, that member may require that his written request, together with the answer of the Lieutenant-Governor thereto, be recorded on the minutes.

Mr. FISHER (Wide Bay).—I wish to know what the Prime Minister thinks of the wording of this clause.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—What is provided in the clause is a rule in connexion with the government of every Crown Colony.

Mr. FISHER.—New Guinea, under the Administration of the Commonwealth, will not be a Crown Colony. We should, therefore, see that things are done as we wish them to be done. It has been alleged—I do not know with what truth—that the records of some of the judicial decisions arrived at in New Guinea, which are of great importance to certain persons, cannot be found. Therefore, I ask, what is the use of requiring the Lieutenant-Governor to record his answer to a written request, if the records are to be subsequently lost? If the Prime Minister is able to tell me that the records of judicial transactions have hitherto been kept, I shall be very glad to hear it. I should like his assurance that they have been properly kept and safely housed.

The CHAIRMAN.—We are dealing now with the recording of the answers of the Lieutenant-Governor to questions submitted in writing by any member of the Executive Council, not with judicial records.

Mr. FISHER.—May I point out that the highest court of appeal is in some cases the Executive Council?

The CHAIRMAN.—The keeping of minutes of the proceedings of meetings of the Executive Council is provided for in clause 25, which we have passed.

Mr. FISHER.—Cases involving capital punishment must come before the Executive Council, and therefore the decisions of that body will at times be the decisions of a Court. It is alleged that certain judicial records have been lost, and I wish to know from the Prime Minister whether that statement is correct. A case involving capital punishment must come before the Council, and the Lieutenant-Governor might decline to submit to the Council a question in regard to it. The answer to the request for the submission of a question must be recorded in the minutes, and would be virtually a judicial record. Would the Prime Minister be surprised to know that there are at present in Australia men who have been twice charged in New Guinea with murder, and with other crimes, who are, nevertheless, respectable individuals? It is alleged, however, that the records of the judicial proceedings in their cases cannot be found, so that it is impossible for them to be used to prove that they are not guilty. In dealing with a Territory so far removed from the Seat of Government as New Guinea is, we should take every precaution, and I ask the Prime Minister to see that attention is paid to this matter.

Mr. REID.—The minutes referred to in the clause would not be judicial minutes. In reply to what the honorable member has said about the destruction of records, I would point out that we are now beginning a new state of things, and that the confusion which has existed in the past will not continue. I cannot be responsible for what has occurred in the past, but we shall have control over the future administration of the Territory, and so long as the new minutes are properly kept I think that all that is necessary will be done.

Mr. BAMFORD.—Will the Prime Minister allow any clauses to which honorable members take exception to be recommitted?

Mr. REID.—Certainly. I have no desire to push the Bill through too rapidly. I will give every facility for recommitment to any honorable member who, on reconsideration, sees any need for asking for it.

Clause agreed to.

Clause 27 (Lieutenant-Governor may act in opposition to advice?)

Mr. CONROY (Werriwa).—This clause provides that if the Lieutenant-Governor acts in opposition to the advice of the Executive Council he shall forthwith report the matter to the Minister. Should he not rather report to the Governor-General?

Mr. GLYNN (Angas).—If the appointments were by letters patent, the proper course would be for the Lieutenant-Governor to report to the Governor-General; but as the appointment will be made under Statute, the proper person to report to will be the Minister.

Clause agreed to.

Clause 28 (Legislative Council).

Mr. KENNEDY (Moir).—I understand that there is likely to be a considerable discussion on this clause, and I desire before its consideration is postponed, to indicate the nature of an amendment I propose to move. The clause at present provides that the Legislative Council shall consist of the Lieutenant-Governor and the members of the Executive Council, together with such non-official members as the Governor-General appoints. I desire to move an amendment, which will have the effect of making the Council partly elective. Instead of the non-official members being appointed by the Governor-General, I propose that they shall be elected by the white residents of the Territory.

Mr. REID.—I shall endeavour to obtain more or less correct information as to the number of white persons in British New Guinea, and as to how they are distributed over the Territory. They might be so scattered that it would be difficult to bring into operation a provision such as the honorable member suggests. However, I shall endeavour to ascertain whether it is practicable to carry out his idea.

Clause postponed.

Clause 29—

The presence of at least three members of the Legislative Council (including the Lieutenant-Governor or the member presiding) shall be necessary to constitute a meeting of the Council for the exercise of its powers.

Mr. G. B. EDWARDS (South Sydney).—I move—

That the word "three" be left out, with a view to insert in lieu thereof the words "one-third of the."

The clause as it stands would doubtless prove sufficient to meet the present circumstances, but it makes no provision for

the expansion of the Legislative Council the appointment of non-official members. The Council might consist of six members of the Executive Council, and twelve other members, making a total of eighteen, and in such a case a quorum of three would not be sufficiently large.

Mr. REID.—I do not object to the amendment.

Amendment agreed to.

Clause, as amended, agreed to.

Clauses 30 to 35 agreed to.

Clause 36 postponed.

Clauses 37 to 39 agreed to.

Clause 40 postponed.

Clauses 41 to 47 agreed to.

Clause 48—

There shall be payable in every year out of the revenues of the Territory, which to that extent are hereby appropriated accordingly, the sum of £1,250 for the salary of the Lieutenant-Governor, and the sum of £1,000 for the salary of the Chief Judicial Officer of the Territory.

Mr. CONROY (Werriwa).—I do not think that the salaries set down for the Lieutenant-Governor and the chief judicial officer of the Territory are sufficiently large. The administrative duties which will fall to both these officers will be of a different character, and as the climate is very unhealthy, I do not think that we can expect men of high qualifications to accept the positions unless we are prepared to pay them substantial salaries.

Mr. CROUCH.—Did not an Acting District Court Judge in New South Wales accept an appointment as Administrator of New Guinea?

Mr. CONROY.—Yes, but Acting Judge Murray happened to be a man of an adventurous spirit, and I do not think that our selection should be limited in connexion with appointments of this kind. The salaries provided for in the clause are very small when we compare them with those which are earned by professional men, bank managers, and others holding similar responsible positions. Under the circumstances, I ask the Committee to consider whether we are paying a salary which is commensurate with the dignity of the office. I submit that we are not. In our craze for economy we are practising a false economy. Of course, if we intend to provide for the payment of a pension in case of retirement as the result of illness, that fact might reasonably be taken into consideration in fixing the salaries of these officers; but in the absence of such a provision, I should like to see the amount

raised to not less than £2,000 per annum for the Lieutenant-Governor and £1,500 for the Chief Judicial Officer.

Mr. REID.—I would point out that the position of Chief Judicial Officer was recently filled at the salary named in the Bill, and that there were a very large number of competent applicants for it—men of great ability, who were thoroughly fitted to discharge the duties of the office. The present appointment was made at £1,000 per annum. In the face of a test of that character in the open market, I hold that we are not called upon to increase the salary. Of course there may be some allowances made in connexion with the appointment, and probably these will make up the difference. The Bill simply fixes the salary which is to be paid, and I could not see my way clear to increase an amount which has been fixed so deliberately.

Mr. CROUCH (Corio).—I wish to draw attention to the fact that this clause contains the first reference in the Bill to the Chief Judicial Officer. In the case of a Crown Colony, that position is almost equal to the office of Lieutenant-Governor. Consequently it is only right that the position should be defined by Parliament. The Bill contains no reference to the appointment of the Chief Judicial Officer, or to his taking the oaths of office. The schedule simply refers to the oath of allegiance and service by the Lieutenant-Governor. The Chief Judicial Officer is not called upon to take a proper oath, such as should be provided to maintain the dignity of his office, and to keep him independent of the Executive power—a very necessary thing in a Crown Colony. I should like the Prime Minister to consider this matter.

Mr. REID.—I shall do so.

Clause agreed to.

Clause 49 and schedule agreed to.

Progress reported.

ADJOURNMENT.

OLD-AGE PENSIONS.

Motion (by Mr. REID) proposed—

That the House do now adjourn.

Mr. CHAPMAN (Eden-Monaro).—As I understand that the Prime Minister has already consented to the appointment of a Select Committee to inquire into the question of old-age pensions, I desire to ask him whether he can see his way clear to give

the motion dealing with that matter precedence upon the business-paper to-morrow, so that we may get to work without delay.

Mr. REID (East Sydney—Minister of External Affairs).—I shall be only too happy to do so, to the extent of any power that I have in the matter.

Question resolved in the affirmative.

House adjourned at 10.27 p.m.

Senate.

Thursday, 15 September, 1904.

The PRESIDENT took the chair at 2.30 p.m., and read prayers.

TRANSCONTINENTAL RAILWAY.

Senator DOBSON.—I beg to ask the Attorney-General, without notice, first, whether Ministers have satisfied themselves by expert evidence that £20,000 is a sufficient sum to provide for a proper survey of the proposed transcontinental railway route; second, is it the intention of the survey party to obtain evidence as to the character of the country which the proposed railway will traverse, and if so will that evidence be obtained by the surveyors or by an officer specially appointed to accompany them; and, third, in view of the information which will be obtained by the two States interested, ought not those States, in the opinion of the Minister, to bear a portion of the cost?

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON. — I scarcely think the honorable and learned senator can expect me to answer his questions off-hand, and, therefore, I ask him to give notice of them.

MILITARY FORCES: GENERAL OFFICER COMMANDING.

Senator Lt.-Col. NEILD (New South Wales).—I move—

That there be laid on the table of this Senate copies of the minute or minutes stated to have been written by the late Minister of State for Defence, Senator Dawson, reflecting upon the conduct of the General Officer Commanding the Military Forces of the Commonwealth, together with any replies thereto.

The motion of which I originally gave notice asked for the production of the minutes—

... "stated in the press to have been written by the Minister of State for Defence, reflecting

upon any alleged unsatisfactory insubordinate conduct of the General Officer Commanding the Military Forces of the Commonwealth."

I ask the Senate to allow me to alter the terms of the motion, which, in the first place, was prepared rather hurriedly with a newspaper statement at my elbow.

Senator STANFORTH SMITH.—What are the reasons for the motion?

Senator Lt.-Col. NEILD.—It is not usual to give reasons for a motion of this kind.

Senator STANFORTH SMITH.—It is usual unless the motion is formal.

Senator Lt.-Col. NEILD.—I think the terms of the motion sufficiently indicate the reason for its submission. I might add, perhaps, that certain alleged documents have appeared in the press, and it is desirable, in a matter of importance as affecting the public interests, that there should be no garbled representation of correspondence. As part of the correspondence has been made public it is only fair that the whole should be produced.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON (South Australia—Attorney-General). — Honorable senators will agree with me that it would be scarcely fair, either to the Senate or to the General Officer Commanding, that the motion should be passed in the terms proposed. Senator Neild has very properly—if he will allow me to say so—modified the terms in which the motion first appeared on the notice-paper, terms which, indirectly at any rate, committed the Senate to an opinion on the conduct of an officer before being placed in possession of material on which to base a judgment. But while the motion, as now submitted, reduces the objection on that score, it is scarcely fair to ask the Senate to express an opinion about some memorandum which is unknown to the general body of senators, so far as concerns its effect in reflecting—a term which conveys an injurious imputation—on the General Officer Commanding, until we have an opportunity to know its contents. The usual course might, I think, very well have been adopted; and with a view to assisting Senator Neild, I suggest that the motion should simply ask for the production of a document which can be identified by its date, without conveying any imputation, or committing the Senate to any opinion. The amendment I am about to submit was, I understand, communicated to Senator Neild by Senator Drake. I have not read the memorandum referred to, and, therefore, I am not in a position to say whe-

ther or not it reflects on the General Officer Commanding. If my amendment be adopted, any other papers connected with the matter can be laid upon the table, if the Senate desires. I move—

The the words "reflecting upon the conduct of" be left out, with a view to insert in lieu thereof the words "upon leaving office, dated 18th August, 1904, in relation to."

The inference as to any reflection is one which we may or may not draw, but certainly it is an inference we ought not to place on the records of the Senate, until we have had an opportunity to see the document. I am sure that neither the late Minister of Defence nor any honorable senator would desire to say that a document reflects upon any one until it is shown that it does so reflect.

Senator Lt.-Col. NEILD.—The statement is only that such a document is alleged to have been written.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—But the motion indirectly places it on the records of the Senate that there is a document which is alleged to reflect on the General Officer Commanding. We ought to be ready to condemn when condemnation is necessary, but slow to convey, even indirectly, an imputation in respect to any officer, until we have had an opportunity to consider whether or not the allegation is borne out. The Government have no objection to lay this document and the reply upon the table.

Senator DAWSON (Queensland).—I have absolutely no objection to every document to which I, as Minister, put my signature, or any reply sent by the General Officer Commanding, being laid upon the table of the Senate for the inspection of honorable senators. I understand, however, that what Senator Neild wants is not only the particular memorandum which was published in the press, but other minutes which passed between the General Officer Commanding and myself during my term of office.

Senator Lt.-Col. NEILD.—Hear, hear!

Senator DAWSON.—If that be so, the amendment of the Attorney-General will not meet the case.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—The other documents may be asked for afterwards.

Senator DAWSON.—The memorandum, I may say, is a kind of valedictory document. The practice of leaving such memoranda was initiated by Sir John Forrest, and followed by Mr. Chapman. I fell in with the idea, with the difference

that I stated what I believed to be the absolute truth.

Senator BEST.—Therefore the others did not!

Senator DAWSON.—I certainly do not think they did.

The PRESIDENT.—I do not think the honorable senator ought to say that Ministers of the Crown say what is not true.

Senator DAWSON.—Well, I say that, knowing the relations which existed between one branch of the Defence Department and the other, and having the opportunity to read those valedictory memoranda, I came to the determination that I would not write one similar. I am prepared to defend the memorandum I left behind. It has appeared in the press, but only one newspaper published the full text, and I shall be very pleased indeed to see the document laid upon the table of the Senate for the perusal of honorable senators. There are other documents which Senator Neild, if he chooses, can move for one at a time, but that course would only prolong the agony. Personally, I have not the slightest objection to the whole of the correspondence being laid on the table.

Senator HIGGS (Queensland).—I suggest that the amendment be altered to provide for the production of all the correspondence between the late Minister of Defence and the General Officer Commanding concerning Major Lenehan, the pistol pattern, the secret code, and the relations of the late Minister of Defence with the Department. Those documents would be very interesting to the Senate, and instructive to the public, judging by the portions which have already appeared in the daily press.

Senator DAWSON.—In an emasculated form.

Senator HIGGS.—As Senator Dawson observes, the documents have been published in an emasculated form, and in order to avoid waste of time, I suggest that the amendment be altered in the direction indicated. Will the Attorney-General accept the suggested addition of words?

The PRESIDENT.—I think the suggestion amounts to more than the addition of words, and that it would be necessary for the Attorney-General to withdraw his amendment.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON (South Australia—Attorney-General).—I should be very glad if Senator Higgs would give me an opportunity to consider his suggestion, and not press me to accept it at this moment. My opinion is that we ought to

pass the motion as proposed to be amended, and on a subsequent occasion, move for the production of other papers, if that be desired. That, as I say, will give me an opportunity to consider these matters, of which, of course, I know nothing, because they were not indicated when the motion was submitted.

Senator Lt.-Col. NEILD.—I should be quite willing to withdraw my motion in favour of the amendment suggested by Senator Higgs.

Senator HIGGS (Queensland).—I fall in with the suggestion of the Attorney-General, on the understanding that the honorable and learned senator feels quite assured that he will have sufficient time to go into these matters.

Senator Lt.-Col. NEILD (New South Wales).—I desire to say that I at once accept the amendment moved by the Attorney-General, because I see that the honorable and learned senator has taken an exception to the motion which others might take. I still think that what I intended might be covered by the word "stated," and the motion might be read in that way.

Senator DAWSON.—In any case the motion might mean a reflection on my part.

Senator Lt.-Col. NEILD.—When the Attorney-General places such an interpretation on the motion, I recognise at once that it may be read in more ways than one. As it is my desire to move for the production of the papers, and not to attempt in doing so to pass any reflection upon the Minister or General Officer Commanding, I am prepared to accept the amendment.

Amendment agreed to.

Question, as amended, resolved in the affirmative.

SPECIAL ADJOURNMENT.

WANT OF CONFIDENCE MOTION.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON (South Australia—Attorney-General).—I have at this moment received an official intimation that notice of a motion of want of confidence in the Administration of which I have the honour to be a member has been tabled in the House of Representatives. In view of that circumstance, and in accordance with the precedent established by the Senate in 1901—

Senator DAWSON.—And all parliamentary practice.

Senator HIGGS.—Why should we pay any attention to the proceedings of the House of Representatives when they pay no attention to ours?

Senator BEST.—To conserve our own dignity.

Senator HIGGS.—We have passed motions of want of confidence in the Government before to-day, of which no notice has been taken by the House of Representatives.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—Giving due weight to what my honorable friend Senator Higgs has said, I move—

That the Senate at its rising adjourn until Wednesday, 28th September.

Senator GIVENS (Queensland).—I have always taken exception to these frequent adjournments of the Senate. I take special exception to an adjournment on this occasion, because, even if it be undesirable to go on with Government business, the leader of the Government in the Senate might have delayed his motion until private members' business had been considered this afternoon. We have had many adjournments while waiting for business to come from the House of Representatives, and now, when we have plenty of business before us, we should go on with it.

Senator GUTHRIE. — We cannot go on without the Government.

Senator GIVENS.—We could very soon get another in place of it. The fact remains that we have now been about six months in session, and that we have practically done no work.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON. — Hear, hear.

Senator GIVENS. — The proposed adjournment is not likely to make our record any better. Many honorable senators have come a very long way to attend to public business, and these frequent adjournments are entirely unfair to them. I enter my protest, and shall push it to the length of calling for a division on the motion.

Question put. The Senate divided.

Ayes	19
Noes	8

Majority	11
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AYES.

Best, R. W.	O'Keefe, D. J.
Dawson, A.	Pearce, G. F.
Dobson, H.	Playford, T.
Drake, J. G.	Pulsford, E.
Fraser, S.	Smith, M. S. C.
Gray, J. P.	Symon, Sir J. H.
Keating, J. H.	Walker, J. T.
Macfarlane, J.	Zeal, Sir W. A.
McGregor, G.	<i>Teller.</i>
Neild, J. C.	Clemons, J. S.

NOES.

de Largie, H.	Styles, J.
Findley, E.	Turley, H.
Guthrie, R. S.	
Henderson, G.	<i>Teller.</i>
Higgs, W. G.	Givens, T.

Question so resolved in the affirmative.

Senate adjourned at 3 p.m.

House of Representatives.

Thursday, 15 September, 1904.

Mr. SPEAKER took the chair at 2.30 p.m., and read prayers.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION.

Mr. CAMERON.—I desire, with the permission of the House, to make a personal explanation. My reason for doing so is that I do not wish that any vote which I may give upon a future occasion shall be taken to have been affected by the attitude of the *Argus* towards me. In a leading article that newspaper states that my appearance on the Opposition side of the Chamber would have caused intense interest had it not been for the fact that it was known that my personal disappointment because I was not included in the present Administration had been very great. To prove that that statement is absolutely incorrect, I should like to lay a few plain facts before the House. I saw the then leader of the Opposition, the right honorable member for East Sydney, on the day after the Deakin Government were defeated, and had a little conversation with him.

Mr. CROUCH.—What was the conversation?

Mr. CAMERON.—It is not necessary to repeat it.

Mr. REID.—I rise to order. I ask whether the honorable member will be in order, in correcting some statement which has appeared in a newspaper, in entering upon a narrative about other matters.

Mr. PAGE.—Of what is the right honorable member afraid?

Mr. REID.—I am not afraid of anything.

Mr. SPEAKER.—The honorable member for Wilmot has stated that he desires to make a personal explanation, and so long as he confines himself to that he will be in order. If I find that, as the right honorable gentleman suggests that he may do, he is wandering into matters which are irrelevant, I shall call his attention to the fact.

Mr. CAMERON.—I have not the slightest intention to refer to any irrelevant matter; I merely wish to say that the result of that interview was satisfactory to me. Shortly afterwards a manifesto appeared over the names of the honorable and learned member for Ballarat, and the right honorable member for East Sydney, and as it did not quite correspond with what I understood to be the arrangement, it aroused certain feelings in my mind. However, the right honorable member for East Sydney was not sent for by His Excellency the Governor-General on that occasion. Time passed, and the Arbitration and Conciliation Bill was further considered. Every honorable member knows that I have from start to finish been intensely opposed to that measure, and that I have voted against it upon every possible occasion, believing that in doing so I was acting in the best interests of the public. I acted in that way some three weeks ago. The vote was taken on a Friday, and the honorable member for Bland afterwards announced his intention to resign. On the following day, at two o'clock, before the right honorable member for East Sydney had been sent for, I wrote a letter to him, declaring my intention to take the part of an independent member.

Mr. REID.—Quite so.

Mr. CAMERON.—It is no fault of mine that that letter was not placed at once in his hands. I gave it to the honorable member for Macquarie, who will bear out my statement. That was done before the right honorable gentleman had been sent for, when he could by no possibility have formed his Cabinet, and I think refutes the statement of the *Argus* that I have been animated by a feeling of personal annoyance at not having been included in the Ministry.

Mr. JOHNSON.—Surely the honorable member does not take the newspapers seriously!

Mr. CAMERON.—I do take newspaper statements seriously, especially, when they appear in a journal which circulates throughout the length and breadth of Australia, and are republished in other newspapers, particularly in those of my own State. I do not think that I, or any other honorable member, should be supposed to be actuated by motives of petty jealousy in the votes which we gave. However I may vote in the future, I shall vote as conscientiously as I have done in the past. I think that the right honorable member for East Sydney and the honor-

able member for Macquarie will bear me out in what I have said.

Mr. REID.—Hear, hear!

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—Hear, hear!

Mr. CAMERON.—I may perhaps be permitted to read the following letter, since it is not marked private:—

Dear Mr. Cameron,

Your letter of 13th inst. I got this day. I quite understand your position is an independent one.

Yours sincerely,

G. H. REID.

I think that that letter, together with my statement, refutes the statement of the *Argus*, and must convey to the minds of my fellow members the belief that, however my vote may be cast, I shall not be actuated by interested motives.

Mr. CROUCH.—I wish to ask the Prime Minister, without notice, in reference to the statement just made, that immediately after the defeat of the Deakin Government he had an interview —

Mr. SPEAKER.—While personal explanations are allowed, it is expressly required by the Standing Orders that they shall not be debated.

Mr. CROUCH.—I do not propose to debate the personal explanation. I was merely going to ask a question, and, in explanation, to state certain facts.

Mr. SPEAKER.—If the honorable and learned member proceeds to ask such a question as he has now announced to be his intention to put to the Prime Minister, he will, by doing so, practically be debating the personal explanation made by the honorable member for Wilmot.

Mr. CROUCH.—I will ask the Prime Minister whether it is true that, immediately after the defeat of the Deakin Government, he had an interview with the honorable member for Wilmot, in which he expressed his satisfaction at the defeat of the Deakin Government?

Mr. REID.—I really do not wish to give a flat denial to the question asked by the honorable member. All I can say is that I have not the remotest recollection of what he has suggested.

SPECIAL ADJOURNMENT.

WANT OF CONFIDENCE MOTION:
KALGOORLIE TO PORT AUGUSTA RAILWAY
SURVEY BILL.

Mr. WATSON (Bland).—I desire to give notice that on Tuesday next, I will move—

That the present Administration does not possess the confidence of this House.

Mr. REID (East Sydney—Minister of External Affairs).—I am so completely surprised by the announcement that the Government do not possess the confidence of the Opposition that, with concurrence, I will move—

That the House, at its rising, adjourn until Tuesday next.

Sir JOHN FORREST (Swan).—I need hardly say that I am very surprised at the action taken at this time by the leader of the Opposition. I have, of course, no wish or right to object to a want of confidence motion being submitted by him, but I have a right to express my objection to such action being taken to-day. I have a right to express my great regret that the honorable gentleman, after all the trouble that we have all taken in regard to a measure of great importance to the State which I represent—

Mr. SPEAKER.—I point out to the right honorable member that the question before the House is—

That the House, at its rising, adjourn until Tuesday next.

The only question that is open for discussion is whether or not that motion shall be carried. The no-confidence motion itself, of which notice has been given, will appear upon the notice-paper later on, but it will not be competent to discuss the general question on the motion now before the House.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Do I understand that I am not at liberty to discuss the question whether it is advisable for the House to adjourn until Tuesday?

Mr. SPEAKER.—The right honorable member can discuss that and only that.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I am going to give my reasons why I think it is very inopportune for the House to adjourn at this time. All parties have taken a great deal of trouble in regard to the Kalgoorlie to Port Augusta Railway Survey Bill. That measure has reached such a stage that a few hours more would have been sufficient to finish our work in this House. I have no doubt that it could have been completed between now and the usual time for adjourning to-night.

Mr. MAHON.—What about the honorable member for Moira?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I have not consulted any one, but seeing that the majority in favour of the measure last night was so large, I have no doubt that a very few hours would have been sufficient to complete the Bill in this House.

Mr. MAHON.—Some of the right honorable member's friends in the corner intended to prevent that.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—There are only one or two honorable members on this side of the House who have spoken strongly against the measure.

Mr. MAHON.—They have done so twice before.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I am speaking in the interests of Western Australia, and I do not think that I should be interrupted by members from that State. The measure was just about to be disposed of finally by this House. A very few hours' work would have attained the object that the people and the representatives of Western Australia have desired so long, and for which they have worked so arduously. What is the reason for this hurry? Surely we might have disposed of the Bill, to which I have alluded, before the honorable member for Bland gave notice of his adverse motion, as we did in the case of the Arbitration Bill? If, of course, the debate upon the Bill were likely to occupy a week or two, political exigencies might demand that the no-confidence motion should be proceeded with. But, seeing that it was not likely that long speeches would be made, we could have finished the work to-day or to-morrow at latest, and the measure that is so important and so urgently desired in the interests of Western Australia, of the Commonwealth, and Federation itself, would have been disposed of, so far as this House is concerned. Is it fair or reasonable that this measure should be cast aside, and its progress set back for months probably, and especially when there is no urgent reason whatever for doing so?

Mr. FRAZER.—It must be in the forefront of the programme of any Government.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—But we might have had the Bill passed, and the survey commenced, before the measure is likely to reach its present stage again. I think that the other Western Australian members must be of the same opinion as I am.

Mr. McDONALD.—Why did the right honorable member allow the question to remain so long in abeyance, while he was a Minister?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—One cannot get all one wants in a day. We have had very up-hill work in regard to this matter, and now that we are just upon succeeding, as far as the House of Representatives is concerned, the work is to be put back, and for no reason that I can see—because notice of the motion which the honorable

member for Bland has just read might as well have been given to-morrow, or even next week. We might just as well have finished our work on the Bill before adjourning.

Mr. GROOM.—That would not have carried the matter any further.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—We could have disposed of the Bill in this House, and it would have gone to the Senate, in the same way as has been done with the Arbitration Bill.

Mr. GROOM.—Would the Senate have proceeded with it, while a no-confidence motion was being discussed?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Will they proceed with the Arbitration Bill? Is it fair to Western Australia that this precipitate action should be taken? Why was this notice of motion given to-day instead of to-morrow, or even next week? I should like some one to answer that question. Unless the intention was to delay the passing of the measure—and, in view of the large majority by which the resolution was passed last night, I cannot believe that that was the motive—I am at a loss to account for the action of the leader of the Opposition. I can only say again that I very much regret the action which has been taken, because I conceive that it is unjustifiable, and absolutely opposed to the interests of the State I represent. A large majority of honorable members have declared themselves in favour of the proposed survey. The Bill was not likely to be the subject of any further great controversy, because honorable members had already given their decision, and we should have disposed of it in a few hours. I am certain that the people of Western Australia will be greatly disappointed at the result, and I can only express my astonishment that my honorable friends of the Labour Party, who have worked so hard, and are so much in sympathy with the proposal, should have allowed the present action to be taken. The effect of our adjourning from to-day until Tuesday may have the effect of postponing the passing of the Bill for months, and will be regarded as most unfriendly by the people of the western State.

Mr. CARPENTER (Fremantle).—Whilst joining with the right honorable member for Swan in his expression of regret that anything should have occurred at this particular stage to prevent the passing of the Bill to which he has referred, I think it is only fair to remind him of what occurred last night. I am sure that the

right honorable gentleman will agree with me that in seeking to place the blame for delay upon the shoulders of the Labour Party he is doing them a grave injustice.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I blame them for their precipitate action in giving notice of a want of confidence motion at this stage.

Mr. CARPENTER.—Just before the division occurred last night—

Mr. SPEAKER.—I must ask the honorable member not to refer to a previous debate. The only question that can be debated now is whether we shall adjourn from to-day until Tuesday next. In any case, it would not be competent for the honorable member to refer to some debate that had taken place on a former occasion.

Mr. CARPENTER.—If you, sir, rule that I cannot directly refer to what occurred at our last sitting, I should like to state generally that the blame for the delay in the passing of the measure referred to by the right honorable member for Swan rests entirely upon honorable members on the Government side of the House. When it was proposed, after the division last night, to put the Bill through all its stages—

Mr. SPEAKER.—The honorable member is not in order in referring to last night's debate.

Mr. CARPENTER.—I hardly know how I can otherwise reply to the remarks of the right honorable member for Swan.

Mr. WATSON.—The honorable member will have his opportunity in connexion with the motion for the adjournment of the House.

Mr. CARPENTER.—At this stage I merely desire to say that the action of the leader of the Opposition, in giving notice of motion at this stage, was due entirely to the attitude assumed by honorable members opposite, who are opposed to the Kalgoorlie to Port Augusta Railway Survey Bill. It was not the fault of honorable members on this side that the notice of motion was not withheld in order to allow the Bill to be passed. Some honorable members opposite threatened to block the Bill if it were brought forward. Moreover, the measure was given only the second place on the notice-paper, Supply being placed first in the order of business. Therefore, it was evidently not the intention of the Government to permit the Bill to take first place in the consideration of honorable members.

Mr. WATSON.—The order of business, so far as Supply is concerned, is regulated by the Standing Orders.

Mr. CARPENTER.—As matters stand, the probability is that a number of speeches would have been made in regard to grievances, and that these would have prevented the Bill from being discussed to-day. Therefore, the charge of blocking the Bill cannot be justly laid at the door of honorable members on this side of the Chamber.

Mr. WATSON (Bland).—It seems to me that this protest by the right honorable member for Swan sounds somewhat hollow, coming as it does from an honorable gentleman who allowed three years to pass whilst he himself was in office without taking any definite steps to push through the Bill to which he has referred.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I brought it to the position which it now occupies.

Mr. WATSON.—With all respect to the right honorable gentleman, I do not think he did. He certainly advocated the construction of the railway upon every occasion upon which opportunity offered, but beyond advocacy the right honorable gentleman did little or nothing to bring the matter to a head in Parliament.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—At any rate, the honorable member is now blocking the measure.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I think the right honorable gentleman has put in some splendid work lately.

Mr. WATSON.—The complaint levelled by the right honorable member against the Opposition for taking the straightforward course of testing the question whether the Government possess the confidence of the House comes curiously from the right honorable gentleman, who, we understand, wished to take action in regard to the last Administration on the first day that they met the House. He said then that action should be taken to test their position.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—That was because the late Ministry had not a majority.

Mr. WATSON.—If the late Government had not possessed a majority, action would have been taken by those who have longer heads than has the right honorable gentleman.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I wished to give the late Government a fair chance.

Mr. WATSON.—I admit the importance of the question that has been referred to. I have myself urged the desirability of passing the measure, and I think the action

I took when in office afforded some proof of my *bona fides* in the matter.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The honorable member is spoiling it all to-day.

Mr. WATSON.—We shall come to that presently. Whenever one moves in the direction of a no-confidence motion, it is inevitable that some matters of public business must be interfered with. It is impossible to move such a motion at any period without dislocating some of the public business that may be in hand.

Mr. WILKS.—Why has the honorable member given notice of motion to-day instead of to-morrow?

Mr. WATSON.—For this reason: I was so anxious to meet the view put forward by the right honorable member for Swan, that I did not make up my mind as to the precise moment at which I should give notice of motion until I had exhausted every opportunity to ascertain the views of those honorable members who were opposed to the Bill. I spent a good deal of time this morning in endeavouring to ascertain their views, and I sent word to the right honorable gentleman himself before ten o'clock to-day, asking him to ascertain how far the opponents of the measure were willing to let it go without any serious debate, resting on the vote given last night as their excuse for abstaining from anything like stone-walling tactics.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Where is the necessity for giving notice of motion to-day?

Mr. WATSON.—If the right honorable gentleman will restrain his impatience he will probably find out why I chose to take action to-day rather than to-morrow. Unfortunately, I was not able to communicate with the honorable member who has made himself most prominent in his opposition to the measure.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—He has gone home.

Mr. WATSON.—If I had been assured of that, I might have adopted a different course. I was not aware where the honorable member could be found, but I spoke to one or two other honorable members, who did not seem inclined to waive their rights in the matter. Then, again—as has already been pointed out—the discussion of grievances and of private members' business would have occupied the House until half-past 6 o'clock this evening. I understand that there is quite a crop of grievances to be ventilated. Therefore, if any two or three honorable

members had cared to talk out the Kalgoorlie to Port Augusta Railway Survey Bill, they could easily have accomplished their design. Regarding the reasons which induced me to give notice of motion to-day, instead of to-morrow, I wish to say that I was aware that a large number of honorable members were leaving for the other capitals this afternoon, and I feared that if I deferred action until to-morrow, it might have been impossible to obtain a quorum, and in that way the discussion of the question of want of confidence in the Government upon Tuesday next would not have been possible.

Mr. JOHNSON.—Could not the honorable member have deferred giving notice of the motion until this evening?

Mr. WATSON.—Not very well. However, even with this motion in the way, there is no probability that the Kalgoorlie to Port Augusta Railway Survey Bill will meet with any further serious delay in its passage through this House. There is a majority behind that measure, and if those who are opposed to it will, to some extent, forego their right of speech, it should not take long to dispose of it.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Will the Commonwealth collapse if that Bill be not passed?

Mr. WATSON.—No; but the matter having been advanced to a certain stage, it is only reasonable that it should be pushed to a conclusion, and I have no wish to stand in the way of that being accomplished.

Mr. MALONEY (Melbourne).—The action of the Prime Minister is in accordance with the history of Parliaments.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Oh!

Mr. MALONEY.—I will ask the right honorable member for Swan, who interjects, to remain silent for a moment. I intend to challenge him, with a view to ascertain if he has the courage of his opinions. Whether the right honorable member, who has had considerable parliamentary experience in Western Australia, entertains a different idea from mine in regard to carrying on the Government of the country, I do not know. I dare say there is a bit of the iconoclast in me as well as in the right honorable member. If he presses his objection to a division I shall vote with him. At the same time I doubt whether he will do so. I regard his action this afternoon as a little exhibition of fireworks, which is intended for advertisement purposes. Seeing that I voted for the motion relating to the survey of the Transcontinental Railway, and abstained

from speaking upon it, in order to expedite its adoption, I have a right to strongly resent his action this afternoon.

Mr. SALMON (Laanecoorie).—I entirely differ from the right honorable member for Swan upon this matter. I think that the country will owe a debt of gratitude to the honorable member for Bland for affording honorable members an opportunity of further considering the survey of the projected Transcontinental Railway. I am aware that at the present juncture it is impossible for me to debate that question, but I sincerely hope that the interval which will be allowed for further consideration will induce several honorable members to change the views which they now entertain. Owing to my position as Chairman of Committees I was debarred from speaking upon the motion under discussion yesterday, but I hope to have an opportunity of fully expressing my opinions upon the second reading of the Bill. I trust that when that time arrives a very much better appreciation of the difficulties which the Commonwealth is at present undergoing will be exhibited by honorable members, who, for some unaccountable reason, seem to have suddenly altered their expressed opinions upon a question which very vitally affects the well-being of Australia.

Mr. McDONALD (Kennedy).—It is quite evident that the last speaker is preparing for an election. Personally I think that the right honorable member for Swan should have taken exception to the action of the Prime Minister, who submitted the motion relating to the special adjournment, rather than to that of the honorable member for Bland. I rise chiefly to point out that it is idle for him to attempt to blame the Opposition for delaying the Kalgoorlie to Port Augusta Railway Survey Bill. Even if the honorable member for Bland had deferred giving notice of his motion until to-morrow, we should have been no further forward.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I think that we should.

Mr. McDONALD.—I will show that we should not. Had the notice of motion been given to-morrow, we should presumably have passed the Bill through this House in the interim. Under ordinary circumstances it would then have been forwarded to the Senate, where it would have been made an Order of the Day for Tuesday next. But the moment that notice was given of a

motion of want of confidence in the Government, there would have been no discussion of other business, either in this House or in the Senate. As far as I am aware the right honorable member for Swan has no reasonable ground for complaint, unless he is prepared to declare that the honorable member for Bland had no right to give notice of his motion for several weeks—until after the Kalgoorlie to Port Augusta Railway Survey Bill had been disposed of.

Question resolved in the affirmative.

ADJOURNMENT.

ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS: PORT AUGUSTA TO KALGOORLIE RAILWAY SURVEY BILL.

Motion (by Mr. REID) proposed—

That the House do now adjourn.

Mr. CROUCH (Corio).—I wish to obtain a reply from the Prime Minister to a question which has appeared upon the business paper for about a month. It was placed there prior to the three weeks' adjournment which recently occurred.

Mr. SPEAKER.—The honorable and learned member cannot anticipate discussion upon a notice of motion which appears upon the business paper.

Mr. CROUCH.—It is not a notice of motion, but a question.

Mr. SPEAKER.—The honorable and learned member cannot anticipate that.

Mr. CROUCH.—I am very sorry that the Minister has found it necessary to repeatedly postpone answers to certain questions. I understand that it is the policy of the Government to treat its protectionist minority fairly. That was what was alleged when the present Administration was formed.

Mr. REID.—We shall have enough of this sort of talk next week. What is the use of firing a squib?

Mr. CROUCH.—The Prime Minister evidently prepared his manifesto in a jocular spirit. When I say that I understand the Prime Minister has made a bargain with his protectionist minority, he immediately goes into convulsions of humour. It is just as well that the Government's protectionist minority should see the fun of the position, and recognise how humorous is the suggestion that the Prime Minister would keep any promise made by him in this respect. In view of the development likely to take place next week, I should like the Prime Minister to

say, before the House adjourns, whether it is his intention to see that in the administration of the Departments local employment—

Mr. SPEAKER.—Order! The honorable and learned member is attempting, by a side wind, to evade the instruction which I gave him a few moments ago. He must not directly or indirectly anticipate business which is on the notice-paper.

Mr. CROUCH. — I do not know that I am seeking to obtain any information by a side wind. I make that statement in all seriousness.

Mr. SPEAKER.—The honorable and learned member must either submit to the direction of the Chair, or I must call on some other honorable member. He cannot set the Standing Orders at defiance.

Mr. CROUCH.—Very well, sir. It seems that I am not to be allowed to say anything on this subject. I wish to ask the Prime Minister whether he regards as a joke the statement which I made—that he promised to endeavour to keep faith with his protectionist minority.

Mr. REID.—No.

Mr. CROUCH. — I also wish to know whether he intends to carry out the proposals contained in his manifesto to the people of Australia that he would see that the legislation already passed by a former protectionist Ministry remained in force, and that the Government would continue to administer the Departments on the lines adopted by their predecessors.

Mr. REID (East Sydney—Minister for External Affairs).—I merely wish to say that I did not laugh at the serious matter to which the honorable and learned member referred. I quite agree that the subject is—

Mr. CARPENTER.—I rise to a point of order. If the Prime Minister speaks at this stage he will close the debate, and thus render it impossible for me to refer to a matter which I rose a few minutes ago to put before the House.

Mr. REID.—I beg the honorable member's pardon. I thought the debate had finished. I do not wish to close his mouth.

Mr. SPEAKER.—The Prime Minister has risen, and has commenced his reply—

Mr. REID.—I did not intend to prevent discussion, and, with your permission, Mr. Speaker, I should like to give way to the honorable member.

Mr. SPEAKER.—That being so, no doubt the House will permit the honorable member for Fremantle to speak.

HONORABLE MEMBERS.—Hear, hear.

Mr. CARPENTER (Fremantle).—I did not know that the Prime Minister was about to close the debate, but I think he will recognise that I am entitled to complete my remarks on the subject which I brought forward on the motion for special adjournment, but which, under the Standing Orders, I was unable to discuss. I was pointing out that just prior to the division which took place last night on the motion for an appropriation in connexion with the preliminary survey for the Transcontinental Railway, I suggested to the right honorable member for Swan that if the Bill relating to that matter were ready, the House would probably agree, as honorable members appeared to be so unanimously in favour of the motion, to pass it through all its stages that night.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—That is so.

Mr. CARPENTER.—The right honorable member consulted the Minister in charge of the Bill—

Sir JOHN FORREST.—As well as some other honorable members on this side of the House.

Mr. CARPENTER.—Quite so. He consulted them in order to learn whether they would agree to the adoption of the course which I suggested.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—They said they would not.

Mr. CARPENTER.—A distinct threat was made by the honorable member for Moira that if the House were asked to pass the Bill through all its stages that evening we might expect a debate extending over at least two days. He threatened that he would read various reports, and do his best to obstruct the passage of the Bill. After consultation, I and some of my fellow representatives of Western Australia this morning saw the leader of the Opposition, and inquired whether, notwithstanding this threat, it was not worth while making another attempt to persuade honorable members opposite to allow the Bill to pass through all its stages this afternoon, and to postpone the notice of motion of want of confidence until to-morrow. The leader of the Opposition at once said that if he could persuade Government supporters to adopt that course he would willingly postpone his notice of motion.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—What about the honorable member's leader, the honorable and learned member for Indi?

Mr. CARPENTER.—I am speaking of what happened.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—But why does the honorable member endeavour to throw all the blame on Government supporters? What about his own leader, the honorable and learned member for Indi?

Mr. ROBINSON.—He is not a leader, but a sub-leader—a paragraph.

Mr. HUME COOK.—He will prove a rather awkward "paragraph" for honorable members opposite.

Mr. SPEAKER.—Order! The honorable member for Fremantle is addressing the House, and I must ask honorable members to give him an opportunity to conclude his remarks. These loud interjections across the chamber, and the conversations which are taking place in a loud voice, render it almost impossible for the honorable member to proceed.

Mr. CARPENTER.—I was simply relating what took place this morning outside the chamber. The leader of the Opposition assured us that he would do his best to persuade Government supporters to agree to the passing of the Bill this evening, and that if that arrangement could be made, the notice of motion to which I have referred would be postponed until to-morrow.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Whom did he see?

Mr. CARPENTER.—I do not know how many the honorable member interviewed, but he subsequently informed me that he found it impossible to induce the supporters of the Government to agree to the passing of the Bill to-day.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—He did not see any one on this side of the House.

Mr. CARPENTER.—It would have been useless for him to interview the honorable member for Parramatta. I make this statement to show that the charge which has been levelled against members of the Labour Party and of the Opposition generally, that they are obstructing the passing of the Bill in question, is without foundation.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Why all this unreasonable hurry to press a motion of want of confidence?

Mr. CARPENTER.—We have done our utmost, both in the House and outside of it, to facilitate the passing of the Bill. The reason that it is not being discussed and

dealt with to-day is that honorable members sitting behind the Government refuse to allow that course to be followed.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—In view of what we have done that is a very unfair statement for the honorable member to make.

Mr. MAHON.—It is perfectly correct.

Sir JOHN FORREST (Swan).—I trust that it will not be thought that when I referred to the obstruction of the Bill dealing with the preliminary survey for the Transcontinental Railway by the motion of the leader of the Labour Party I desired to reflect on the three representatives of Western Australia who are members of the Opposition. Nothing was further from my thoughts than to suggest that they were willing parties to delaying that measure, for I know that they have always been earnest advocates of the railway. What I wished to convey was that it was their duty to have brought more influence to bear to prevent the notice of motion of want of confidence being given before that Bill had been dealt with.

Mr. CARPENTER.—But the right honorable member referred to us.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I said that I was surprised that honorable members representing Western Australia should have consented to the course taken by the leader of the Opposition, and I reiterate, in the strongest manner, that opinion. With regard to the opposition shown by honorable members sitting in the Government corner to the motion relating to the Transcontinental Railway survey, I would remind the House that the Government cannot interfere with the free expression of the views of their supporters. The Bill dealing with the survey could not have been passed through all its stages last night without the suspension of the Standing Orders. That was impossible.

Mr. MAHON.—I think it was quite possible.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I do not think it would have been possible to pass the Bill through all its stages last night. But, in any event, it is surely desirable that such a Bill should be passed even at the risk of delaying for one or two days a motion adverse to the Government. The Government have been doing very good work. I do not believe that at any time during the present session greater expedition has been shown in dealing with measures than we have witnessed during the last few days.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—That is the trouble.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Why the passing of the Port Augusta to Kalgoorlie Railway Survey Bill should be postponed and ignored, when the postponement of the notice of the motion of want of confidence for probably one day would have passed the Bill, is difficult to understand. I wish to refer to a remark made, not only to-day by the leader of the Opposition, and other members of the Labour Party, but by members of the Labour Party sitting in another place, while visiting Western Australia, to the effect that I was for three years a member of the Barton and Deakin Governments, and did nothing to push forward this measure. Any one who repeats that statement grossly misrepresents my action, because no one can honestly say that I have not done all that I could to advance the project.

Mr. PAGE.—What did the right honorable member do to advance the project?

Mr. McDONALD.—The right honorable member remained in the Government after they had refused to bring the measure forward.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Should I have advanced it had I left the Government?

Mr. McDONALD.—Yes.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I do not agree with the honorable member.

Mr. WILKS.—The Watson Government were in office four months without doing anything in the matter.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I kept the fire burning, and the result is shown by the vote which was given last night. It would have been impossible to obtain such a vote at a much earlier period in the history of the Commonwealth. The honorable member for Coolgardie, who, with the other representatives of Western Australia, has done all he could to have the project advanced as far as it was yesterday, was four months in office without getting it further advanced than when he took office.

Mr. MAHON.—The Watson Government carried it as far in four months as the Government in which the right honorable member was a Minister did in three years.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—During the three years I was in office, I got the project carried as far as the point at which it was yesterday. It was advanced another stage then. The Government in which the honorable member was a Minister did not advance it a single step.

Mr. WEBSTER.—The right honorable gentleman would not let us.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I am not blaming honorable members. I desire to thank them, not to blame them; but when they say that I did nothing they are very ungenerous, and are trying to injure me politically in the estimation of the people of my own State. But they cannot do it. It would take some one more powerful than the leader of the Opposition to injure me there. Still it comes with a bad grace from him to misrepresent my actions in this matter. Any representative of Western Australia who says that during the three years in which I was in office I did nothing, has a very poor knowledge of my exertions and of the trouble which I took in the matter. Do honorable members think that the Government was committed to the project, so that every speech of the Governor-General contained a reference to it, without any one urging the matter forward, and without any arguments or facts being brought to bear in regard to it? If so, they have very little knowledge of what took place. The remark of the leader of the Opposition is as incorrect as it was uncalled for; but it is only in keeping with what has been already said by members of the Labour Party who desire to misrepresent me before the people of the western State. It has been said before, and the interjection of the member for Coolgardie might lead one to think that he holds the same view. Hitherto I was always of the opinion that he and I, and the other representatives of Western Australia, had been working together as vigorously as we could to push forward this project. My complaint is that, as the House was doing good work in passing important measures, and had nearly passed this Bill, this motion, which means a delay for an indefinite time, and perhaps other things—

Mr. PAGE.—That is what the right honorable member is afraid of.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The honorable member does not know me if he thinks that. I advise the honorable member to look after himself, which will probably give him quite enough to do without troubling about me. The House has been doing good work during the last few days, and it was a mistake to interrupt business by giving notice of a motion of which notice might have been given equally well one or two days later. The effect will be that the people of Western Australia will believe that there is some ulterior motive; and the facts before us certainly make it appear that there is something

behind this action of honorable members opposite. There is no reason whatever why the motion should not have been deferred for a day or two, so that we might have disposed of the Kalgoorlie to Port Augusta Railway Survey Bill, the Papua Bill, and some other measures, in the same way as the mover was careful to dispose of the Arbitration Bill, before hurriedly launching his no-confidence motion.

Mr. MAHON (Coolgardie).—I regret that the right honorable member for Swan found it necessary at this stage of the proceedings to indulge in what I must, even though in a charitable mood, describe as rather a theatrical display.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Not at all; it was genuine.

Mr. MAHON.—No doubt the right honorable member had a genuine purpose to serve, but he had no justification for the remarks which he made. He rather misrepresented what was said by the honorable member for Bland, who, in defending his party's action in connexion with the measure to which reference has been made, charged the right honorable member with himself having done nothing practical to forward it. He did not say that the right honorable gentleman had not done valuable work in the House, and in the country, in advocating the construction of the railway, but that for all practical purposes the project had not been advanced a step after the right honorable member had been in office for three years. It was not until a motion of want of confidence had been accepted—

Sir JOHN FORREST.—It had not been accepted. It had not been moved.

Mr. MAHON.—The honorable member for North Sydney refused to allow the Committee stage to be taken, because a motion of want of confidence had been moved.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—It had not been moved.

Mr. MAHON.—I refer the right honorable member to *Hansard*. There was virtually a motion of want of confidence before the House at the time. What the honorable member for Bland said was that the right honorable member had not, during the three years that he was in the Ministry, brought the project for the construction of the Transcontinental Railway to a successful issue. The right honorable member was not just to the honorable member for Bland in saying that he had done nothing in the matter during the four months that he was in office. As a

matter of fact, the first really practicable step taken in connexion with it was his proposal to the Premier of Western Australia, that that State should pay more than her *per capita* share of the loss during the first ten years. In that action, he went a long way in furthering this proposition, and to reconcile Parliament to its acceptance.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I am very glad if he did that.

Mr. MAHON.—I do not think that the right honorable member really intended to be quite so unreasonable as he seemed to be, and I do regret very much that he should, at this stage, have taken the opportunity to cast reflections upon members of this party, and also to put his colleagues from Western Australia in a false light before the people of that State. I feel sure that, upon reconsideration, he will regret having done so. As far as this matter is concerned, I can corroborate every word that was said by the honorable member for Fremantle, in regard to the efforts made during the day, to induce the Government supporters in the corner to abandon their opposition.

Mr. MCCAY.—What about honorable members on the Opposition side?

Mr. MAHON.—There was no one in the Opposition corner who was inclined to stone-wall the Bill.

Mr. MCCAY.—What about the honorable and learned member for Indi?

Mr. MAHON.—The honorable and learned member for Indi said very little about it.

Mr. MCCAY.—He opposed the survey.

Mr. MAHON.—Did he make a three-hours' speech like the honorable member for Moira, who was plainly "stone-walling" the measure?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—This comes from being bound hand and foot to the Labour Party!

Mr. MAHON.—I say that every effort was made by the honorable member for Bland, and by the Western Australian members, to induce the Government supporters to abandon their opposition to the Bill. Having done our best in that direction, we were not going to interpose a barrier to the motion of which the honorable member for Bland has given notice.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—If the honorable member had told the leader of the Opposition that he would not support him in his action his wishes would have been consulted.

Mr. MAHON.—I am afraid that my ideal of loyalty to my leader and to my colleagues must be different from that cherished by the right honorable member for Swan. I can assure the House that we did everything possible to induce the Government supporters, and other honorable members who were opposed to the Bill, to allow it to go through to-day, and I am perfectly satisfied with the course taken by the honorable member for Bland, which has my full approval and indorsement.

Mr. REID (East Sydney—Minister of External Affairs).—I merely wish to make one remark in reply to the honorable and learned member for Corio. He complained that I neglected to answer a question for a month. The statement is wildly inaccurate, as usual.

Mr. HUME COOK.—The right honorable member ought not to say "as usual."

Mr. REID.—I say "as usual." Surely I can have my own opinion on the subject.

Mr. HUME COOK.—It is not fair to say that the honorable and learned member for Corio was "wildly inaccurate."

Mr. REID.—The fastidious conscience of the honorable member who has interjected is an annoyance to himself as well as to every one else. With reference to the statement of the honorable and learned member for Corio, I should like to point out that the question to which he refers was put down for the 7th September. Through some mischance, the question was not brought under my attention until the morning of the 7th. Until that moment I had not the remotest idea that such a question was upon the paper. When the House met on the 7th, I asked the honorable and learned member to postpone his question for a week. He did so, and it appears on the paper for to-day. I have the answer in my hand, and intended to read it; but, as every honorable member with any parliamentary experience is aware, the moment a notice of motion such as that of the leader of the Opposition is given it becomes impossible even to put such questions. Consequently, I was debarred by nothing for which I was responsible from answering the question to which the honorable and learned member has referred. I wish to say that when I smiled at what the honorable and learned member said I was not smiling at the urgent necessity for the revision of the Tariff, which is now the object of interest to the Opposition, but I was smiling

at the attempt to drag a rather stale red herring across the trail. I also wish to say that since the motion of which notice has been given is one which will afford every honorable member the fullest opportunity to deal with every subject of interest, the desire to commence these observations so soon as to-day is evidence of a morbid appetite.

Question resolved in the affirmative.

House adjourned at 3.36 p.m.

House of Representatives.

Tuesday, 20 September, 1904.

Mr. SPEAKER took the chair at 2.30 p.m., and read prayers.

PAPERS.

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON laid upon the table the following papers:—

Amendment of Regulations under the Public Service Act, Nos. 104, 144, 168, and 169.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION.

Mr. CROUCH (Corio).—I desire to make a personal explanation. During the meeting of the House on Thursday last I drew attention to the action of the Prime Minister in not answering a question of which I had given notice, and I regret to say that the right honorable gentleman, speaking in reply on the motion for the adjournment, and in my absence from the chamber, so that I had no opportunity to defend myself, told honorable members that I had been "wildly inaccurate as usual," and that I had not given notice of the question, although, as a matter of fact, that question has been on the notice-paper for nearly a month, and occupies the first place among the notices of questions on the business-paper for to-day.

Mr. REID.—What I said was that the question had not been brought under my notice until the day when the House met after the recent three weeks' adjournment, that is until the 7th September.

Mr. CROUCH.—I was not present when the Prime Minister made the statement to which I take exception, so that I may not be correct in saying that the Prime Minister made the statement which I have attributed to him, but it is the statement

which occurs in *Hansard*, and in the reports of the two metropolitan newspapers. That the impression that the right honorable gentleman stated that I was "wildly inaccurate as usual," was conveyed to members of the House, is proved by the fact that the honorable member for Bourke thought it necessary, in my absence, to defend my reputation. On the 18th August last, I gave notice of my intention to ask the Prime Minister the following question:—

(1) Whether he proposes to carry out the policy that in all Government contracts preference shall be given to local manufactures and products?

(2) Whether he will cause to be inserted in all Government contracts a condition that goods which can be reasonably manufactured in Australia should have a preference over similar articles manufactured outside.

On the 19th August copies of that question were distributed to the members of the Ministry and of the House, and to the press, and on the 20th it was published in the newspapers. On the 7th September the Postmaster-General came to me, and informed me that the Prime Minister was not ready to answer it. He therefore asked me if I would postpone it.

Mr. REID.—That is quite right. Having seen the notice of the question on the 7th, the day upon which the House re-assembled, I asked the Postmaster-General to request the honorable and learned member to postpone it, as I had not had time to prepare an answer to it.

Mr. CROUCH.—Unfortunately, the *Hansard* and newspaper reports state that the Prime Minister said that he did not see the question until the 8th September. In reply to the request of the Postmaster-General, I said that the Prime Minister had had three weeks in which to prepare an answer, and that, as I had previously asked the question without notice, I thought he should be ready to answer it then. The Prime Minister said that on the 8th September I consented to its postponement, but on that day I was at the Geelong Agricultural Show, and did not enter the chamber until late in the evening, so that I could not have consented to its postponement then. On the 15th, when I asked for a reply to the question, I stated that it had "appeared upon the business-paper for about a month," but the House was nevertheless afterwards informed by the Prime Minister, in my absence, that I had been "wildly inaccurate," that I had asked it on the 8th,

and had then consented to its postponement. I think that that was a very unfair statement to make. Six weeks ago I asked the Prime Minister, who was then leader of the Opposition, the same question. He made a laughing reply, but did not answer it. I do not understand why he has not answered it. Although he has said that I was "wildly inaccurate, as usual," I have shown that in this case I was not inaccurate. Whatever has been charged against me, I have not been charged with being an artful dodger.

MOTION OF WANT OF CONFIDENCE.

Mr. WATSON (Bland).—I move—

That the present Administration does not possess the confidence of this House.

As is usual in such cases, perhaps, the Opposition has been charged with delaying public business by giving notice of this motion, and I admit that a certain amount of delay must inevitably ensue from its discussion. But on almost every occasion when a new Administration has assumed office, it has been the right and legitimate practice for the Opposition, unless the fact that the Government was supported by a large majority had been clearly made known by some such process as a general election, or as the result of a vote in the House, to ascertain by the readiest means what its position really was. When the Administration of which I was at the head came into power a few months ago, the present Prime Minister, who was then leader of the Opposition, stated in this Chamber, on the night that we first met the House, that he would take the earliest opportunity to test our position, and he on several occasions repeated that statement in various parts of the country, and especially at Kyneton and at Waragul. On almost every occasion when he spoke in public he breathed fire and defiance against us.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—He only breathed it, though.

Mr. WATSON.—I admit that his threatened motion of want of confidence did not materialize; but he recognised that it was a proper thing to ask the House whether the then Government did or did not possess the confidence of its members. Curiously enough, however, the newspapers which are criticising the present Opposition for delaying the discussion of matters of public importance, then used every argument that I brought to bear to force the right

honorable gentleman to take similar action against us. The *Sydney Daily Telegraph* said that it was a disgrace to the right honorable gentleman, and to those associated with him, that they had allowed weeks to elapse without challenging the position of the then Government. Now that newspaper has suddenly become converted to the belief that the pressing need of the country is "settled Government," and that therefore no attempt should be made to interfere with the occupation of the Treasury benches by honorable gentlemen opposite. I contend that we have a right to ascertain what is the position of parties in this Chamber. The programme of the Government has been put before us, and it is a matter for our consideration whether it is to be held sufficient, both in regard to that portion which is to be carried out in the present session, and in regard to the remaining items which are to be carried into effect as part of the future policy of the Government. The Prime Minister, when speaking in Sydney, did not specifically complain of the action of the Opposition in challenging his position, but stated that there was nothing in the Government programme that called for opposition. So far as the Government programme relates to this session, so far as the actual list of Bills that are to be brought forward and pushed through, are concerned, I admit that there is nothing that calls for opposition on our part. Why? Because the right honorable gentleman and his colleagues have been at every pains to select absolutely non-contentious measures for this session.

Mr. GROOM.—Measures taken from the programmes of previous Governments.

Mr. WATSON.—Exactly. There is absolutely nothing to which exception can be taken. Of course, if a Government is prepared to do only those things which are certain to be approved by a large majority of the people, very little exception can be taken to its immediate programme. It is questionable, however, whether the country will benefit from a mark-time arrangement of that sort.

Mr. REID.—The honorable member used to advocate one step at a time.

Mr. WATSON.—So far as any large measure of public importance is concerned no step is proposed by the present Government.

Mr. ISAACS.—Unless it be a step backwards.

Mr. WATSON.—I shall deal with that aspect of the question presently. I think that there is a possibility of a considerable step backwards being taken by the present Government in relation to some of the legislation we have passed. At present, however, I am speaking of the immediate programme which the Government have laid before the country, that they have deigned to outline for the consideration of the electors, and I say that it is such as to call for very little remark, and that it certainly will not constitute one step in advance, even if the whole of it be carried out. Take the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill. With the exception of the amendment adopted at the instance of the Minister of Defence, the Government have accepted the whole of the amendments proposed by the late Government.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—It is the Bill of the late Government, with the exception referred to.

Mr. WATSON.—I admit that with that exception it is our Bill, but, as I have already stated, I regard that amendment as sufficient to vitiate the whole measure, so far as the prospect of its successful working is concerned. The Government have been content to take on trust the proposal that the railway servants of the States shall be included within the scope of the measure. That objectionable feature, from the stand-point of honorable members opposite has been ignored in their anxiety to get the measure out of the road. So far as that specific matter is concerned I have no objection to urge, but I will pass on to the other proposals. The Kalgoorlie to Port Augusta Railway Survey Bill is a distinctly non-party measure—one upon which the leading members of all parties are agreed so far as the survey is concerned. Then, again, the Electoral Bill is a non-party measure, containing nothing of importance in the way of detail. The Papua Bill, the Fraudulent Trade Marks Bill, and the Trade Marks Bill proper are all measures of very little importance from the political point of view.

Mr. JOHNSON.—They are necessary measures.

Mr. WATSON.—Yes, but they have no important bearing from the point of view of controversial politics. Then, again, the Manufactures Encouragement Bill is to be treated as an open question. I

am quite prepared to admit that it would have been altogether unreasonable to expect the Government to come down with a programme for this session as long as your arm. In such a case they might have been challenged upon the real hope of carrying out their programme. I do contend, however, that in view of the fact that we are nearing the end of the session, this House and the country—and more particularly the country—had a right to expect a declaration from the Government with regard to the course they intended to follow next session.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Oh, no. That is quite a new idea.

Mr. WATSON.—Is the country not to be taken into the confidence of the Government? Are the electors to be regarded as having no interest in the legislation that is to engage our attention? Is the country to be satisfied when the Ministry says, Micawber like, "Wait until something turns up, and then we shall be prepared to place our programme before you."

Mr. WILKS.—The honorable member is prepared to mark time until the next Parliament, according to the alliance programme.

Mr. WATSON.—The honorable member will find that some very large questions are dealt with in the alliance programme.

Mr. MCCAY.—They are treated as open questions.

Mr. WATSON.—There are many important questions that are not left open. Our programme is not characterized by that mean spiritedness that displays itself in a readiness to defer in everything to the interests of those who are not specially charged with the administration of the affairs of the Commonwealth. So far as any allusion is made to large measures by the Government, it is indicated that they are prepared to defer to the wishes of the States Governments. That seems to be the keynote of the whole policy that the Government are putting forward. They are not standing on the constitutional powers handed over to the Federal Government. They are not declaring, "We are prepared to carry these things through if we can obtain the co-operation of the States Governments. If we can so adjust the proposals as to work harmoniously with the States authorities we are prepared to do so; but in any case we intend to push them through." They make no such statement, but

in regard to the High Commissioner Bill, the old-age pensions question, and even in regard to that pet idea of the Minister of Trade and Customs—the encouragement of agriculture—they are doing nothing and are proposing nothing except to consult the States Governments. I say that that is not the position for Ministers in charge of the affairs of Australia to take up. As I have indicated, I have every desire that harmonious relations should exist between the States and the Federal authorities; but there should be a straightforward declaration of policy from the gentleman in charge of the Government as responsible Ministers as to their own ideas, and how far they are going to ask Parliament to give effect to them at the earliest opportunity. Take, for instance, the High Commissioner Bill. From my point of view there is very grave objection indeed to the continued postponement of that particular measure. When speaking on Thursday week, I alluded to the difficulties through which Australia had had to pass because of the absence from London of some person who could speak with authority as to the meaning, intention, and scope of the legislation passed by this Parliament.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—There is nothing spoiling on that account.

Mr. WATSON.—With all due respect to the honorable member, I think that a good deal is spoiling. The Commonwealth is being misunderstood, and is being misrepresented, and I think that this is doing a great deal of harm indeed to the people of Australia, and that it will later on materially affect their interests. The Prime Minister a little while ago stated that in the estimation of people in the United Kingdom Australia was practically barred to immigrants because of the laws we had passed, and I say that such a view could not obtain if the people of England thoroughly understood the legislation which we have adopted.

Mr. JOHNSON.—Perhaps they understand it only too well.

Mr. WATSON.—If the honorable member appeals to the honorable and learned member for Ballarat upon that point he will find that he is mistaken. He will discover that there is no possibility, except by twisting the absolute intention of Parliament out of its proper channel, of preventing any person free from shackles who desires to settle here from coming to Australia. There is every desire on the part

of all parties to encourage those people to come here, and to assist them after their arrival. However, altogether apart from the question of diplomatic representations in the heart of the Empire, we have merely to look at what has been accomplished in Canada—even during the last year or so—by its High Commissioner to realize how far our producers could be assisted by having resident in London, with an adequate staff, an officer charged with a proper sense of his responsibilities. I ask the Minister of Trade and Customs whether he is satisfied to sanction another year or so of delay in regard to the High Commissionership when he reflects upon the manner in which the Canadian High Commissioner has increased the demand for Canadian products in London, by reason of the steps which he has taken to place them before the people and to familiarize everybody with their quality and price?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Have they any State Agents-General there?

Mr. WATSON.—No.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—That is the programme of the present Minister of Trade and Customs.

Mr. WATSON.—Is it? If so, the honorable member is deeper in the secret than is the country, because I do not take it that the Minister of Trade and Customs has professed himself at all satisfied with the work which the State Agents-General are performing. I do not believe that any one will contend that it is possible for a number of gentlemen, however energetic and able they may be, to render exactly the same service as could be rendered by one well-equipped central office working upon a detailed plan for the benefit of all Australia. I do not think the Minister will urge that for a moment. To my mind it is a serious thing, from the stand-point of our producers, that we should continue to neglect the magnificent market offered by the mother country, which imports annually £230,000,000 worth of foodstuffs, of which Australia contributes only a little more than £3,000,000 worth, by indefinitely delaying the appointment of a High Commissioner, because, forsooth, "it is necessary to consult the States Governments." While the last Administration was in office, I took steps, I admit, to consult the States Governments as to how far they would be willing—if a High Commissioner were appointed—to take advantage of the facilities which his office would offer in conjunction with the various State

Agencies, and further, I inquired whether they were prepared to allow the High Commissioner to take charge of the various operations connected with the States debts. But whilst asking for an expression of their views, and intimating an anxiety to meet them in every possible way, I was not unwise enough to contemplate delaying for a moment the introduction of the High Commissioner Bill, or the appointment of the gentleman who should fill that position. Therefore, I feel that the Government have taken a wrong step in deferring the consideration of this most important question. Then, there is another matter to which I desire to direct attention—I refer to old-age pensions. Here, again, the Government are apparently prepared to allow the whole possibility of obtaining Federal old-age pensions to rest with the States Governments.

Mr. McCAY.—What does the alliance programme mean upon that point?

Mr. WATSON.—It means exactly what it states, namely, that we should get an old-age pension scheme, which will be fair alike to the States and individuals—but we shall get it. It does not mean that we intend to consult the States about it, and then defer to their decision as to whether or not we are to have such a scheme. It means that we shall attempt to arrive at an understanding with them, but that failing that we shall still go for an old-age pension scheme. Are we to confess that the Commonwealth is, so financially decrepit that it cannot undertake to provide for its aged poor, or that the provisions of the Constitution are not sufficiently elastic to allow of the whole of the old people of Australia being taken under the care of the Commonwealth? I, for one, say that, even in those States where old-age pensions are granted to-day—in Victoria and New South Wales—the existing administration, while it is, perhaps, all that is possible under a State Act, is not satisfactory from the stand-point of those who believe in the principle of old-age pensions. We know that many of the most deserving Australian pioneers, by reason of the very fact that they went from one State to another, helping to develop their resources—as the gold miners in the old days followed the rush from Bendigo to Lambing Flat, and from Lambing Flat perhaps went to Queensland—are largely debarred from participating in the advantages which old-age pensions should

offer to them. Yet, according to the dictum of the Government, we are to be content, in the case of New South Wales and Victoria, to allow that condition of things to continue, whilst, so far as the other States are concerned, we have no indication that the Government will make any sustained effort to secure pensions for the aged poor, if the States Governments cannot see their way to agree to the proposal.

Mr. HUME COOK.—The Government almost entirely forgot to mention the matter.

Mr. WATSON.—Yes. It is peculiar that, in regard to this matter, we received the Ministerial statement of policy by instalments. The Prime Minister outlined a portion of his programme in this House. That was supplemented on the same day, so far as the question of old-age pensions was concerned, by the statement of the Attorney-General in another place, and on the following day it was still further supplemented by the other responsible gentleman in the Ministry, the Minister of Trade and Customs. It is rather unusual that we should receive a statement of policy by instalments in that fashion. Of course, if it were a good policy, it would not matter. I merely comment upon it as being an unusual proceeding. I contend, therefore, that it is not sufficient for those who favour the payment of old-age pensions to be told that if the States are agreeable, effect will be given to such a scheme. What is the alternative? That we should wait, I am given to understand, until the expiration of the Braddon section of the Constitution. That is rather longer than I hope to wait before seeing such a scheme in existence. If we are to judge by the attitude taken up by the States Treasurers when in conference with the present Treasurer a little while ago, there is no prospect whatever of the States Governments agreeing to become responsible for an old-age pension scheme. I hope it is not so; but if we are to accept as a criterion the statements which they made a few months ago, there is very little prospect indeed of obtaining from that source any adequate scheme of old-age pensions. Having taken a brief glance at what the Government propose to do, we have to consider what they have omitted from their programme. I repeat that we look in vain for any indication of policy which offers hope to the community. Whilst those measures of which I have spoken are of importance in

themselves, still they are only details. They do not largely affect the welfare of the people of Australia. The matters which the Government intend to press through during the current session are, comparatively speaking, of little importance, and we have the most eloquent silence as to their intentions in other respects. Take, for instance, the pressing question of irrigation and water conservation. The Prime Minister has made no reference to the intentions of the Government in that regard. He gave no indication of how far the Ministry are prepared to assist the States to come to an agreement, or to take action in the event of the States being willing to allow the Federal authorities to assume control of that question. There is no indication whatever as to the intentions of the Government in that connexion. I do not think that anybody to-day can overrate the importance of water conservation and efficient irrigation so far as the people of Australia are concerned. I am not here to put forward anything in the nature of a policy, but I did expect—

Mr. REID.—Give the people some hope.

Mr. WATSON.—So far as I am concerned, when the late Government was in office, we submitted a policy, I admit, of comparatively small importance for the present session. We included in our statement of policy for the present session a very definite pronouncement on the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill, and in regard to some contentious clauses in that measure, while in our policy for next session we included proposals of such vast importance that they brought down upon us the anathemas of all those who were opposed to the legislation that we had been putting forward.

Mr. McCAY.—But those planks are not to be found in the alliance programme.

Mr. WATSON.—Some of them are. Old-age pensions were certainly included in our programme for next session. The alliance programme does not necessarily cover all the proposals that will be put before the country if an opportunity offers; there may be further agreement with respect to other matters. It deals merely with the preliminary proposals to which we have agreed, and the responsibility does not rest upon our shoulders at the present moment to take steps to inform the people as to the course we propose to take. My complaint to-day is against the Government, and I assert that we look in vain for any expression of their intentions, once the present

session has closed, with regard to any important or far-reaching proposal.

Mr. KENNEDY.—The Opposition have not given the Government an opportunity to express their intentions in regard to next session.

Mr. HUME COOK.—They will have an opportunity to-day.

Mr. WATSON.—They had ample opportunity to do so a fortnight ago; and in view of the complaint that has been made against them, they will probably be willing to take advantage of the further opportunity which this motion offers. The question arises whether the Government have any policy, or whether the settlement of a policy awaits the long-deferred caucus meeting of the members of the Ministerial Party.

Mr. JOHNSON.—We do not hold caucus meetings.

Mr. WATSON.—I understand that there is a difficulty in regard to certain matters, and that the only chance of their adjustment rests in the party coming to an arrangement in caucus. It is certainly rather interesting to speculate as to the results of that meeting, and as to whether, as the outcome of it, we shall be able to look forward to anything in the nature of a declaration of policy upon the larger and more important questions to which I have referred.

Mr. WILSON.—Some of us would like to know what those questions are.

Mr. WATSON.—I refer to the matters which have been omitted from the Government programme. The Prime Minister stated at Warragul, a little while ago, that it was his intention to challenge the position of the Watson Government, and to compel every man to define his position. The necessity to compel every honorable member to define his position still exists. We have had from the Prime Minister a declaration of open war against, not only the Opposition, comprising members of the Labour Party, but every honorable member who dares to sympathize with the objects which animate that party, and the general principles which underlie their programme.

Mr. KENNEDY.—That is not so.

Mr. WATSON.—Only a few weeks ago the Prime Minister said that the war into which he and his party had that night entered against the Labour Party must be carried to a conclusion. Is it to be expected, therefore, that the right honorable gentleman and his colleagues, having proclaimed that warfare had commenced, we shall stand aside and allow them to use

the machinery of Government to defeat, whether by legislation or by administration, the very objects which we had in view in entering this Parliament? I for one cannot conceive how any unprejudiced person could expect us to take up such a position. The Prime Minister states that the Labour Party represent a class; but the Minister of Trade and Customs goes a good deal further, and asserts that we represent only the section of a class. I am prepared to admit that the first revolt against the domination of those who were peculiarly class representatives—those who had looked to the interests of only a class, and that one the moneyed class—the first note of rebellion against the domination of that class of politicians certainly came from only the section of a class. At its inception it came from the manual labourer and the artisan.

Mr. WEBSTER.—From those who suffered.

Mr. WATSON.—From those who had suffered most from the injustice of legislation which preceded the advent of the Labour Party into Parliament. But the Labour movement had scarcely taken shape—it had not been promulgated for more than a month or two—before there flocked to its standard men representing every section of the community, save those which had something to lose by the disturbance of the existing system. We are told that we have no right to arrogate to ourselves the term “Labour Party.” It is because there is no broader term than the words “Labour Party” that we seek to describe ourselves in that way. It is because our platform shows a regard for the interests of all sections of the community that we are justified in calling ourselves the Labour Party. I challenge those who contend that we are representatives of only a class or the section of a class to point to one proposal in the platform of the Federal Labour Party, or in that of any of the Labour Parties of the States Parliaments, which is in the interest only of, a class or of a section of a class.

Mr. JOHNSON.—Preference for unionists.

Mr. WATSON.—The honorable member suggests that preference for unionists is a proposal to which he objects. The granting of preference to unionists, however, would not have infringed, in the slightest degree, the rights of any person employed in any industry. It would certainly have allowed the organization upon which the whole superstructure of compulsory arbitration is built to fulfil the mission set out

for them by those who first conceived the principle. Beyond that, it would have done nothing. I am convinced that many of those who object to preference to unionists do not understand the theory upon which compulsory arbitration is based. If they did they would not be found in opposition to it.

Mr. POYNTON.—It is provided for in the Bill as it stands.

Mr. WATSON.—Of course it is in the Bill.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—It was meekly accepted.

Mr. WATSON.—Let me deal with the programme of the Federal Labour Party. The first plank in the platform is the maintenance of a white Australia. What is there in that proposal that is peculiarly helpful to a class? Surely it is the concern of the whole community that Australia should be kept free from the contamination which follows in the train of an influx of coloured peoples. Surely it is not a matter in which the workmen of Australia are alone interested. I submit that the whole of the people of Australia have a vital and direct interest in legislation dealing with that question.

Mr. SALMON.—But the question is not one of which the Labour Party has a monopoly.

Mr. WATSON.—I am free to admit that that is so; but the honorable member must recollect that that which I am seeking to do at the present moment is to disprove the assertion that the members of the Labour Party are here as the representatives of a class, and I am dealing with the items in our programme in support of my contention. Another plank in our platform is that of compulsory arbitration. Would any honorable member contend that compulsory arbitration is in the interests of manual labourers alone?

Mr. WEBSTER.—No one who understands it would do so.

Mr. WATSON.—Certainly not. Any one who has the faintest recollection of that which has frequently occurred in Australia—of the immense loss which has followed from strikes—will at least admit that the whole community has the keenest interest in the settlement of industrial troubles. Then we also make provision for old-age pensions. It may be said that here at last is something in our programme in which the workers are peculiarly interested. I admit that in the main such a proposal is likely to affect those who have to rely on

manual labour for their daily bread. The manual labourer and the artisan, as conditions are throughout the world, have but little opportunity indeed to provide against old age. But there are many in this competitive world of ours who imagine themselves to be free from all possibility of want in the evening of their lives, but who, because of some untoward event, find to their surprise, that even they have to ask for an old-age pension. We find in New South Wales to-day that a very large percentage—all things considered—of those who are receiving pensions, are people who never did a stroke of manual labour in their lives, who were never artisans, but who occupied positions which one would have imagined would have preserved them against the possibility of having to come on the State in their old age. I say again that there is nothing peculiar to labouring people in this old-age pensions proposal. Then we have the nationalization of monopolies. I cannot see that the workers have any more to gain in that respect than have the rest of the community. That is to say, those who are ordinarily looked upon as the labouring class have no greater interest than the rest of the community have in nationalizing monopolies.

Mr. HIGGINS.—Than those who retail tobacco, for instance.

Mr. WATSON.—Those who retail tobacco to-day are suffering from the operations of a monopolistic combine. They are suffering worse than the ordinary man in the street, because so far the combination has confined its kind attentions to the retailer. It has got rid of a number of commercial travellers, and it has raised the price of tobacco to the retailer, who has to be content with a smaller profit; and in some cases the combination has cut him down to such an extent that there is not anything approaching a livelihood in the distribution of the product.

Mr. KELLY.—If the honorable member is so certain of these facts, why refer the question of establishing a Government tobacco monopoly to a Royal Commission?

Mr. WATSON.—The fact that I am certain, and require no further convincing, does not preclude an element of doubt in the minds of some other people. I am so certain of the strength of my position that I am prepared to allow it to rest on the investigations of such a body as the honorable member has mentioned.

Mr. SALMON.—Is the honorable member sure with regard to the raising of the price?

Mr. WATSON.—Yes, quite sure. The price has been raised to the retailer. There is no doubt at all. Next, we have the proposal for a citizen defence force. Every member of the community has an equal interest in the defence of Australia, but, so far as property is concerned, the class whom we are so persistently alleged to represent peculiarly, have no particular interest in the defence of the country. Those who have most to lose do not, generally speaking, belong to what are ordinarily known as the labouring classes. So that I contend that in seeking for an efficient defence for Australia, and in demonstrating—as the Labour Party did during the last Parliament time and again—that we were prepared to vote any reasonable sum for expenditure on armaments and munitions of war, we were taking an action which was not in the interests of the section of a class that we are alleged to represent, but in the interests of the whole people of Australia. Another plank in our platform is that of the restriction of public borrowing. Can it be said that that is an evidence of anxiety to push the interests of a class? Who would gain most from the expenditure of borrowed money? If we were inclined to be extravagant, and to overlook the interests of the community as a whole, what would be more popular than to engage in an extravagant expenditure of money that is easily got, and which it would remain for "the other person" to repay? Surely it is a patriotic object on the part of the Labour Party to seek to educate the ordinary worker outside to have some regard, not only for his own interests, but for the interests of those who follow us, who would otherwise be asked to pay more than their fair share, as has been the case in connexion with the borrowing policy on which the States have been engaged. I contend that that policy is of a most patriotic character, and that no allegation of class consideration will lie against us in regard to it. I do not wish to enter at length into other points, but I may remark that the Navigation Bill also is of interest to all Australia. The suggested Commonwealth bank of deposit and issue cannot be said to be of interest to the class of manual labourers only.

Mr. HUME COOK.—Who have nothing to deposit.

Mr. WATSON.—Who certainly have no large sums to deposit, and have no particular concern as to what the rate of interest is. Again, the proposal to establish a life and fire assurance department is really of interest to all sections of the community. There is no particular reference to workmen as apart from other sections of the community in the proposal to simplify and cheapen the patent law. In short, I contend, in regard to the programme of the Federal Labour Party, and equally in regard to the programmes of the Labour Parties of the States, that I have shown sufficient to prove that no object purely sectional can be urged in respect of them. The proposals of the State Labour Party of New South Wales include measures—and include only those measures—that are for the interest of the whole community directly or indirectly. And so I hurl back the accusation at those gentlemen who accuse us of being here to represent class interests, and say that it is not the Labour Party that supports class interests but those gentlemen who are determined to uphold the existing order of things where class interests have already acquired a supremacy with which it is not desired, by some, at any rate, that we should interfere. Another question of difference between the present Government and ourselves is as to what we are told is Socialism.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—Everything is Socialism now-a-days.

Mr. WATSON.—Everything that is proposed by the "other fellow" is Socialism. Everything that will benefit the "other fellow" is Socialism. But when a proposal is brought forward that will benefit, at the expense of the State, or with the assistance of the State, the farmers, for instance, who are so ably represented by the Minister of Trade and Customs, then we hear nothing of this cry about Socialism. The Prime Minister made a declaration about Socialism which, so far as I have been able to glean, is rather cryptic. He stated the other evening, in the House—

I place side by side with the ideal of using to the furthest extent the national power to promote the national good, the ideal of leaving every human being in a free country as free in the exercise of his individual rights and in the carrying on of his individual enterprise, as is consistent with the legitimate use of the national power for national ends.

What does it mean? There is not one member of the Labour Party who cannot subscribe to that proposition. Every one of us

believes in allowing as much liberty to the individual as is consistent with the conservation of national ends. Not one iota do we differ from the general proposition that the right honorable gentleman puts forward. But he appears to have gone a great deal further in the statement he has been putting before the country—before, for instance, the farmers at Kyneton. There he declared an anti-socialistic crusade—that was to be the mission in life to which he would devote himself. The right honorable gentleman has been distinguished by a steady adhesion to the principles of free-trade for many years; and, finding that those principles are not exactly in popular favour at the present time, he now proposes to devote the rest of his political career to fighting Socialism. It would be interesting to know just where the limitations are in respect of his policy. When will the national ends refuse to be served? How soon will he draw the line between the interests of the nation and individual freedom of action? It is a truism that it should hardly be necessary to repeat that every form and attribute of government is an interference in some degree with the liberty of the individual. We cannot have government at all without impinging in some manner on the right of an individual to do as he likes. And, therefore, it is idle to talk about the "liberty of the subject"—about the desirability of allowing free play to the individualistic enterprise of each person. We know exactly where private enterprise will take people if we allow free scope, so far as the law is concerned. We know what advantage private enterprise took of the poor, the needy, the weak, and the young in the older land of England one hundred years ago or more. We know what advantage private enterprise is taking in the Southern States of America of the children in factories where there is no factory legislation. We know what private enterprise has accomplished in the way of sweating in this fair city of Melbourne, and the neighbouring city of Sydney, within the last few years, when there was freedom from any interference with the right of the individual to conduct his enterprise in his own way. It is absolutely essential that we should curb the greedy disposition which seems to come to so many of us. I do not say that any of us are so free from the possibility of falling into temptation that it would be safe to allow us to go without some curb or

some direction on behalf of the community as to what our conduct in life is to be. It is utter moonshine to talk about allowing freedom to the individualistic enterprise of the people. As I have said, it is rather interesting to attempt to ascertain exactly what the propositions of the right honorable gentleman are in this regard.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The honorable member for Bland keeps explaining what those proposals are.

Mr. WATSON.—I do not pretend to do that—it is beyond my power. I am not sufficient of a seer to accomplish anything of that description. But we had a statement from the honorable member for Echuca which seems to explain the proposal. I was commenting last Thursday week on this aspect of affairs, and the honorable member for Echuca then stated that, in regard to the Prime Minister's speech at Kyneton, "the farmers knew what he meant." What did the Prime Minister mean? Is there some esoteric interpretation that is known only to the initiated? And, if so, what is that interpretation? Is it proposed by the right honorable gentleman, as indicated by the Postmaster-General the other day at Numurkah, that socialistic concessions are to be made to one class of the community only? Is that the proposal that is coming from the present Government? Are they to resist sternly every idea of the extension of socialistic enterprise—every idea of expanding the functions of government—except when the proposal is in the interests of the farmers or some other particular section of the community? The farmers at Kyneton, we are told, understood what the Prime Minister meant? Did they understand that the right honorable gentleman would offer no opposition to the socialistic proposals which were being put before the country at that particular conference?

Mr. HIGGINS.—The Prime Minister has said that he himself has no fault to find with the theory of Socialism.

Mr. REID.—I am afraid the legal interpretation of my actual words by the honorable and learned member is not quite correct.

Mr. HIGGINS.—I can give chapter and verse.

Mr. WATSON.—At Kyneton, where the Prime Minister spoke so eloquently about the evils of Socialism, we find the farmers in conference passing a resolution to form a political organization. Political

organizations seem to be duplicating themselves everywhere. The farmers founded one at Kyneton, and the ex-Prime Minister, the honorable and learned member for Ballarat, formed another at the latter place, and I dare say that, as a result of the coalition, it will be necessary to found yet another in order to give expression to the aims of this two-party Government. But at the Kyneton conference, the farmers not only decided to form an organization—called, I think, the Farmers and Producers' League—but declared that its main feature in all cases should be its opposition to socialistic candidates. Then, having done that much, they proceeded to ask the State Government for a Manure Protection Bill, so that private enterprise might not rob them, or be allowed to rob them, as they allege they have been robbed in the past. The conference also asked for reduced grain freights, and for wire netting on deferred payment. If the farmers do not believe in Socialism, why should they not provide their own wire netting? If every man is to stand on his own feet and rely on his own enterprise—if we are not to be "coddled by a paternal Government"—why do not the farmers find their own wire netting? The Kyneton conference also asked for a bonus on foxes' scalps, starving stock rates, cold storage for produce, agricultural colleges, grants for shows, the opening of new markets for fruits, lessons in tobacco manufacture, and an extension of the *Crédit Foncier* system of loans. And later there was a deputation from the same gentlemen, who asked Mr. Bent to find £1,000—

Mr. MAUGER.—Under another name.

Mr. WATSON.—That is so. They asked Mr. Bent for £1,000 to be devoted to the finding of new markets for compressed hay. Those are all proposals with which, so far as I am personally concerned, I heartily agree. I believe that producers in Australia have a hard row to hoe. We are such a distance from the markets of the world that it is wise to give every encouragement possible, so far as the central powers of the Government are concerned, in order that producers may successfully occupy the land. I have assisted in New South Wales men like the Prime Minister, the Postmaster-General, the honorable member for Parramatta, and the honorable member for Hume, to provide facilities for the producing population at the

expense, and under the control of the State. But it comes with a very peculiar grace from those who are continually crying for State Socialism in the form of Government assistance to enter upon a campaign of anti-Socialism. I ask the Minister of Trade and Customs whether his anti-socialistic ideas carry him to the extent of refusing to establish agencies for the disposal of agricultural products abroad?

Mr. HIGGINS.—Or the growth of beet-root here.

Mr. WATSON.—Or to encourage the growth of beet-root here, as has just been suggested? I ask whether the honorable gentleman is prepared to refuse all requests for Government assistance of this kind as purely socialistic, or whether he proposes to extend socialistic help to one class only? That is the position I put before the present Ministry, and the Minister of Trade and Customs in particular. In my own opinion a great deal of what is said to-day about Socialism is quite beside the mark. Modern industrial conditions, as has been pointed out frequently, inevitably tend towards monopoly. The power of capital was never greater, as such, than it is to-day, and in every country in the world we find statesmen agreeing that there must be some curb put upon the power that capital is wielding. Everywhere that feeling is finding expression in legislation of one kind and another. While that is so, while in America we have anti-trust legislation—which is partially successful, but in regard to which it may be found necessary even there to go much further—and while in other parts of the world also we find just the same complaint being made about the power of combined capital and its effect, not only upon the smaller capitalists, but upon the general community—when we see that condition of affairs existing, it is idle to seek to frighten the people by raising the bogey of Socialism. We were told the other evening by the Prime Minister that the Labour Party were sharpening wedges to be driven right into the heart of human and industrial liberty. Well, we have been at that game in Australia for very many years, if the people would only recognise what they have been doing. Long before the Labour Party came into existence, and before there was any suggestion of a Labour Party, there were wise men in the land who found it necessary to prevent private enterprise from securing control of those great national sources of wealth which

might be converted into monopolies against the interests of the people. We had, years ago, I am glad to say, men of sufficient prescience to realize that our railways should not be handed over to private enterprise. We had men like the honorable and learned member for Ballarat, who saw that, so far as his own Colony was concerned, at any rate, the great natural water resources were not handed over to private individuals. I honour the honorable and learned gentleman, and shall continue to do so if he has nothing else to his credit but the one fact that he so roused the people of Victoria that they conserved these facilities for the use of the people generally. Even if advantage were not taken of his legislation immediately upon strict business principles, the great fact is there that Victoria has shown the lead in socialistic enterprise so far as water conservation is concerned in Australia.

Mr. HUME COOK.—It is a pity the Melbourne tram system is not in the same category.

Mr. WATSON.—It is indeed, and not merely for the sake of the labouring men who work the trams, but for the sake of citizens of Melbourne who cannot afford a threepenny ride, and are, in consequence, compelled to walk—

Mr. HUME COOK.—Compare the Melbourne system with that in operation in Sydney.

Mr. WATSON.—People in the neighbouring city are enabled for one-third of the price to travel, in many instances, quite as far as they travel in Melbourne for three-pence. We are told by an organizer of the Employers' Union—the body now standing behind the present Government with all its power and force—that the success of the trams in Sydney or Glasgow when owned on behalf of the people cannot be taken as a criterion, because, as he said, there is no competition. I ask what competition is there in Melbourne, where a private syndicate controls the tram system? There is no competition here, and yet the people do not benefit as the result. It is worthy of remark that the trams in Sydney, notwithstanding the fact that they are carrying a huge amount of dead capital owing to the transfer from steam to electric traction, during last year paid more than the interest and other charges, and, in addition to that, carried the population of the city many times over at an average rate of about $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per mile.

Mr. HUME COOK.—I wonder how much the Melbourne tram system pays?

Mr. WATSON.—We have no means of ascertaining accurately what the Melbourne trams pay, but it is certain that they do not afford the same measure of convenience to the people at the same cost that is afforded by the tram system in operation in Sydney. So far as the complaint about Socialism is concerned, it seems to me that the proper policy for the people of Australia is to weigh fairly and honestly every proposal to extend the benefits of government.

Mr. MAUGER.—Hear, hear; to consider it on its merits.

Mr. WATSON.—On its merits. If proposals are clearly laid down first as to the necessity for governmental action, and if that is conceded, then every care should be taken to put the management of the Government, municipal or other socialistic works on such a basis as will reasonably insure their working in the interests of the community at large. I am free to confess that if I had to choose between having a Government institution worked under a system of political patronage, where every Member of Parliament would be free to use his influence in the direction of having concessions made to himself or his friends—if I had to choose between that form of government or municipal enterprise and private enterprise, I should quickly choose private enterprise. Unless we have a patriotic determination on the part of Parliament to provide proper safeguards for the management of these concerns, to conduct them on business principles, so far as is consistent with a due regard for the interests of those employed—applying humanitarian principles, we shall not be justified in extending the sphere of governmental interference. But I say that, with these safeguards, and assuming, as we have a right to assume, that the people of Australia will continue to send into Parliament men who are honest, patriotic, and desirous of forwarding the interests of the people as a whole, we have nothing to fear as the result of this governmental interference. What is the contrary position? That we are to pursue a policy of stagnation or of retrogression. That is to say, we must be prepared to extend only a callous hearing to those who come to us and complain of the conditions in which they have to live. If we take up the attitude of the cold-blooded Spencerian doctrinaire, that we

should have regard only to the survival of the fittest, that every person must battle for himself in the struggle of life, and that no effort is to be put forward, so far as Government is concerned, to save the weak from the power of the strong, then indeed the state of things cannot be other than one of hopelessness and despair, so far as the great bulk of the population is concerned. I ask what there is to-day before the ordinary labouring man in Australia, though perhaps he is better off here than in many other parts of the world? It is true that occasionally the newspapers will mention the fact that one or other individual has managed after great efforts to emerge from the ruck, and he is pointed to as an example of what is possible for all others. They say: "Brown, Jones, or Robinson has succeeded; why not others?" But very often when the individual succeeds, he does so at the expense of others, so that the blood and tears of the many have contributed to the success of the few. But even if that were not the result of the success of those individuals who have managed to struggle through, it is evident that all cannot be successful under the conditions which now obtain. Yet, unless we hold out to our people some hope for the future, unless we instil into them the belief that there is inherent in the power of Governments the possibility to achieve something for them and to lighten their load in some measure, they, instead of advancing, will go back, because nothing so much tends to lower a man's self-respect and to lessen his struggles for advancement as does hopelessness. What is there of hope in the declaration that we must resist, as the Prime Minister has said, every attempt to extend Socialism in the shape of governmental interference? I can understand that the honorable and learned members for Parkes and Wannon, and one or two other honorable members of the same way of thinking, should take up that position because it is the logical outcome of the doctrines which they hold. They believe that it is better to let the weakest fail or go to the wall, because those who survive will be better than those who have gone before, and the net result will be an improved race; that, even though evil may ensue in the meantime, the end justifies the means. Those views are, I think, out of harmony with the doctrines which a Christian nation should hold. It is out of place in a country like Australia to say that the Government should stand idly

by and allow those who have the power to use every opportunity for self-advancement, regardless of the interests of their fellows. That, to my mind, is a doctrine which will not be approved by the people of Australia, if they are asked to express an opinion upon it. While the members of the Opposition differ on some points, we are in agreement upon the general principle that it is our duty, when we see that the power of the State can be used beneficially, efficiently, and safely, to so use it. I contend that that principle can be applied in all the avenues of public affairs; and it will be the guiding principle of those who sit on this side of the Chamber in regard to all matters that come up for public decision. The question is not whether, from the stand-point of the doctrine, we should interfere, but how far, when interference has been proved necessary in the interests of the great mass of the community, we can safely go. We, therefore, accept the challenge which the right honorable gentleman has put forward. He stands to-day for those who believe in marking time, and for those who believe in going back; for stagnation, and for retrogression. In respect to the principle of governmental interference, he stands for marking time; in respect to the past legislation of this Parliament, he stands for retrogression, because he has informed us that it is his intention, so soon as he shall have the power, to take steps to repeal some of the provisions which are so obnoxious to him.

Mr. McDONALD.—That is not in the programme of the Government.

Mr. WATSON.—No, but that is the intention declared by the right honorable gentleman on the hustings, and the announcement was supplemented by a statement to the same effect made in this Chamber last week. Therefore, there is a clear-cut issue between the present Government and those in Opposition, quite apart from the immediate programme which has been put forward. The question is not whether the Papuan Bill, the Trade Marks Bill, or an amending Electoral Bill should be carried, nor is it whether honorable gentlemen opposite, for whom personally I have the highest respect, shall continue to occupy the Treasury Benches. It is whether the people of Australia sympathize with the declaration of policy which has been made by the Government, whether they are prepared to go back upon that which

their representatives in Parliament have done, and whether they are prepared to indorse the idea that private enterprise should be allowed full sway, and that interference on behalf of the community as a whole should be refused. I believe that the people are opposed to that idea, and that they will on a future occasion declare themselves to be opposed to it. That being so, I think it is my duty, in common with other honorable members who sit on this side of the Chamber, to try to ascertain whether the Government represent the majority of the House. I have been moved to my present action primarily by the considerations which I have put forward; but, in addition, by the desire to clear the political atmosphere, to make sure of how honorable members stand. I feel that the Prime Minister has no right to complain of a straightforward, open attack of this character, against which he has an opportunity to defend himself, the people being asked in the last resort to judge between the two parties.

Mr. REID (East Sydney—Minister of External Affairs).—I do not at all question the right of honorable gentlemen sitting opposite to table the motion which the leader of the Opposition has just moved; but there is a marked difference between the motion involving the existence of the then Government which I moved some three years ago, and that which the leader of the Opposition has just moved. On the occasion to which I refer, I stated, in my motion, the grounds of principle upon which I asked the House to censure the then Administration; but my honorable friend has taken a different course. He has made a speech which amounts to the raising of an issue of vast national importance somewhere else. His closing sentences could have no meaning at all if applied to the position of honorable members who are now sitting in this Chamber. They point to a decision upon vital matters of national importance, which cannot be made by us. Although the honorable gentleman has framed his motion as if this were a mere domestic squabble between the "ins" and the "outs," he might well have framed it in such a way as to bring to the service of this party fight the declaration of some large principles, in respect to which the two sides of the House are at issue. We find it necessary, however, to interpret the motion by the way in which it has been supported. The leader of the Opposition has no serious fault to find with our proposed procedure for the present session.

But he complains that the Ministry which has just come into office is not sufficiently foolhardy to regard itself as fit to work out a deliberate matured policy for a session which cannot possibly begin for the next six or eight months. We are not heaven-born statesmen like those gentlemen who recently sat on these benches. We have had sufficient experience to know that whilst it is easy to make speeches in this House, especially from the other side, the position is different when one assumes vast responsibilities, and when the welfare of a great Commonwealth is intrusted to a Ministry, with reference to its policy. I think I can claim that I am supported in this Ministry by men of experience who have held high positions in the Governments of the States, who are men of affairs, and who know the difficulties of such a position; and we have had too much sense to profess to introduce, out of season, and six months before the time, anything like a declaration of policy upon large measures of national concern. Surely it is not a ground of censure that we do not come down now with the policy which we shall have to submit to Parliament, if Parliament continues to exist, somewhere about the middle of next year. My honorable friend the leader of the Opposition did pursue that course in a mild way.

Mr. POYNTON. — The right honorable gentleman asked him to do so.

Mr. REID.—Surely my innocent friend, the honorable member for Grey, does not consider that because I ask a Minister to do anything, he need do it? The leader of the Opposition is not a puppet. I do not pull him with a string. If I allowed my honorable friends to pull me with a string, it would not be quite so well for me.

Mr. POYNTON. — The right honorable gentleman could not pull the leader of the Opposition with a string.

Mr. REID.—I am glad to have the certificate of the honorable member. I am merely alluding to important facts. I presume that the leader of the Opposition spoke as the result of studied intention. I am sure that my honorable friend did not make that announcement with regard to the tobacco monopoly and the banks' reserves because I asked him to do so.

Mr. POYNTON.—He made the announcement because he was not ashamed to state his intentions.

Mr. REID.—My honorable friend said something else just now. He said that I

had asked the leader of the Opposition to make that announcement. My honorable friend, the leader of the Opposition, did project himself into the future with reference to some measures for a future session.

Mr. WATSON.—Even then we were told that our programme was a crawling one.

Mr. REID.—I suppose we all have to hear a number of epithets. We all have to put up with them. Probably no man in Australia has had to go to bed with more epithets than I have, but I have never grumbled. I never meet honorable members with a scowl merely because I know them to be utterly wrong. I wish to say on the present occasion that, whilst in my opinion the leader of the Opposition may justify projecting his mind forward to a distant session—so far as the practical business of Parliament is concerned, the House wants to know what it has to do during the session it is in, and wants to know that clearly. It likes to leave Ministers—especially those who have just come into office—some reasonable time for consultation and investigation before they commit themselves to definite measures of large importance. Our policy was to close this session with all reasonable expedition after certain work had been done. I hope that honorable members will recollect the simple fact that we did not come into office as soon as we should have done. I ought to have been here years ago; but, as a matter of fact, the present Ministry has just come into existence. As another matter of fact, the session was six months' old when it came into existence, and, as a further matter of fact, we all hope, apart from party fights, to adjourn at a reasonable time before the end of the year, as the House has always endeavoured to do. Therefore, honorable members will see that to talk of the Ministry elaborating, within two or three months, a great national policy, which is to be announced nine months hence, is to make a demand of the kind that is only urged by a leader of the Opposition when moving a vote of censure. There was a singular omission from the statement made by the leader of the Opposition. We have heard nothing from him about the alliance—not a single word about the gigantic mountain which has brought forth two mice.

Mr. WATSON.—We shall tell the right honorable gentleman all about that.

Mr. REID.—No doubt; but does not my honorable friend think that when he enters into an alliance with bodies of public men who have the fate of the Common-

wealth in their hands, this House should be the medium through which the public are made acquainted with the arrangements of the alliance?

Mr. WEBSTER.—Did the right honorable gentleman do that in respect of the coalition?

Mr. REID.—I did everything in the most public way.

Mr. WATSON.—So did we.

Mr. REID.—May I suggest to my honorable friend that there was no coalition; that there was a memorandum drawn up by my friend the honorable and learned member for Ballarat and myself—

Mr. HIGGINS.—And agreed to.

Mr. REID.—Will the honorable and learned member listen? That memorandum was submitted to the two parties, who did not agree to it. Surely, in the stress of this vote of censure motion we are not going to emasculate our memories. Surely I am not called upon to inform my honorable and learned friend of accurate judgment that, as a matter of fact, the party led by the honorable and learned member for Ballarat did not accept that proposal.

Mr. HIGGINS.—But the right honorable gentleman agreed to it.

Mr. REID.—I am glad I am making my honorable friends lively. It was quite beyond the efforts of the leader of the Opposition to stir up honorable members on this side of the House. I hope, however, that the clamour which sometimes prevails in public meetings will not characterize our proceedings.

Mr. MAUGER.—Would not that help the right honorable gentleman?

Mr. REID.—Not if it assumed the form of unseemly noise. The basis upon which the alliance was proposed was set down in black and white, and published in all the newspapers, but that alliance was never consummated. There was neither an alliance nor a coalition, because one party refused to join on the basis suggested. Nothing came of that proposal. In the meantime the late Ministry deliberately dug a pit for themselves, and buried themselves.

Mr. WEBSTER.—And the right honorable gentleman knocked them on the head.

Mr. REID.—I do not mind a certain amount of interruption, but when I am just beginning a sentence I do not wish to be interfered with. I have a great deal to say on the present occasion, and I would remind honorable members opposite that the leader of the Opposition was not greatly interrupted when he was speaking.

Mr. WEBSTER.—He never gave cause.

Mr. REID.—Is this a hall for free discussion? Must I speak with bated breath here, before the representatives of the only real democracy? Now, the leader of the Opposition, when he sat in the more serene position which he occupied in the Opposition corner, said that there had been a great deal of talk about alliances. Of course, to the honorable member, at that time, alliances were *anathema maranatha*. He was at the head of a solid party which was steadily marching, within its own highly disciplined ranks, to dominate the policy of Australia. The honorable member never thought then that he would have to embrace the honorable and learned member for Indi. When I heard my honorable friend's discreet and studied utterances this afternoon I could not help remembering—with a slight alteration—the language of old Abraham—

The voice was the voice of Esau.

HONORABLE MEMBERS.—Oh, oh!

Mr. REID.—I announced, Mr. Speaker, that I intended to alter the quotation—

But the hands were the hands of Isaac.

The leader of the Opposition said, "There has been a good deal of talk about alliances, but we"—that is the solid party—"have no serious intentions of our own until we have a majority who subscribe to our platform." Have these gentlemen subscribed to the platform? If so, it has been done in the Parliamentary vaults.

Mr. WATSON.—From where did the right honorable member obtain that quotation?

Mr. REID.—I am speaking from memory, but it is contained in the speech which the honorable member delivered upon the Address-in-Reply, at the opening of this House.

Mr. WATSON.—Years have elapsed since then.

Mr. REID.—I know that very much has happened. It is a new Mr. Watson that we have now. When the honorable member for Bland was the leader of the elect, with no strangers admitted, he practically affirmed that until the Labour Party had a majority of members who would subscribe to its platform, it did not hope to exercise any position of authority in this House. Now, I ask, "Has that subscription been made?" Have those honorable and industrious gentlemen really got an alliance at all. Because I accept the declarations made by duly admitted members of the Labour

Party. I know that no member of that party, when he refers to the proceedings of the caucus, speaks wide of the truth. There is no member of the Labour Party in whose accuracy I have more sublime confidence than in that of the honorable member for Perth. He is a genuine member of the Labour Party—a man who has stood his ground against every opponent in a fair and honorable way—and this is what he is reported to have said at a “Pleasant Sunday Afternoon” meeting which was held on Sunday last—

Where was the necessity or advantage of an alliance? He, for one, would never indorse any attempt of that kind.

Mr. FOWLER.—That is correct.

Mr. REID.—The leader of the Opposition has not got a majority now. His majority has gone.

Mr. SPENCE. — The honorable member for Perth cannot be “trapped” in that way.

Mr. REID.—My honorable friend will do what he deems to be right, and I do not care which way he votes, because he will still inspire my respect.

Mr. SPENCE. — Let us be thankful for small mercies.

Mr. REID.—The honorable member for Perth is not a small mercy, and the Labour Party ought to be proud of him. Continuing, the honorable member is reported to have said—

The labour movement was liberal enough for any one wishing to associate with it, and, so far from there being any advantages in an alliance, there were very grave disadvantages. Was it not a tendency on the part of many supporters of the movement to be enticed away by some red herring across the trail?

Does that refer to the honorable and learned member for Indi?

It might be protection, or it might be free-trade. The so-called alliance never had any vitality, and was doomed from the outset to disruption.

What an unhappy pair of political twins. This is a pronouncement by one who has been in the nursery.

Mr. SPENCE.—That applies to the Ministerial coalition.

Mr. REID. — If I were quoting the honorable member for Darling he might say that, but I am quoting a gentleman of a different stamp. The report continues—

It was resorted to only as a very temporary expedient—

That is where I do not come in. What is the temporary expedient of this alliance? It is not a matter of public policy. It

is a sort of uneasy movement on the part of my honorable friends opposite, for which I have no word of censure, because every man has a right to better himself.

Mr. WATSON.—That is worthy of the right honorable gentleman.

Mr. REID.—Surely political ambition is not a thing of which we ought to be ashamed?

Mr. WATSON. — The right honorable member insinuated more than that.

Mr. REID.—My honorable friend does me an injustice when he says so. Surely political ambition is not a dishonorable thing. I have never been ashamed to avow it myself. I have been criticised because I did so, but I despise such criticism. A man in public life who has no ambition has no right to be there.

Mr. HUGHES. — There can be such a thing as dishonorable ambition.

Mr. REID.—I am not attributing that sort of ambition to honorable members opposite. The honorable member for Perth continued—

It was resorted to only as a very temporary expedient, but there were always within the ranks of the party those who regarded it as contrary to the principles of the labour movement.

Have we not always been told that office as compared with the principles of the labour movement was as dust? Could we deflect these pure unselfish patriots from the path of loyalty to the labour movement for the sake of a vote upon a motion of censure? Never! But the voice from within has been heard at last. Hitherto we have been unable to learn what the caucus really did, but we have always been told what it did not do. Whenever anybody made a statement as to what was done at the caucus meetings of the Labour Party, we were always assured that nothing of the kind ever occurred. Nobody has ever told us what did occur. Now, however, we have a gleam of daylight.

Mr. CROUCH.—It must be interesting to the right honorable member to know that principles exist.

Mr. REID.—Continuing, the honorable member for Perth is reported to have said—

Those members felt it was unnecessary and objectionable, and their ideas had at least received the assent of a majority of their colleagues.

Mr. FOWLER.—That is incorrectly reported.

Mr. REID.—I wanted my honorable friend to follow the quotation. Does he repudiate any other portion of it?

Mr. FOWLER.—I do not.

Mr. REID.—That is a straightforward statement. Now we can understand why the alliance has not been talked about.

Mr. WATSON.—It will be loyally adhered to.

Mr. REID.—If the masters of the Labour Party in this Parliament will allow it to be adhered to. I should like to refer to the language of the overtures which were made to the honorable and learned member for Ballarat. We have a letter in the handwriting of the honorable member for Bland dealing with the subject, and I hope that the honorable member for Grey will agree that it is correct.

Mr. WATSON.—I hope that the Prime Minister can decipher the letter.

Mr. REID.—It is in print. In the later alliance, which does not seem to have a very healthy existence—

Mr. GROOM.—Does the Prime Minister—

Mr. REID.—The honorable and learned member is all right. After some years he is at last beginning to see daylight. I wish to quote certain remarks made in a letter written to the honorable and learned member for Ballarat by the present leader of the Opposition. The Labour Party, which pursued its lonely course above the mere adventitious transitions of ordinary politicians who form alliances, has suddenly developed, so far as politics go, a most amorous condition. There was an approach to the honorable and learned member for Ballarat—

Mr. WATSON.—At his invitation.

Mr. DEAKIN.—Hear, hear.

Mr. REID.—I will take it as the honorable member pleases. There was an approach; but, although the young lady was willing, it did not come off, and now my honorable friend, the leader of the Opposition, finding no one else whom he can embrace, cultivates the melancholy personality of the honorable and learned member for Indi. Instead of this new alliance being greeted with delight by the whole family, there seems to be all the elements of a first class family quarrel.

Mr. WATSON.—Not at all.

Mr. REID.—My honorable friend is all right, and so is the honorable and learned member for Indi; but there are other persons who have to some extent to study these matters.

Mr. ISAACS.—Does the Prime Minister feel all right?

Mr. REID. — The honorable and learned member will have an opportunity to speak later on, and, unfortunately, I shall not be able to reply to him. Let me quote one of the proposals contained in the letter written by the present leader of the Opposition to the honorable and learned member for Ballarat—

Members of the joint party to be supported at the elections after the manner usual in all parties during continuance of an alliance.

That suggested something like a free body of men. But something else has since happened. Let us compare that, which sounds perfectly fair and reasonable, with the humble tone of the arrangement made by the new alliance—

Each to use its influence individually and collectively—

This is where the legal intellect comes in! An ordinary member of the Labour Party could not resort to all these legal subtleties of expression, bred of keen suspicion—

with its organizations and supporters, and secure support for and immunity from opposition to members of either party during the currency of the alliance.

The alliance between the Labour Party and the followers of the honorable and learned member for Ballarat was to be free. In that case there was talk of equality, party with party—the usual alliance—and a promise that “we shall give the usual support.” But even that assurance had to be repudiated. The honorable member for Bland, and the party of which he is leader, were to use their influence over their organizations, but that influence has failed.

Mr. WATSON.—No.

Mr. REID.—It has failed in that particular part of Australia that concerns the honorable and learned member for Indi.

Mr. KING O'MALLEY.—It is a “Rock of Ages” cleft for him.

Mr. REID.—Does my honorable friend say that the Political Labour Council of Victoria has not passed a resolution refusing to use its influence in the way referred to?

Mr. WATSON.—No; they say that they will make no promise; but that it rests with the branch leagues and not with the central executive to decide the matter.

Mr. REID.—Exactly; so that my honorable friends have still the blessing of a reprieve. The fate which seemed to look so black is still subject to possible revision, if the principals do not repudiate the bargain made by the agents on their

behalf. I wish to take a somewhat retrospective view, and to show what, in my opinion, makes this alliance—if it be a real alliance—

Mr. MALONEY.—The right honorable member will find out that it is.

Mr. REID.—I desire to criticise it if it be a real alliance; but there are some who evidently do not believe that it is. I wish the House to look back to the history of the situation which has arisen in connexion with one matter which my honorable friends in the Opposition corner profess to be anxious about—a revision of the Tariff, in the way of helping some of the protectionist industries that are said to be in distress. That is the basis of the alliance which my honorable friends in the Opposition corner have put before the country. It is not love of the Labour Party, nor belief in its principles, that has caused them to ally themselves with that party. I do not deny that a large number of their views are in sympathy with those of the party, just as is the case with honorable members on this side.

Mr. WEBSTER.—Not many Government supporters are in sympathy with us.

Mr. REID.—But my honorable friends in the Opposition corner put themselves in the position I have mentioned. It is not ambition; it is not a desire to injure an unfortunate individual who happens to be in the road—it is not anything of that sort that has led them to take this step. It is a great public necessity. There are protectionist industries in distress, they say, and in order to rescue them they have formed this alliance. Have honorable members of the Labour Party, who, I may say, all their lives long have stood loyally by the cause of free-trade, agreed to this compact?

Mr. WEBSTER.—The right honorable gentleman has left them in the lurch.

Mr. REID.—I ask that question, and I think that I am entitled to do so.

Mr. HUGHES.—Oh!

Mr. REID.—The honorable and learned member for West Sydney came to me before the last general election, and I took advantage of our meeting to put some questions to him on a subject which I had to consider prior to the election taking place. I then asked him, as I was fairly entitled, in a humble way, to do, a certain question. Whatever the support of the Free-trade Party may be worth, we have always given it to the honorable and learned member in his candidature for West Sydney.

Mr. HUGHES.—The Prime Minister knows that he opposed me tooth and nail at the first election at which I stood; but that I was returned in spite of that opposition.

Mr. REID.—I did not know the honorable and learned member at that time.

Mr. HUGHES.—But I was returned.

Mr. REID.—The honorable and learned member was then a perfect stranger to me. How many years ago was this?

Mr. HUGHES.—At the elections held in 1894, when the right honorable member himself was almost unknown.

Mr. REID.—Cannot I bring my honorable and learned friend closer to the facts of to-day than that? Is it necessary now to make, so to speak, a hurried expedition to the North Pole? I asked the honorable and learned member, as I was entitled to ask him, what was his position with reference to the labour pledges, and he gave me a perfectly fair explanation, saying, "I am perfectly free on a vote of censure."

Mr. HUGHES.—Touching the fiscal question.

Mr. REID.—I understood that the honorable and learned member meant that he was perfectly free to vote as he pleased on a motion of censure, whatever it might be.

Mr. HUGHES.—Oh, no!

Mr. REID.—I may have been mistaken—

Mr. HUGHES.—The matter has been frequently explained. I told the right honorable gentleman that I was perfectly free, except in regard to a plank in our platform.

Mr. REID.—I did not know that a vote of censure was a plank in the Labour Party's platform.

Mr. HUGHES.—A vote of censure might involve a plank in the platform.

Mr. REID.—Then the honorable and learned member thinks that the present motion of censure involves a plank in the labour platform?

Mr. HUGHES.—It involves the whole of them.

Mr. REID.—It, perhaps, involves one of the Ministerial planks. The honorable and learned member very fairly gave me the information that, on the fiscal question, he was perfectly free to vote according to his views. The honorable member for Canobolas was in the same position. I am not putting it that these honorable members ever asked us for our support; but I say that they did run, on the fiscal question under the colours of the free-traders of New South Wales.

Mr. WILKS.—They did not refuse that support.

Mr. HUGHES.—The statement is not quite accurate, but it is near enough. We could have so run had we wished to do so.

Mr. REID.—They were bracketed day after day with our candidates, and I never received any complaints on the subject. That is all I will say. The honorable member for Canobolas was returned unopposed. I am not making any imputations. I feel sure that there is not one free-trader in the Labour Party who has sold himself on the Tariff revision question to the honorable gentlemen in the corner. That is all I say.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—That is funny!

Mr. REID.—It is not a bit funny. If honorable members opposite had sold themselves—I do not believe it; I will not believe it for a moment—it would not be funny at all. Now, Mr. Speaker, I am only mentioning that in order to come back to what I consider an outrageous attempt to violate public faith. I say it is an outrageous attempt.

Mr. POYNTON.—Say that again!

Mr. REID.—I do not think it is necessary; I am going to prove it. I think it is a matter that concerns the public far more than the question who is to hold office. If people are to be allowed to betray their promises to their electors the electors had better know it. I suppose that the policy of the Deakin party may fairly be quoted from the lips of the then Prime Minister, the honorable and learned member for Ballarat. In the opening speech of his campaign, the honorable and learned member described my attitude by saying that I had greatly come down in my demands. He said that I had asked for a mild Tariff revision, and that "it was only a little one." Then my honorable and learned friend went on to say that he knew that industries were being injured by the Tariff. So that this is no new discovery which has just been made. It is nothing new. The then Prime Minister said—

Some industries have been destroyed by this Tariff; some others have been injured, and many have not been assisted.

So that the then Prime Minister went before the people of Australia, telling them, "We do not like this Tariff; it has destroyed some industries; it has injured others; it has not assisted some others; but, nevertheless, I say that the policy which I put before the people"—

Mr. MAUGER.—He had not the faintest idea of the extent of the injury.

Mr. REID.—May I read what the honorable and learned member for Ballarat said before the election? He said—

The clean cut issue, then, in the contest now to be commenced, lies between those who hold with us that what we need is time to adjust ourselves to our new conditions without another Tariff campaign in Parliament.

What is the Opposition corner trying to bring about? A new Tariff campaign in this Parliament. In the debate on the Address-in-Reply, the three leaders of the House declared the verdict recorded by the electors of Australia, in the following words:—

Mr. DEAKIN.—The fiscal issue is dead and buried during this Parliament, at all events.

Mr. REID.—I recognise that that is the verdict of the constituencies.

Mr. WATSON.—I share the gratification of the Prime Minister that with the last election the issue, as between free-trade and protection, has disappeared for some time to come, at any rate, so far as the Tariff is concerned.

Practically the fiscal issue is dead, at any rate, so far as this Parliament is concerned.

Even Sir William Lyne, in returning thanks at Albury, said—

The fiscal question should never have been raised in this election, because, owing to the stringency of the financial clauses of the Constitution it was impossible to have either protection or free-trade. Whatever party was in power, the only possible Tariff must be very similar to that now in force, and until the expiration of the Braddon clause it was in vain for either party to dream of radical alterations.

I want to go a little further. I have here some quotations from the leading protectionist organ. One was published after the speech to which I have referred. It is contained in a leading article, published on the 30th October, 1903.

Mr. TUDOR.—In what newspaper?

Mr. REID.—In the *Age*.

The first and foremost necessity of the time is a truce on the fiscal question.

The word "truce" is used. It was not recognised some months afterwards.

Mr. MAUGER.—The right honorable member would not recognise it then.

Mr. REID.—I am referring to the attempt made in a certain quarter to deny that they ever used the word "truce."

The first and foremost necessity of the time is a truce on the fiscal question. As long as that struggle goes on it bars the way to any progressive legislation on other national and social questions.

I now give a number of others—

6.11.1903.—The issue is clear enough—Preferential Trade, a White Australia, and Fiscal Peace.

23.11.1903.—This being the position, protectionists are compelled to concentrate all their strength upon the single item of fiscal peace, including the addendum of preferential trade within the Empire.

7.12.1903.—They (the electors) wish either for fiscal peace or for fiscal war again. They would have the present Tariff let alone pending the Imperial preferential proposals, or ripped up again as soon as Parliament meets.

But the issue on which the bulk of the community is divided is fiscal peace or fiscal war.—Mr. Deakin or Mr. Reid.

10.12.1903.—Now, whether we like it or not, we cannot get away from the questions which are at issue—fiscal peace under Mr. Deakin, or fiscal war under Mr. Reid. It all comes down to that in the end.

14.12.1903.—We cannot doubt, from the history of many Victorian elections, that liberal protectionists form the vast majority of the voters of this State. These people all want to see the Tariff battle cease for a few years. They want fiscal peace as proclaimed by the Deakin Government.

16.12.1903.—To-day the electors will return their verdict. They are to-day more truly a jury in their country's cause. For this State, we know beforehand, the overwhelming preponderance of the popular voice is for the Deakin Government and fiscal peace as against Reid and another fiscal war.

18.12.1903.—The net result of the whole polling in all the six States is to leave the strength of the respective parties almost exactly as before, with, perhaps, a gain of one seat to the Government, and a more solid vote than ever for fiscal peace and preferential trade. Indeed, on the one chief point which Mr. Reid insisted on making his battle cry—that of Tariff revision—he is hopelessly beaten.

19.12.1903.—When the new Houses meet, the Opposition will find itself powerless to make an effectual attack on the Tariff. That matter is, therefore, at rest for three years at least.

There can be no longer any doubt about the verdict of the people on this fiscal issue. The new Parliament will contain at least a majority of nine protectionists, and a majority of twenty-nine pledged to fiscal peace.

30.12.1903.—The free-traders, having fought and lost the late election as enemies of fiscal peace, are now putting out feelers for an alliance with the protectionists. . . . It is much more useful to recall to mind the true division of parties as they came from the country on the issues fought there. These are—

Members pledged for fiscal peace	...	51
Members for fiscal war	...	24

75

When Mr. Reid says he does not think the fiscal question can be re-opened, he may be thanked for nothing.

1.1.1904.—For one thing, we have cast off definitely the threats of the free-trade leader that he would force a new struggle over the Tariff.

As to the fiscal question, that will be at rest for a few years at least; and for this respite every one will be thankful.

Reid.

4.1.1904.—The Prime Minister (Mr. Deakin) has just made manifest one of the good results of getting the fiscal question out of the way.

That was published this year! Now I will pass on. We came out of this contest before the electors as representatives of the people. The then Prime Minister, the honorable and learned member for Ballarat, honorably acknowledged the issue that he put to the people, and he was gratified, as he might well be, at the fact that an unmistakable majority had responded to his demand for a fiscal truce, and that there should be no Tariff campaign in the new Parliament. Whilst the honorable and learned member for Ballarat, the then Prime Minister, was making this statement, I interjected "Yes, I must admit that was the decision of the constituencies."

Mr. MAUGER.—That was after the event.

Mr. REID.—Could I be beaten before? That interjection only shows the unhappy position which a Prime Minister is placed in. I am blamed for having said after the election what could not have been said before!

Mr. MAUGER.—What I meant was, that the right honorable gentleman would not accept the truce before.

Mr. REID. — Now, Mr. Speaker, I think that amid all our personal controversies, something is due in the way of information to the great mass of the people outside, in the light of two statements made by the leader of the Opposition—one at the opening of the House after the election, and the other at Wagga Wagga only a month or two ago. I think I am entitled to ask my honorable friend whether he has promised the honorable and learned member for Indi that he will consent to the re-opening of the Tariff in this Parliament in order to make it more protective.

Mr. WATSON.—I am sticking to the alliance programme.

Mr. REID.—There is a fearless public man who always says what he means! He is sticking to a long document drawn up by a clever lawyer! I will read what the document says presently, if my honorable friend will resort to a lawyer's subtleties.

Mr. WATSON.—I will take advantage of my opportunity in reply to say a word or two.

Mr. REID.—I shall not have an opportunity to reply then. The leader of the Opposition before the election, in a speech on 12th November, said—

He would not, under any circumstances, be a party to the disturbance of the fiscal peace now reached.

That was a statement made by the honorable member when he was addressing men whom he asked to vote for him on the faith of his honour as a public man. Are members to write out these promises that they intend to keep, and sign and seal them, so that there may be no mistake as to the promises which they intend to keep, and the promises which they do not? Are not the electors entitled to accept such a statement from any honorable member, especially from a fearless, straightforward member such as my friend has always been? I am absolutely sure that the leader of the Opposition, in making that statement, honestly and honorably meant it; I am not throwing any doubt on that for one moment. When the House met, the leader of the Opposition again spoke, and though I am not quoting his exact words, honorable members will remember that he rejoiced that the fiscal question was dead, for this Parliament at any rate. On the 9th August, not much more than a month ago, the honorable member, as Prime Minister, spoke at the same place, Wagga, where he had given the promise to which I have referred. It is a double promise—a promise made by a man seeking the trust of the electors, and a promise by the Prime Minister of Australia, addressing the men who had trusted him. On that occasion the leader of the Opposition said—

I believe there is no probability of any appeal for the alteration of the Tariff being responded to during this present Parliament.

By the 9th August, we had heard wails of distress from the wailing member for Bourke, who, on a motion for the adjournment of the House, gave us a number of statements about the bad effects of the Tariff. I suppose the Prime Minister had heard that lengthy speech; but, at any rate, if he was not present, he must have heard something about it, and, knowing of those statements from the corner, he went to his electors and said what I have just quoted. Now I come to this compact. The honorable member will not give me, or rather the public, an answer; I am not entitled to an answer, while the public are.

Mr. WATSON.—The public will get an answer.

Mr. REID.—Then I ask the honorable member not to wait too many days, because the public are entitled to the latest information.

Mr. WATSON.—Yes, from those in authority.

Mr. REID.—This compact in writing is what the public have got from the honorable member.

Legislation (including Tariff legislation)—

Mr. GROOM.—Read it all.

Mr. REID.—Do not hurry me too much. The honorable and learned member may have written this paragraph, and is listening with the pride of a parent. The paragraph is as follows:—

14. Legislation (including Tariff legislation), shown to be necessary—

- (1) To develop Australian resources;
- (2) To preserve, encourage, and benefit Australian industries, primary and secondary;
- (3) To secure fair conditions of labour—

and so on. A free-trader can read those words in a free-trade sense just as easily as a protectionist can read them in a protectionist sense.

Mr. MAUGER.—Then why worry over it?

Mr. REID.—I am coming to something more important. I am not worrying; it is the honorable member who will worry before all is over. I am beginning the worry, that is all. Those are words which speak to the ear in a double sense. Free-traders champion low duties, because they believe—they may be wrong, but they honestly believe—that a system of low duties helps to stimulate the great industries of Australia. The protectionist takes an opposite view, and thinks that a high scale of duties is necessary to that end. And, as I have said, a free-trader and a protectionist can read that paragraph as having opposite meanings. This is a clever legal document—strictly legal—but it is not the sort of information the public desire. The public do not wish for legal subtleties in matters affecting their vital interests; they want straightforward declarations. I am not saying that some honorable members have not publicly stated their position, so that there is no doubt where they are. They have made their statements openly to the House and to the country; and I am speaking now in reference to some gentlemen who do not belong to the Protectionist Party, holding altogether a different political faith on the fiscal question. There is the provision later on in the document, that—

Any member of either party may, as to any specific proposals—

- (a) Agree with the members of his own party, and be bound by their joint determination; or
- (b) Decide for himself how far the particular circumstances prove the necessity—

that is to say, the necessity has to be proved to my free-trade friends in the Labour Party—

prove the necessity or the extent to which the proposal should be carried.

Mr. MAUGER.—Hear, hear!

Mr. REID.—If the honorable member is satisfied with that—

Mr. MAUGER.—The right honorable member will be satisfied with the result all right.

Mr. REID.—Has not the leader of the Labour Party distinctly told the honorable and learned member for Indi that that party will never vote for the revision of the Tariff in a protectionist sense? Will the honorable and learned member answer that? Has no free-trade member of the Labour Party told him that he will not vote for any alteration of the Tariff in a protectionist sense?

Mr. ISAACS.—None.

Mr. REID.—Now we are in the position that the honorable and learned member has been led by the free-traders in the Labour Party to believe that they are prepared to destroy their principles. This matter may become the sport of these alliances; but the people outside regard it pretty seriously, because it affects them. I have now the information that the honorable and learned member for Indi, and his friends, have had no sort of communication from the free-trade members of the Labour Party as to their supporting or opposing such an alteration of the Tariff.

Mr. ISAACS.—That is not what the right honorable member asked.

Mr. REID.—Then I ask that question. I want the honorable and learned member to remember that I am not now troubling about protectionist members, with whom I have no concern, and who are entitled to say and do what they like.

Mr. ISAACS.—I shall give the right honorable gentlemen and the country a full statement by and by, but I can say that I understand there will be a loyal adhesion to the terms of the alliance.

Mr. REID.—What is "loyal adhesion" to a rope of sand? What does "loyal adhesion" to that compact matter, when honorable members may believe there is a necessity, or may believe there is no necessity, for an alteration?

Mr. POYNTON.—Why call it a "rope of sand"?

Mr. REID.—I shall tell the honorable member why—because there is the pretence behind this alliance that it is to bring relief to distressed workers in the Melbourne

factories. Surely we need not play with the miseries and distress of the workers in these compacts. Surely, if these compacts achieve the personal end at which they are aimed, there is something behind them as a guarantee that that mischief is going to be dealt with. Will it be dealt with by an agreement like this?

Mr. MAUGER.—We shall see whom the people will trust to deal with it.

Mr. REID.—I want to know whether the honorable and learned member for West Sydney will trust the honorable member for Melbourne Ports to deal with the fiscal question? I think he will probably assert his own individuality in the matter. There is another gentleman who is positive and clear in his enunciation—I allude to the honorable and learned member for Darling Downs. When this Parliament met that honorable and learned member, according to *Hansard*, said—

Another question which has been definitely settled, so far as Queensland is concerned, is that there shall be no alteration of the Tariff.

Here is a trusted representative of the public coming back from his constituents, and placing on the parliamentary records what his commission was, and stating that the decision of Queensland—not of himself, not of his corner—was that "there shall be no alteration of the Tariff." The honorable and learned member further said—

I think the people have declared that it is desirable that until the bookkeeping period has closed we should adhere to the existing Tariff.

That is to say, until 1911. Here we have voices from Victoria, the Prime Minister of the time, of the Melbourne Age, of the late Prime Minister in New South Wales, and in this House, twice repeated, and the voice of the honorable and learned member for Darling Downs, all declaring this public trust and this public decision, and yet the honorable and learned member for Darling Downs now busies himself with a movement which is either a ghastly deception or is a betrayal of the people of Queensland. Now I come to the honorable and learned member for Indi, who was in the happy position of being returned unopposed at the last election. I think that his good fortune in that respect is not likely to happen to him again. But he is very much to be congratulated upon it, because it is a source of honour to any man to be returned by his constituents unopposed.

I cannot quote an election speech of the honorable member's, but he knows what it means to stand by and hear a number of men making public statements as to a fact, without contradicting or correcting them. My honorable and learned friend has been marvellously conscientious and industrious during these four years. If an honorable member ever got up and was guilty of the slightest inaccuracy the honorable and learned member for Indi was swift to correct him.

Mr. ISAACS.—I must correct that inaccuracy.

Mr. REID.—I shall not quarrel over a trifle of that sort, but I wish to say that the honorable and learned member did not get up in this House and say anything contrary to the declarations to which I have referred. I desire to say that while the alleged distresses in the factories were going on, the honorable and learned member for Indi sat on the Ministerial dove-cot like a little dove full of love and good nature. One Government went out and another Government came in, but the little dove was on the dove-cot all the time. Why did not the honorable and learned member tell the late Government, or the preceding Government, about this necessity for Tariff revision? He is not a marionette used by a great daily organ that writes up a number of alarming statements, after which he jumps into the arena. We know he is not that. We know he is not worked in that way. All I say about the honorable and learned member is this—and this will not be denied—that for four years he sat steadily in his place, nearly always accepting all the Government said or did, and that, after that period of time, when some one else has come into office, he is suddenly so active that a soldier ant on a gridiron is lazy compared to the honorable and learned member. All at once that dense, philosophic calm, and that dignified complacency which has made him the admiration even of the galleries, are completely gone. There is no more rest for the honorable and learned member for Indi. Everything this Government even thinks of is wrong. Everything it talks of is wrong; and there is no man in this Chamber to-day who is more full of stratagem, and fire, and fury—still somewhat concealed—than is that calm, philosophical follower of past Ministries. The honorable and learned member has never been accused, even by his bitterest enemies, of an

extravagance of rashness or impulse, and he is probably intent on this Tariff revision which he has put before the public—and I believe he is, I believe that that is his motive, however sudden it is, however mysterious it is, still it is there, though it sprang up in a night—I say that the honorable and learned member who stands before the people of Victoria particularly as a man who has formed an alliance in the interests of Tariff revision, and who cannot tell them that those with whom he is allied are prepared to support him in it, is fooling the people of this State. How do we stand now? I do not think the honorable member for Wilmot is likely to be converted to protectionist doctrines, and I am, therefore, including the honorable member on this point with Ministerialists. We are, therefore, thirty-eight, whilst there are thirty-six on the other side. I presume that my honorable friends opposite, who hold principles absolutely opposed to those of the honorable and learned member for Indi, have not consented to forget them on this question of Tariff revision? There are on the other side, eight honorable members who are, I will not say free-traders, but revenue Tariffists, anti-protectionists, staunch men whom I need not name. They are members of the Labour Party with whom the honorable and learned member for Indi is in alliance, and if only one or two of those eight, or none of them, support him, he can never have his Tariff revision in this Parliament. Is there one honorable member who represents the protectionists under the loyal flag, under the flag raised before the elections—

Mr. MAUGER.—What colour is it?

Mr. REID.—There was no party flag hung up when the chief of protection stood before the people of Victoria.

Mr. MAUGER.—He called the right honorable member and his supporters foreign traders in the same speech.

Mr. REID.—I should like to know from the then Prime Minister, when he addresses the House, if he does, whether one of these gentlemen remonstrated with him on the line of policy he was taking?

Mr. MAUGER.—Did the right honorable gentleman remonstrate with him?

Mr. REID.—If they did they are free. But I say that if any man allows his leader to make a manifesto to the people of Australia, and does not contradict what he says, as to what his course is going to be, he leaves himself in a false position to

say the least of it. I wish to refer to this aspect of the question for another reason. Honorable members have heard the derisive cheers when I spoke of betraying a cause. These honorable members who sit so quietly opposite in fiscal peace with protectionists—the honorable member for Wide Bay for example—

Mr. FISHER.—What about him?

Mr. REID.—I say the honorable gentleman was sitting in a Ministry with four protectionists, and did any one accuse him of betraying his fiscal creed?

Mr. FISHER.—I never in my life declared a fiscal creed to be greater than the labour movement.

Mr. REID.—Then I leave the honorable gentleman out. The honorable and learned member for West Sydney also took his seat in a Ministry with four protectionists, and did any one ever accuse him of betraying his fiscal faith?

Mr. HUGHES.—No, because, as the right honorable gentleman is aware, I am a labour man first, and everything else a long way afterwards.

Mr. REID.—But always going straight on the fiscal question?

Mr. HUGHES.—The right honorable gentleman does not understand or appreciate what going straight means, on any question.

Mr. REID.—I think that before I have done, I shall deal with that observation.

Mr. HUGHES.—I hope so. If the honorable gentleman does not, I shall.

Mr. REID.—It must be very painful to the honorable and learned member, who sat behind me, with nothing but admiration for eight years of my public life.

Mr. HUGHES.—Eight years?

Mr. REID.—Eight or ten years.

Mr. HUGHES.—I was one of those who took a chief part in throwing the right honorable gentleman out.

Mr. REID.—That was afterwards.

Mr. HUGHES.—After what? After I had some experience of what the right honorable gentleman was.

Mr. REID.—The honorable and learned member might, at least, be fair. Did I endeavour to shirk the fiscal question when we were before the electors? I did not accept the easy part then. I took up the fighting part, and went all round Australia endeavouring to convince the people that the Commonwealth Tariff should be lowered, and lowered in a revenue Tariff sense. But the verdict of the people was against me.

Mr. MAUGER.—And yet the right honorable gentleman says that there is a fiscal truce.

Mr. REID.—The honorable member can see that the truce was not mine; it was a truce made between the protectionists and the people of Australia. I wished to carry on the fight. The electors heard us both, and declared a truce by returning a larger number of members who believed in a truce than were returned to follow me in making a fight. I ask any fair-minded man if, having done my best to carry out the principles for which I have fought all my life—principles which were put into practice in New South Wales when I had the power—if, having done my best to achieve the triumph of those principles throughout Australia, and the verdict of the people being unmistakably against me, I should be accused of treason; if when I have been overwhelmingly defeated I should be charged with betraying my cause? I wish now to come to that calm and critical intellect, the honorable and learned member for Indi. He made no speeches during the elections, but fortunately he the other day committed himself to a definition of fiscal peace. I am grateful to him for that. I will read two passages from his speech, which occur within thirty lines of each other, and I will ask the House to reconcile them. Speaking of the electors, he said—

They declared that there should be a pause in the great struggle between the protectionists and the free-traders, and that the protectionist flag should still continue to wave.

That is quite true. The Tariff had been passed. It was a protectionist Tariff. And by decreeing a fiscal truce during this Parliament the electors decreed that the protectionist Tariff should continue as it was, that, in that sense, the protectionist flag should continue to wave. The honorable and learned member in that passage said, not that the free-traders were finally defeated and annihilated, but that there was a pause, that the electors had declared that there should be a pause in the great struggle between the protectionists and the free-traders. Did that mean annihilation and defeat? Yet fifteen lines above the passage which I have just quoted the honorable and learned member is reported to have said—

I shall tell honorable members what that fiscal peace meant. It meant this, that the contest in Australia between the policy of free-trade on the one side, and the policy of protection on the

other, was decided. There was to be no more struggling as to which policy was to be triumphant.

In the one breath the honorable and learned member spoke of there being a pause between the two great warring camps, and in the next he spoke of the final overthrow of free-trade. How can those statements be reconciled? In the one breath he said that free-trade was finally vanquished, that it was dead, while in the next he declared that the verdict of the electors was that there should be a pause between the two great antagonists. The latter is the true description of the circumstances.

Mr. ISAACS.—Will the right honorable gentleman kindly read the sentence immediately following the first quotation?

Mr. REID.—I will read it all. I had a reason for not being too frank about my authority for the quotation, because I did not know that I should be in order in making it. However, I will read all that the honorable and learned member said about the fiscal peace.

Mr. ISAACS.—I do not ask the right honorable gentleman to do that; it will be sufficient if he reads the sentence which follows the first quotation.

Mr. REID.—The speech from which I am quoting will be found on page 4457 of the *Hansard* report. As I have stated, the second sentence was uttered before the first, but I will now quote the whole passage. It reads as follows:—

I shall tell honorable members what that fiscal peace meant. It meant this, that the contest in Australia between the policy of free-trade on the one side, and the policy of protection on the other, was decided. There was to be no more struggling as to which policy was to be triumphant. We had erected the standard of protection, and that flag was to fly all over Australia. When the Prime Minister, in Sydney, taunted the protectionists of Australia, and said that they had that "tired feeling," and that they dared not raise the protectionist flag before the people of Australia, we dared to do so, and the people supported us.

The honorable and learned member was unopposed. I do not know where he did it. I did not hear of him speaking anywhere—

They declared that there should be a pause in the great struggle between the protectionists and the free-traders, and that the protectionist flag should still continue to wave.

That is the Tariff. We admit that the Tariff is to continue to wave.

Mr. ISAACS.—Will the right honorable member read the next sentence?

Mr. REID.—I ask my honorable and learned friend how can it be said that one

army has been totally annihilated if, when the two great armies are face to face, there is a pause? How can one of the armies be destroyed when there is a pause, and no fighting is taking place? The sentence upon which the honorable and learned member relies is this—

But they never said that in this declaration of peace between two warring camps any details of protection should remain unattended to.

What are the details of protection? The putting up of duties. Is not that the re-opening of the Tariff contest? Does it not strike across a free-trade principle? What did all our fighting over a 10, 12½, or 15 per cent. duty on machinery mean? Do honorable members recollect the conflict between the two Houses which resulted in a duty of 12½ per cent. being fixed upon as a compromise? What are the details of the Tariff but the determination of the question whether a duty is to be 10, 20, or 30 per cent.? It does not matter what policy I put before the electors, but it matters what the verdict of the electors was. It matters what the candidates who went before them promised the people. If I had come back with a majority, I should have been bound to fight the battle to a finish; but I was beaten at the polls, so that I could not fight it. My honorable friends opposite have remained loyal to their obligations, and to the pledges which they made to the people; but I do not think that my honorable friends on the corner benches have done the same.

Mr. CROUCH.—Before the right honorable member leaves the fiscal question, will he deal with the question of starch?

Mr. REID.—That is included in the fiscal truce. But if there is one thing which the honorable and learned member needs, it is a little more starch. I shall probably be attacked for the next two or three weeks to come. That is a luxury of my position, which I must take with the honour attaching to it. But I wish to anticipate one or two of the most unfair attacks which may be repeated, attacks made on the ground of my abandonment of principle. It is so easy to charge a man with abandoning his principles. When I fought the free-trade fight, and was vanquished, I did not abandon my principles in accepting the verdict of the electors. What sensible man would ask honorable members to prove false to their convictions and to their pledge to the electors? That would be an infamous attempt, if I made it,

and also an insane one. When I was before the electors I denounced, and I denounce still, that provision in the Post and Telegraph Act under which coloured crews cannot be employed upon the steamers carrying the mails to Australia.

Mr. MAUGER.—When is the right honorable member going to amend it?

Mr. REID.—I shall give the honorable member my answer; he will get no quibbling from me. I went all over Australia denouncing that clause. I said then, as I say now, that if the people returned a sufficient number of members to enable me to effect a change, I should bring it about.

Mr. MAUGER.—The right honorable gentleman should have made an effort in that direction.

Mr. REID.—I have great duties to perform to the people of Australia. Am I to be debarred from public life, because the people of Australia differ from me upon that subject?

Mr. CROUCH.—Or upon any other subject.

Mr. REID.—I had run a fair course in public life when the honorable member was in knickerbockers—and, probably, he never could keep them clean.

Mr. POYNTON.—That is a statesman-like utterance.

Mr. REID.—Little Turveydrop is always worrying. There is another matter that I denounced all over Australia, in regard to which I tried to secure a majority. I am quite in sympathy, as my whole life has shown, with the White Australia movement. Honorable members opposite should not talk about a White Australia policy as if they had invented it. The whole of the party to which I belong, in New South Wales, which was led by Sir Henry Parkes, passed measures to secure a White Australia twenty years ago, and that party has stood steadily to that policy through all these years. I took a position as strong even as that assumed by the Labour Party with regard to that policy, and I went beyond the Government when the Bill was before us. With regard to employment upon the ocean, however, I say that we have no right to make the oceans of the world white. We should be guilty of the grossest tyranny and injustice if we did so.

Mr. CAMERON.—We cannot do it.

Mr. REID.—We are trying as much as we can. In connexion with our mail services there is one little chance of trying to do it. By-the-bye, our friends who will

not allow the British subjects of the Indian Empire to be employed on the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company's steamers are proposing to amend the terms of our land mail contracts in order to permit of our own coloured people being employed in connexion with them. That is surely a very proper thing to do; but under the Post and Telegraph Act the men who owned Australia, or their children, are debarred from performing this work. That is a lovely extreme to push a great principle to. Upon the oceans of the world, which are as much their property as ours, the coloured subjects of the great Indian Empire should occupy as good a position as any Australian. Now I come to the matter of contract labour. I am absolutely in sympathy with the intention of the clause as expressed at the time it was adopted. We do not want any use made of contract labour at strike time, nor do we want any frauds or impositions to be practised upon people in distant countries with regard to terms of labour and wages. I am with honorable members opposite upon that point. But it is absurd to say that a man who, instead of coming out here as a pauper, without a prospect, secures a job before he starts, comes out here in shackles. Does that not sound like Tom Mann and Socialism? The "shackles of wagedom." These matters have stirred me to the greatest depths, and it has been a source of the greatest disappointment to me that I have not had an opportunity of dealing with them. I have, however, had to put up with the position, and now I have had to form an alliance with gentlemen who differ from me on that point, which I did not consider of sufficient importance—in view of the fact that the people had decided against me—to block the coalition. How can it be said that I have abandoned my principles? Why is this abuse reserved for me? I have sat silent for years under a cloud of infamous abuse, involving my own personal honour. Only the other day, the honorable and learned member for Corio published, in the *Melbourne Age*, a letter addressed to the farmers of Victoria, in which he attacked me personally. He made some reference to my lavish expenditure. Upon that point I may say that during my last two years of office in New South Wales the expenditure was less by £12,000,000 than during the two years following my retirement from office. I shall not, however, touch upon that point.

Mr. CROUCH.—The board appointed to inquire into the matter decided that the expenditure was not less.

Mr. REID.—I am happy to say that I have in my hand a letter from that board, which I shall read to the House. I do not care about the imputation with regard to lavish expenditure, but I do care about the imputations cast upon my personal character.

Mr. CROUCH.—I have a letter from the chairman of the board, Mr. Dibbs, in which he says that the right honorable gentleman's accounts were cooked.

Mr. REID.—I only wish to say that to-night I am going to bring evidence before this House and Australia, both inside and outside. The accounts of a great State are not signed by the Treasurer alone, but also by the higher officials in his Department, and if there has been some dishonest manipulation of the accounts, there is an accomplice in the Treasury.

Mr. FISHER.—They need not necessarily be dishonest manipulations.

Mr. REID.—I do not mind statements that do not convey that impression. I shall read the letter of the honorable and learned member, and I shall ask whether any honorable member would remain silent under such imputations.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Why bother about them?

Mr. REID.—Because other people behind the honorable and learned member have been doing the same thing; because this poison has been circulated in Victoria with the deliberate object of crippling my usefulness in the great public fight in which I am engaged. In New South Wales, where I am known, where I have lived nearly all my life, and where I have stood before the public all my life, I need not waste my time, because I never stood stronger in the public estimation in that State than I do to-day. These miserable slanders outside of my own country may run their wicked course, but, in my own State, I am happy to say that I have received marks of the confidence and the respect of the people which I think no other public man in Australia ever received. I shall pass by the matter of lavish expenditure referred to by the honorable and learned member for Corio. I do not care about that, because it does not involve any personal imputation. The honorable and learned member says in his letter—

It is notorious that his accounts were publicly condemned as cooked; and that a disinterested

board, appointed by the Government, consisting of the general managers of the leading banks in Sydney, supported this criticism by finding that public moneys had been misused, accounts doctored, and balances wrongly applied.

I say that if that were true, I should have no right to stand in any public assembly of honorable men. I have had these things, in a milder form, hurled at me, but never in that form. In view of the use that is being made of these slanders, which are being employed, not to defame me as a man, but to injure me as a public man, I have felt it to be my duty to bring evidence to bear on the subject. I shall first read a letter from the gentleman who was accountant to the Treasury during the whole term of my office. In order to show the standing of this gentleman, I may tell honorable members that my successors—I do not know whether it was the Administration of the honorable member for Hume or that of Sir John See—promoted him to the high position of Auditor-General of New South Wales. That shows he was a man of high standing.

Mr. CROUCH.—Why does not the right honorable gentleman read the finding of the board?

Mr. REID.—I propose to read a letter from the board, with regard to these slanders. I submitted them to the board, and I have their letter signed by every member. The honorable and learned member's letter appeared in the *Age* of the 9th September. The first letter in reply to my inquiries, which I will read, is dated the 13th September, and reads—

Auditor-General's Department,
Sydney, 13th September, 1904.

My Dear Sir,

In reply to your favour received this morning, I am pleased to express my opinion, which is formed on my own personal knowledge, that at no time during your occupancy of the Treasury in this State was there any interference on your part, or on the part of any member of your Ministry, with the preparation of the public accounts of this State, and that the balances as published and used by you were as prepared and presented to you by the officers of the Treasury, and were in all respects statutorily correct; and no suggestion as to any alteration thereof, with a view of showing different results, was at any time ever made to me as accountant for the Treasury—

And I ask honorable members to listen to what follows, because it constitutes the most absolute vindication of all—

and also, that the accounts, as subsequently published, exhibited in all and every respect the same

figures and results as when they were first laid before you by me, acting as accountant to the Treasury.

Yours faithfully,
J. VERNON, Auditor-General.

That officer was the accountant, who signed every statement which I submitted to Parliament. I shall now read a letter from the Under-Secretary to the Treasury, a gentleman who has occupied that position for many years, and who still fills it. He says—

Treasury, New South Wales,
Sydney, 13th September, 1904.

Dear Mr. Reid,

I am in receipt of your note of 10th inst., and regret very much to hear of the baseless charges levelled against you in respect of your administration of the finances of New South Wales—

I sent a copy of the charges to each of these gentlemen.

Mr. CROUCH.—I sent them.

Mr. REID.—Surely the honorable and learned member might begin to be ashamed of himself.

The charges could only have been made by persons utterly ignorant of the facts, and also of the terms of the report furnished by the committee appointed by your successor at the Treasury. To your inquiry as to whether you ever suggested, or endeavoured to do anything at variance with the highest standard of political honour and integrity, I can only answer, emphatically, "No."

Trusting that you are well, with kindest regards,

Yours, very truly,
F. KIRKPATRICK.

Those gentlemen are no longer under my control. They are absolutely outside my sphere of influence. The next letter which I propose to read to the House is from the gentleman who became Colonial Treasurer of New South Wales when the honorable member for Hume quitted State politics, and who continued in that office for four years. I vacated the position in 1899, and Mr. Waddell became Colonial Treasurer in 1900, and retained office until 1904. Mr. Waddell says—

14th September, 1904.

Dear Mr. Reid,

Owing to pressure of work, I have got behind in my correspondence, and only just opened your letter, and read the extract which it contains, which you say appeared in a letter in the *Melbourne Age* of the 9th inst. When you ask my opinion of the statements or charges contained in the extract, I feel bound, in fairness to you, to say that no one is justified in making such charges, and I feel sure that whoever has made them, will, in his calmer moments, withdraw them unreservedly.

Yours sincerely,
T. WADDELL.

Further, as the Under-Secretary to the Treasury tells us, the statement that the report of the committee of leading bankers, which was appointed by the Government, arrived at findings which supported these infamous charges is absolutely opposed to the truth. I wrote to Mr. French, being under the impression that he was chairman of the committee in question.

Mr. CROUCH.—Mr. Dibbs was the chairman.

Mr. REID.—One would think that the honorable and learned member for Corio was making this explanation. I repeat that I wrote to Mr. French personally, thinking that he acted as chairman of the committee. He informed me, however, that he did not so act, but that Mr. Dibbs was the chairman. He interviewed Mr. Dibbs and Mr. Yarwood, the other members of the committee. Mr. Dibbs, I may add, was the general manager of the Commercial Bank; Mr. Russell French, the general manager of the Bank of New South Wales; and Mr. Yarwood was an accountant. These three gentlemen have written me the following letter:—

Sydney, 17th September, 1904.

Dear Mr. Reid,

Referring to your note of 10th inst. to Mr. J. Russell French, covering extract from a letter published in the *Melbourne Age*, our report, which is referred to, speaks for itself, and should not have given rise to any misapprehension.

In view, however, of the remarks in the extract in question, it is but just to you to state that we made no reflection whatever on your personal honour or integrity, nor did we intend to suggest any improper manipulation of the Treasury accounts by yourself or the Treasury officials, as would seem to be implied by the terms "cooked" or "doctored"—which appear in the letter.

Yours faithfully,

T. A. DIBBS,	} Members of the Committee.
J. RUSSELL FRENCH,	
F. N. YARWOOD,	

Mr. FULLER.—Can the honorable and learned member for Corio produce Mr. Dibbs' letter stating that the accounts were "cooked"?

Mr. REID.—I have simply to ask the House to pardon me for introducing this personal matter. I think that every honorable member in the Chamber will feel sufficient sympathy with me—after the infamous slanders which have been circulated against me for so many years—to admit that I should at last take notice of them, not because I need to clear my reputation in New South Wales, or perhaps even in Australia, but because I have the interests of Australia in my hands now, and I do not

wish to see any man occupying this position against whom such accusations can be justly uttered. Passing from that matter I should like to point out that there is a statement due to the public of Australia, which I hope will be made by the honorable and learned member for Indi, if not by the leader of the Opposition, as to whether this alliance is a mere piece of legal network, from which any honorable member can escape, or whether it has a solid business meaning. We are all entitled to know that.

Mr. MAHON.—The right honorable member is very much interested.

Mr. REID.—Are we not all interested? Is it not a fair subject for criticism?

Mr. HUGHES.—Is not the right honorable member criticising it?

Mr. REID.—Yes, and I am entitled to do so. If honorable members opposite complain as little as I do, they will not complain very much. I have been accused of engaging in all sorts of intrigues to bring about the defeat of the late Administration in connexion with the Arbitration Bill. There are a number of my supporters here who know exactly the position which I assumed upon that matter. I have been quoted as saying that nobody would receive any black looks from me, if they voted against the Deakin Administration upon that Bill. I wish to explain exactly how that statement came to be made, because it is so easy to quote an isolated utterance without giving the context of it. In a leading article which appeared in one of the great journals of Sydney I was called upon to exercise my authority to coerce my supporters—

Mr. WILKS.—Which the right honorable member would not attempt to do.

Mr. FISHER.—When the right honorable member came to Victoria to enter into an alliance with the honorable and learned member for Ballarat, he said that he would answer for every one of them.

Mr. REID.—Because they had accepted it. I must now lift the curtain to explain that matter. I do not in the least mind lifting it. Before I entered upon those negotiations I had sounded the members of my party as to whether they were in favour of my doing so.

Mr. GROOM.—To what coalition does the right honorable member refer?

Mr. REID.—To the coalition with the honorable and learned member for Ballarat. I sounded my followers as to

whether they were in favour of the adoption of that course. I suppose that was a fair thing to do. They are not cattle, to be bought and sold at Smithfield. When I learned that they were thoroughly in favour of a move of that sort, I felt very great confidence in my dealings with the honorable and learned member for Ballarat.

Mr. SPENCE.—Were they unanimous?

Mr. REID.—I do not know. They were unanimous at the meeting which was held, with the exception of the honorable member for Dalley, who did not express any objection to the negotiations.

Mr. WILKS.—I was not in favour of the coalition, but I would not join the Labour Party.

Mr. REID.—With the exception of the honorable member for Dalley, all my supporters were unreservedly in favour of the coalition. The night that the article in question appeared, I happened to be addressing a public audience, and I said that I would not influence my supporters in connexion with the Arbitration Bill either one way or the other. Many, including my honorable friend, had pledged themselves to the electors on the question of the inclusion of the railway servants of the States. I said, "I am not going to use any such influence at all." I naturally said, "If any member is to be deflected from his principles in order to save the Government, why should I be picked out? Why should I be selected to save the Government?" I thought that if anything was to be done in that way my honorable friend ought to set to work among his own followers. It was foolish to ask me to do such a thing.

Mr. KELLY.—The right honorable gentleman certainly did not attempt to influence the members of his party.

Mr. REID.—One or two honorable members of my party asked my opinion; but I declined to advise them in the slightest degree, either in one way or the other. I can quote one instance of this, which the honorable member for Grey will be able to corroborate. When the party held a meeting at the opening of the present Parliament, I spoke so strongly in support of the stand taken by the then Prime Minister, that the honorable member for Grey rose after I had resumed my seat and said he wished it to be distinctly understood that honorable members of the party were to have a free hand.

Mr. BAMFORD.—Was that a caucus meeting?

Mr. REID.—It was not, because I am able to tell the House what occurred at it, while a member of the Labour Party is never in a position to say what transpires at a meeting of their caucus.

Mr. POYNTON.—I told the right honorable gentleman that I could not follow him in his public utterances.

Mr. REID.—That is quite true, and no one expected the honorable member to do so. I am sure the honorable member is perfectly fair, and he will do me the justice to corroborate that which I have said—that I expressed my own individual view as being strongly in favour of the position taken up by the honorable and learned member for Ballarat.

Mr. POYNTON.—That is so.

Mr. REID.—Therefore, so far from there being any of this miserable intriguing, I left my honorable friends—the members of my party—absolutely free. At a meeting of the party, I earnestly expressed my view in favour of the course taken by the honorable and learned member for Ballarat. How is it that I am singled out for these attacks? I do not think that any other man is picked out in the same way. I merely mention the matter now, because it has been imputed to me that I have been manipulating the votes of honorable members in every possible way. I defy any man to single out one honorable member of this House whom I have ever approached since this Parliament met with a view to induce him to vote in any other way than he wished to do.

Mr. POYNTON.—How many members of the right honorable gentleman's party knew that the present Minister of Defence had his support in moving the amendment in regard to clause 48?

Mr. REID.—There was no bond of secrecy associated with the moving of that amendment. This is another pitiable complaint, and it seems to me to be utterly childish. Is this House so constructed that when important matters are to be decided, the proper course is to go into Committee, where a representative of the people is deprived of his vote? Is it a democratic idea that a vital matter shall be decided when one honorable member is necessarily prevented from casting his vote?

Mr. POYNTON.—Does not that frequently occur?

Mr. REID.—It is not a democratic idea. This explains the true soreness of honorable members opposite. The true soreness associated with the vote in question was due

to the fact that honorable members opposite could not prevent one honorable member from expressing his honest convictions by putting him in the chair in Committee.

Mr. FISHER.—The least said about that matter the better. Honorable members on the Treasury benches know that that is so.

Mr. McCAY.—The least said the better in the interests of the Opposition.

Mr. FISHER.—No.

Mr. REID.—I do not complain of it. I think I may fairly say that the present leader of the Opposition took up the position that under our party and parliamentary systems we pushed to its extreme the practice of making questions vital. I believe that has been the objection raised by the honorable member. He has urged that there is too much of this system of party government, and of the lives of Governments depending on questions that come before the House.

Mr. MAHON.—The right honorable gentleman will make nothing vital to the life of his Government.

Mr. REID.—May I ask the ex-Minister to allow me, an actual Minister, to make a little Ministerial statement? It is a sore business, but I had to submit to it for four years, and now the Opposition have to undergo the same experience. I merely desire a few months, that is all. The present leader of the Opposition, in referring in the course of his Ministerial statement to the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill, made the following remarks, which are to be found at page 1268 of *Hansard* :—

In September last, when the Bill introduced last session was dropped by the late Administration, I took the stand that they had no right to make a matter of detail a Government question.

In other words, he urged that the honorable and learned member for Ballarat, in standing by, as a vital matter, the position that the extension of the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill to States servants was unconstitutional, and a gross interference with the rights of the States, did wrong, because it was after all only a matter of detail. We see the difference sometimes in the views held by men when they hold positions of responsibility as compared with those which they express when they do not. An honorable member had asked the then Prime Minister, the honorable member for Bland, if he would regard a vote against the extension of the provisions of the Bill

to States servants as vital, and, in reply, the honorable gentleman made the statement which I have just read. A little later on, he said—

For my own part, I expressed the view as far back as six or seven months ago that the matter was one of detail, and, therefore, if occasion arises, I shall be free to take any course without going back upon principles already enunciated.

That is my point. The honorable member took a most liberal view of what was due to himself. "You have terrible objections to these clauses; but they are to be taken as a matter of detail." That was his advice to the honorable and learned member for Ballarat. "Do not mind," he said; "but go on with the Bill." The scene changed. The honorable member, who advised the honorable and learned member for Ballarat to sink his views of political honour as a Prime Minister, came into office. He occupied the same responsible position, and—

Mr. POYNTON.—What did the right honorable gentleman say?

Mr. REID.—This matter has nothing to do with the honorable member, except in so far as he is a listener.

Mr. POYNTON.—It has a good deal to do with me.

Mr. REID.—I trust that the honorable member will bear with me. I come now to the question on which the late Government shipwrecked themselves. The House will remember that the Committee decided by a majority of five to insert in the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill a provision that the Court, before granting preference to unionists, should be satisfied that a majority in the industry affected was favorable to the making of such an award. The Government said, "We will ask the Committee to reconsider that decision." But before they did that they made the statement that if the Committee would not eat their own words, and go back from their decision, as expressed in the Bill, the Government would take the view that their services were not required. That was done by the Prime Minister. Yet when we came to the recommitment, consider the view which the Prime Minister took of the difference between what was in the Bill and what was proposed to be put in the Bill. He did not think of resigning at first, and I do not blame him for that. If a decision is a close thing there is a tendency that way. Here is what the Prime Minister said when this proposal

to recommit was challenged by the honorable and learned member for Corinella—

If anything approaching a majority apply for a preference, the Judge may reasonably hold that they substantially represent all engaged in the industry.

That is to say, if any number approaching a majority applied for preference, the Judge might reasonably know that they represented substantially all engaged in the industry. Then the honorable member went on—the remarks are reported in *Hansard*, page 4047—

Under the proposal of the honorable and learned member, the Court could not dispense with rigid proof of the existence of a majority in favour of the granting of a preference, while, under our proposal, if they were reasonably assured of the fact, it would not have to be mathematically demonstrated to them. That is the only difference between the two proposals.

That means there is precious little difference between the two, and that the honorable member's previous view was absolutely wrong. The Judge, in interpreting a measure of this sort, would not be required to have mathematical demonstration. That would be absolutely ridiculous. The provision must be read in reference to the subject-matter. Mathematical demonstration would mean a plebiscite all over Australia—in every hamlet in Australia. The thing is absurd. The Judge to be "satisfied" meant that he was satisfied from information before him—reasonable information—that such a majority existed.

Mr. DEAKIN.—The words are, "in the opinion of the Court."

Mr. REID.—That is much weaker still. The word "satisfied" is a much stronger word. I want to point out that the man who was so careless about the political honour and integrity and independence of his predecessor, was so scrupulously tender about his own as to stake his existence—on what? Did the honorable and learned member for Ballarat ask the House to undo something which it had done, and state that if it would not undo it, he would resign? Nothing of the kind. He said, "I cannot allow that to be put in the Bill"—a very different thing. His successor said, "It being in the Bill—the House having affirmed it, and decided it—you must stultify yourselves, or we will have nothing more to do with it." That is carrying matters, I do not say to an unfair extreme; I do not, for a moment, say that the honorable member was not justified in doing that—I only say that his views

have altered very much since he expressed an opinion on the action of the honorable and learned member for Ballarat.

Mr. HUGHES.—The point was a peculiar one. We came into office on this very Bill.

Mr. REID.—I wish now to point out the extraordinary circumstance, that before the late Government resigned there was only this one thing upon which they were at issue with the House. But the moment they resigned and I took up the Bill as they left it, they called it a fraud. Well, then, they have been engineering a fraud.

Mr. BAMFORD.—It is a fraud with the amendment of the honorable and learned member for Corinella in it.

Mr. REID.—May I take it that the fraud consisted in that? I want to put it in the fairest way. We will say, then, that what made the Bill a fraud was that alteration. Now I will ask the House and the country to notice where the disinterestedness of these gentlemen comes in, the extent of their democratic principles, and whether their regard is for all the manhood of Australia, and not for a section of it branded "trade unionists." Because what was this provision? It was a provision singling out a worthy lot of men—a grand lot of men—probably the *élite* of the working classes of Australia. No matter how good they are, I object just the same. It was picking them out for a judicial administration, favouring one worker at the expense of another. That is the great point on which we say that this is a selfish provision. Fight your battles as you will in the industrial sphere. There is room for all. But when you come to the administration of the public affairs of a nation, and of legislation for the benefit of the whole nation, and the equal administration of public justice, I say that to single out any man for preference is wrong. A number of my honorable friends have gone further than I would go in this matter, but I was defeated. They have taken up a position that should have satisfied any reasonable trades unionist. My honorable friends said, "Before this tremendous preference is given—this favour—this preference of one worker over another—we must be satisfied that there is a majority of the men who are agreeable to it." That was a much milder position than mine. But even that, we are told, makes this Bill a fraud. That reveals the selfishness of the combination, and

the power behind it. My honorable friend, the leader of the Opposition, stands here, and makes that speech of his, but does he represent the inner circle of the great labour movement? He is a gentleman to whose views we all listen with the greatest respect. From the manner in which he expresses himself, he might just as well be the leader of my party as of the party opposite. But we must look deeper than that. We are not blind to the real operations of the great labour bodies of Australia. Workers do not, as a rule, throw their money away on paid missionaries. They have little enough. They cannot throw their money about much. How is it that this gentleman, Mr. Tom Mann, who preaches rank Socialism and the destruction of private ownership and private industry—

Mr. RONALD.—No.

Mr. REID.—I say he does; how is it that he is being paid to go all round Australia preaching this extreme form of Socialism? My honorable friends opposite must know that there is a labour organ in Melbourne called the *Tocsin*. I have not got before me the particular extract to which I wish to refer, but it makes no secret of the policy of the party behind my honorable friend the leader of the Opposition. It means that the State must own all the factories, all the lands, and all the ships. I have here a newspaper, to which the late Prime Minister sent a congratulatory telegram, expressing his appreciation of the educative work which it was doing. That paper is the *Brisbane Worker*, which has a very large circulation, and of which, no doubt, honorable members have heard.

Mr. KING O'MALLEY.—A good Christian organ.

Mr. REID.—I shall read a little of its Christianity. I got this extract in rather a round-about way. I do not happen to subscribe to the *Brisbane Worker*, but I get newspaper cuttings from the old country. Amongst those received was this, from the *St. James' Gazette*, which had extracted it from the *Worker*; and it shows how we are "boomed" at Home by these organs. This was published in the *Worker* just a month or two after the Federal election—

Political power has been won in the Federal domain. . . . The question now is, What next? and the answer, Economic Revolution. . . . The wage system holds us as firmly as ever in its vampire clutch. . . .

"Wage system!" "Vampire clutch!" No more wages! All Government salaries.

The great work now awaiting us is the utilization of political power to economic advantages. The vote must be used as a bar to strike the shackles from our limbs.

What fearful slavery there must be in Queensland! And a Labour Government, or very nearly a Labour Government, is in office! What a fearful state of things the people of Queensland must have to contend against! The extract goes on—

The Capitalist State must go. . . . There can be no peace, no happiness, whilst civilization continues to be based upon the system of barbarism—a Master-caste whipping slave-masses to labour for private gain.

That sounds all right, does it not? Just fancy the mild and conservative leader of the Opposition using language like that! The leader of the Opposition is the right man in this Parliament, but that extract shows the work which is going on outside—

The Co-operative Commonwealth alone is worthy of this age of science and invention.

What does the "Co-operative Commonwealth" mean? The destruction of private enterprise, and the destruction of individual liberty. That is the true inspiration of the power behind the labour representatives. There is an ingenious way of working this Socialism. It does not pay to prescribe it too suddenly. The first thing is, as the leader of the Opposition has done, to speak of the evil of monopolies and combines. In that I quite agree with him. We, on this side, are as willing as he and his Government were, to introduce legislation to suppress any abuses of that sort. But each individual abuse is made an excuse for the introduction of the thin end of the wedge for the nationalization of the private industries of the country. It is tobacco to-day; it is something else to-morrow. Senator Pearce, speaking of the full socialistic programme at a public meeting, said, "We cannot do all this at once; but there are some plums ready for plucking now, and one is the tobacco monopoly." Those steps towards revolution we will oppose. There are other matters on which I could have spoken, but I shall confine myself to one before I sit down. Honorable members must understand, as was expressed in the basis of agreement drawn up between the honorable and learned member for Ballarat and myself, that our coming together was not under the precise terms of that memorandum. As I say, the honorable gentleman's supporters did not, as a party, accept the understanding, and it was

never subsequently submitted to any other body of members. The policy of the Government is, therefore, a policy which they themselves have put forward, but, of course, in view of the fact that I and the honorable and learned member for Balaclava are in the Government, and were parties to that agreement, and that we have colleagues who assented to it, the result is practically the same. But I want to say to the leader of the Opposition that it is absolutely unjust to put us before the people of Australia as if we were indifferent to the interests of the producers—as if we were idle about water conservation or about advertising the resources of Australia in the mother country.

Mr. HIGGINS.—The right honorable gentleman is merely a different kind of Socialist.

Mr. REID.—That is an expression which reveals the difficulty, which I admit, of arriving at a fine distinction. The honorable and learned member for Northern Melbourne has evidently seen some reference of mine to Socialism, and it is perfectly true that I believe there are some aspects of what is called Socialism which are absolutely worthy of approval. But I can draw a line, and the difference between the Socialism of honorable members opposite and the view I hold is shown when one of the best principles in the world—when the principle of using the national power for ends of national good—is pushed so far as to convert the whole nation into an army of civil servants, destroying the initiative, the ability, the prospects, the property, and the opportunities of human beings with their intellects—their varying degrees of mental strength. There are some public services, such as those performed by our post-offices, which, we are all agreed, should be a national concern. By the way, some people, including myself, used to look on State railways as another phase of Socialism, but, on closer inquiry, State railways are shown to be an absolute negation of Socialism.

Mr. MAUGER.—The right honorable member will come round all right.

Mr. REID.—Is the honorable member for Melbourne Ports an extreme Socialist?

Mr. MAUGER.—Never mind!

Mr. REID.—We only want to know where to place the honorable member, who, after a bit of a fright, has since been out of the rain. I am afraid he will have to come out into the rain again. The taking of the railways from parliamentary control, and placing them under the control of business men, to be run as independent business

enterprises, is a practical proof of the failure of Socialism as applied to great industrial concerns. There is no Socialism about the Commissioners of Railways. The *Tossins* and the *Brisbane Workers* do not do much with such gentlemen, who work those great concerns on the strictest business principles, beyond the control of the national authority. I want to point out that in the memorandum which was drawn up some months ago between the honorable and learned member for Ballarat and myself, my attitude and his, with regard to those matters, was stated with perfect clearness. I should like to read some extracts on the question of old-age pensions, for instance—

It is highly desirable that a uniform system of old-age pensions throughout Australia should be adopted as soon as possible, and that steps should be taken to accomplish this in co-operation with the States.

I do not know whether the leader of the Opposition has seriously thought this matter over. He says to the States, "If you will not join us we shall go on without you." Are we going to raise £4,000,000 through the Customs, in order to get £1,000,000 for a national old-age pension system?

Mr. THOMAS.—Why not a land tax?

Mr. REID.—Now we understand where the money is to come from. I am very glad to have this disclosure. I understand now where the millions are to come from.

Mr. THOMAS.—I am a free-trader.

Mr. REID.—The honorable member is a very free trader. He will take anything he can lay his hands on.

Mr. ISAACS.—That is in accord with the free-trade system; we do not agree with it.

Mr. REID.—There is no secrecy about the policy of the party to which the honorable and learned member for Indi belonged for many years. The honorable and learned member has not suddenly changed his coat on that policy? Honorable members who followed the Barton Government and the Deakin Government for three or four years were pledged to the declared policy of the party, that, so far as the Federation was concerned, we should raise taxation only through the Customs.

Mr. THOMAS.—Is that a free-trade idea?

Mr. ISAACS.—Indirect taxation—Customs and Excise.

Mr. REID.—Just so, Customs and Excise. That policy was also, with equal publicity, announced by myself as the leader of the other party in the Commonwealth at that time.

Mr. THOMAS.—As leader of the Free-trade Party?

Mr. REID.—Yes. The view I took was that in matters of land and other direct taxation every State should be left to work out its own policy as it pleased.

Mr. THOMAS. — The right honorable gentleman could not expect every free-trader to subscribe to that.

Mr. REID. — Perhaps the honorable member will permit me to answer one question before he asks another. What I desire to say in reference to that is that we all agree that the national taxing power should be used through the Customs House, and that all direct taxation should come through the powers of the States Parliaments. That would leave the people of each State to work out their own system of direct taxation for themselves, and if there were a majority in a State in favour of a land tax there would then be no obstacle in the way. But it was felt that it would lead to immense confusion if we were to attempt to raise direct taxation, and for many years to come. So far as I am concerned, I think it will always be better to leave to the States their individual freedom to work out their own destinies in this respect, and that the Federation should use the national power of taxation through the Customs only. But now we can understand the levity with which our honorable friends opposite look forward to flouting the States in reference to this question, which particularly affects two of them. There are two of the States in which already laws have been passed relating to old-age pensions.

Mr. KING O'MALLEY.—They are charity doles.

An HONORABLE MEMBER.—They are rotten laws.

Mr. REID.—Still they are laws, and that is all I said. I said that they were laws, but I did not say the precise condition of preservation which they are in. There are such laws in New South Wales and Victoria, whilst none of the other States have passed such legislation. Now, if we had a friendly conference with the Premiers of those States we could get their authority to bring this system in without raising £4,000,000 through the Customs when we require only £1,000,000.

Mr. ISAACS.—In that the right honorable gentleman agrees with us.

Mr. REID.—I do not mind agreeing with the honorable and learned member

sometimes, but I point out that I expressed that view years ago. I said that it could not be done through the Federation, but my honorable friend representing the Opposition now says, "We do not care what the States say, we will have it." The honorable member does not mean to oppress the people by raising £4,000,000 when only £1,000,000 will do. The honorable member has not become editor of the *Tocsin* yet, but he will get his £1,000,000 out of direct taxation. I admit that we are getting daylight in connexion with this matter. The honorable and learned member for Indi thought he had made a tremendous point in a criticism recently of the terms of the memorandum drawn up by the honorable and learned members for Ballarat and Balaclava, in conjunction with the honorable member for Macquarie and myself. We agreed on this—

The Tariff not to be altered in any respect during the present Parliament without the consent of both parties in the Ministry.

My honorable and learned friend professed to look upon that as an admission that we could alter the Tariff. But that is simply ratifying the truce which both admitted had been declared, instead of a provision giving liberty to break it. Just fancy our wing of the party agreeing to bringing in protective duties! There was another understanding—concerning preferential trade. We took up a position which is most excellently expressed by the *Melbourne Age*, of 30th October, just after the speech delivered by the honorable and learned member for Ballarat. The *Age* said—

But on this point there is no need whatever for Australia to leap before she comes to the fence. Details at this stage are premature. Mr. Chamberlain may not succeed in his mission.

That looks very likely just now.

That is a matter which rests in the future. Should he carry the mind of England with him it cannot be done for the next twelve months. Therefore, any overtures from Australia would be completely out of place.

One thing is certain, the protectionists will never permit the preferential Tariff to undermine the Federal policy of protection.

Mr. MAUGER.—Hear, hear.

Mr. REID.—That is right; let the English people know that. That will be another encouragement to them to agree to a tax upon food.

Mr. MAUGER.—The English people do know that.

Mr. REID.—The *Age* further said—

Mr. Chamberlain has distinctly stated he is satisfied to work on that basis. Mr. Deakin's preferential policy is crystallized in a sentence.

Everything is crystallized in an *Age* leader—

"Great Britain must make the first move." That is the sound position to assume.

We all assume it; but because I agree with it I am the enemy of the Australian farmer! Since that article was written another obstacle has occurred. The Imperial Government has categorically rejected the policy of taxation on food and on raw materials. The present Imperial Government has distinctly said that that is no part of its policy. Is not this new anxiety about preferential trade more an attempt to create mischief, than anything else? The fact is, that my strong objections to preferential trade are from the point of view, that it would be most seriously injurious to the Mother country herself. I believe that if the Mother country were to adopt that policy, she would be injuring herself in a most serious way.

Mr. HUME COOK.—Would it be beneficial to Australia?

Mr. REID.—I expressed these views only the other day. Before I became Prime Minister, I was asked to send a contribution to a book which is coming out on Mr. Chamberlain's life and projects, and in the article I contributed, I expressed in the strongest way my belief that it would not be a good thing for the people of England.

Mr. HUME COOK.—Will it benefit Australia?

Mr. REID.—If the people of England come to the conclusion that it will be a good thing for them—and I admit that they know a little more about the matter than I can pretend to know—and if they do come forward with proposals, as I have already said, their proposals will receive from this Government as fair consideration as they could receive from any Government. But if it comes to a point at which I have to choose between adhering to and surrendering my views on fiscal questions, only one thing can happen. If any emergency occurs, and we are unable to come to a reasonable view on any matter of moment which arises, we must be prepared to give our honorable friends opposite a chance. But we are not going to make troubles out of things that are in the future. We are not going, in an unbusiness-like way to create points of discord. Our enemies wish us to do that. They wish

us to muddle public affairs; to do everything at the wrong time, and in the wrong way. We are here, not to oblige them, but to do our best in the public interest. I think I fairly represent even honorable members who do not belong to the party which I lead, when I say that if the fiscal question had remained for this Parliament to deal with, it would have been impossible for us to come together. The people, however, removed that question from this Parliament, and the main bond of union between us is this: We are absolutely opposed to the political methods of the Labour Party, and to the authority which their organizations have over members of Parliament, and we are absolutely opposed to their extreme socialistic designs. It is very easy for newspapers in Australia to publish articles, such as that which I have read, and which are republished in the great newspapers of the Empire; but I wish honorable gentlemen to recollect that these revolutions which undermine the security for property and enterprise, these threats of turning our industrial system upside down, come at a bad time. They help to aggravate the state of unrest and of want of confidence which is paralyzing the industrial expansion of Australia. Labour Socialists talk of a time to come, when the workers will all be happy, when they will all be employed in a Government factory; but attempts to carry such views to a violent extreme—an extreme which makes the very basis upon which property, enterprise, and labour rest insecure—are the worst things that can happen for that great mass of the workers who have to live by the expansion of industry under conditions of confidence and trust.

Mr. FOWLER.—I wish to make a personal explanation. The Prime Minister read amongst other things, the following passage, from the report of an address which I delivered in Melbourne, on Sunday night:—

Those members felt it was unnecessary and objectionable, and their ideas had at least received the assent of a majority of their colleagues. It is evident that the word "majority" slipped in accidentally. The passage should read—

Their ideas had at least received the assent of a minority of their colleagues. Otherwise, the report is substantially correct.

Mr. HUGHES (West Sydney).—The Prime Minister, at very great length, essayed

the task, that he himself declared at the outset to be ridiculously easy, of replying to the leader of the Opposition. So far as I was able to gather, the right honorable gentleman made a very ineffective reply. Even now, after having had an opportunity of going over in my mind what the right honorable gentleman said, I am at a loss to know his objective, or how nearly he approached it. He did, indeed, during one period of his address, declare the difference—or what he thought to be the difference—between his party, or that heterogeneous collection of gentlemen who now form his party, or permit themselves to be so called, and honorable members on this side of the Chamber. Beyond that his speech was a very general résumé of those very fruitful and interesting criticisms to which he has treated the country for some months past.

Mr. WEBSTER.—For some years past.

Mr. HUGHES. — Of course there comes with each succeeding address a certain amount of delicate adjustment to existing circumstances that serves to stamp the right honorable gentleman as an artist of the very first rank. He has not failed on this occasion to put on just that particular delicate shade of colouring which is perhaps necessary under the circumstances, and which marks the difference between the occasion of to-day and that of, say three weeks ago. He stated that the leader of the Opposition had made no definite complaint against the Government. I should like to know what he means by a definite complaint. He said we ought to have formulated in detail reasons for displacing him. Have we not, from the very inception of our movement, ten or twelve years back, formulated the reasons for dislodging such a Prime Minister as the right honorable gentleman? He stated also that he had received support from me for eight years, and of course he meant that he had also received support from other men who, like myself, have been members of the New South Wales Labour Party, and now sit in this House. Yes, he did receive—not for eight, but for five years—the unswerving support of men like myself, who gave him their assistance so long as he was marching, no matter at what pace, along the broad high road of democracy. When at length, slumbering in the pleasant shades of the banyan tree of office, he was too long inactive, we put him out, and we sat behind another gentleman, upon whom I am sure the right

honorable gentleman has never, during his life-time, passed one word of eulogy. In that, at least, the right honorable gentleman has been consistent. We transferred to the honorable member for Hume the support that we had given to the right honorable gentleman. In detail then we object to the Government, because it stands for everything we detest and mortally hate. What more detail does the right honorable gentleman require? That is not a general charge—it is a specific charge. I see the right honorable member for Swan—all of whose ducks and geese are swans—assuming a content which I am sure he does not feel.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—How does the honorable and learned member know that?

Mr. HUGHES.—In the adjustment of the political kaleidoscope, the right honorable gentleman's expectations have not been fully realized.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—That is nonsense.

Mr. HUGHES.—But it is not all, for the exigencies of political circumstance have compelled the Prime Minister even to throw obstacles in the way of other laudable ambitions of the right honorable gentleman. Honest ambition, we are told by the Prime Minister, is a most excellent quality in a politician, provided it is an ambition that suits the purpose of the right honorable gentleman; otherwise it is anathema, and is to be crowded out. For what does the right honorable gentleman, the member for Swan, stand, when he forgets that power to which he himself bent very readily indeed in Western Australia, and under which he subdued his fiery spirit for three years in this Parliament, never letting us know—except occasionally—that he was opposed to us? For what does he stand when he comes out in his true colours? I assume that when there is nothing further to be gained by dissimulation, the right honorable gentleman does come out in his true colours. Does he want to know why we are opposed to him? Does he want to know in detail why we object to the Government? We object to the Government because of their abandonment of principle, and particularly because they stand for everything that we are here to oppose and denounce.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The honorable and learned member is no doubt a great patriot. Doubtless he has shown it all his life, and has done some public good.

Mr. HUGHES.—I notice that the Prime Minister, since his recent elevation, has found it necessary to make a number of remarks about his high and responsible position. Well, it is a high and responsible position, but he has not been so long in it that it need have altered his whole nature, and the recognition of his great responsibility should not relieve him from the duty of explaining to the country why he is occupying his high and responsible position. Is the fact that he occupies that high and responsible position to be sufficient for the people of this country, and are they to accept that fact in lieu of a policy? A high and responsible position is an excellent thing; but what about his high and responsible policy? What is his policy? The right honorable gentleman said that the honorable member for Bland had taken exception to the fact that he had not outlined his policy for the next session. I am astonished at the honorable member for Bland. The right honorable gentleman outlined the whole of his policy for this Parliament, and for as many other Parliaments as he shall lead. Briefly, his policy viewed from one aspect, is a movement, in rapidity excelling all the most up-to-date engines of science. It is a movement towards recess, towards that beautiful oasis in the desert of politics that the right honorable gentleman appreciates so much, and which he does not hesitate to dangle before his own supporters, and also before the weary sojourners on this side of the Chamber for all it is worth. On the one hand he directs our gaze to the beauties of recess, and on the other points to the danger of doing anything to this Government, for he threatens us with a dissolution, if we attack them. Only last week, or the week before, he said that he wished to intimate at once that any movement upon our part to upset this delectable Government before it had got its second wind, would bring about an appeal to the country. Here was his first exhibition of statesmanship. He came into office to restore responsible government, to bring about majority rule, and to exorcise from politics that condition of things which hampered the free expression of individual opinion. This was to be the battle-ground upon which every man, without fear or favour, without any cracking of the party whip, or blowing of the party horn, was to be able to say what

he thought, and to vote as he pleased. Yet he was not in office twenty-four hours before he declared that if we dared to do anything hostile to the Government, there would be a dissolution of the House. He speaks of his consistency in regard to his beliefs. I wonder whether he really believes his own statement. He asserts that if we dare to attack the Ministry, we shall bring about a dissolution. What did he say in 1899? He may remember the occasion to which I refer, when the honorable member for Hume, I presume he will say, was permitted by a jaundiced Providence, to occupy that sphere which he himself had ornamented so magnificently. I will tell the House what the Sydney *Daily Telegraph* reports him as having said then, and surely it cannot be wrong. Upon the 13th of September, 1899, it published this statement—

After making all the illegitimate use of the dissolution whip that he possibly could while his own turn was to be served by it, Mr. Reid—

Can this really be the Sydney *Daily Telegraph*?—

now hastens to deprecate the possible resort to any such tactics on the part of Mr. Lyne in any future emergency. There is a somewhat comic suggestion of over-anxiety for constitutional rectitude in a protest of this kind addressed to an incoming Premier, with an almost two to one majority. "There is," says the ex-Premier, "no sort of personal or inherent right to a dissolution on the part of any Government or any Ministry."

I hope that he will take that advice to heart. It is the teaching of a constitutionalist, which he may well accept—Reid upon Reid. Now the right honorable gentleman wishes to know why we are opposed to the present Government—he who assumed office to restore freedom of debate and freedom of personal opinion. Why? Because in his very first act he threatens the House with a dissolution. That threat will not frighten honorable members upon this side of the Chamber, although it may intimidate some of those who sit behind him. He states that it is impossible to formulate a great national policy in a few minutes, and that he and his colleagues have too much sense to attempt anything of the kind. Certainly he has too much sense to do anything that will obstruct his smooth and easy path to recess. When once he got there all would be well. There he is. He stands for recess, and all that recess means, and with one solitary exception in his political career he always has stood for it. Again he declares that the leader

Mr. Hughes.

of the Opposition did not supply him with any information in respect of the Labour-Liberal alliance. He is very anxious to learn something about that alliance. His chief anxiety is to learn whether it is an alliance *de facto* or merely *de jure*. If it be an alliance which exists only in the mind of a certain constitutional lawyer—that alert intellect which he seems to dread a good deal—he will be very well satisfied, but if it be *de facto* an alliance, he will be very much annoyed. However, he may take heart. The explanation is abundantly simple. It is to be found merely by glancing at this side of the House. Here is to be seen the Alliance. It is *de facto*—and *de jure*, if the right honorable member so chooses to regard it—an Alliance which, at any rate, will be effective, so far as he is concerned, upon all occasions. It has, amongst the other bonds which unite it, one invincible and ineradicable determination, and that is to remove him from the Treasury bench. The right honorable gentleman came into power to restore responsible government. To whom or to what is he to be responsible? He is not to be responsible to this House, because almost the first announcement which he made, good, careful man that he is, was that he did not intend to be defeated by a flank attack. We could not come any of that sort of business with him. We should require a charge of dynamite to shift him. Certainly nothing in the way of a mere detail of a Bill would move him. He said that he objected to the late Government resigning office upon a mere detail, and that he could not understand the chivalrous conduct of the honorable and learned member for Ballarat. It hurt the feelings of this broad-minded gentleman, who, during his term of office in New South Wales, never did such a thing. He continued in office for five years, and notwithstanding that details which other men might have regarded as principles went toppling about his ears, nothing happened. He remained as calm as possible. When the present leader of the Opposition moved in the New South Wales Legislature, in regard to the Local Government Bill, which the right honorable gentleman introduced, that one vote should be given to each elector, and not four votes to one elector, he took his stand upon that measure like a man, and threw it under the table—he who came in with a garland upon his brow—the chap to save the country—and whose cry upon one dramatic occasion, was "Turn the fossils out," referring

to members of the Legislative Council, whose only offence was that they adhered to their principles and were sold. From every balcony in New South Wales he frantically appealed to the people to give him an opportunity to wipe out of existence the Legislative Council of that State, or else to place him in the position of being able to shove down the throats of its members the principle of land values taxation. Although honorable members would never think it, the right honorable gentleman achieved what reputation he enjoys in New South Wales by an appeal to the people to take away the rights of private property. Can we imagine him, the chosen champion of the Property Owners' Association, actually desiring to put his sacrilegious and iconoclastic hand upon private property? He went to the country for the purpose of obtaining a mandate to tax land values, and came back with an enormous majority made up, I may say, of the members of the Labour Party. He came back with that majority, and the Upper House insisted upon knocking out the exemptions which he had inserted in the Bill to capture the vote of the small man. Then my right honorable friend—this stickler for principle—backed down, obedient to the will of the Upper House, and absolutely ate his words, and swallowed the enormous mouthings of principle in which he indulged when before the people. Such is the record of the right honorable gentleman for responsible government and majority rule!

Mr. REID.—And still the honorable and learned member and his party supported me all the time.

Mr. HUGHES.—We supported the right honorable gentleman simply because he was the only man we could find at the time to do anything at all for us. He derived what power and opportunity he had in New South Wales from our support.

Mr. REID.—Surely not altogether?

Mr. WEBSTER.—Absolutely.

Mr. HUGHES.—The right honorable gentleman never, in the whole course of his political career, held office in New South Wales for twenty-four hours, unless the Labour Party kept him there.

Mr. REID.—Absolutely untrue.

Mr. SPEAKER.—Will the Prime Minister please withdraw that statement?

Mr. REID.—Certainly, Mr. Speaker. I shall say that the statement is absolutely incorrect.

Mr. HUGHES.—In the New South Wales Parliament of 1894 he had a majority which, as I have already mentioned, was made up of three members whose votes never went on his side during that Parliament—men who were his most bitter personal as well as political opponents.

Mr. REID.—I have even now a number of such opponents.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Those men principally opposed the right honorable member because the Labour Party supported him.

Mr. HUGHES.—What has that to do with the matter?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—If the honorable and learned member cannot see what bearing my remark has upon the subject he must be very dense.

Mr. HUGHES.—The honorable member for Parramatta may as well attend to his own little shortcomings, and leave the right honorable gentleman to look after himself. He is well able to do so.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I shall also attend to the honorable and learned member.

Mr. HUGHES.—The Prime Minister, who came into office to restore majority rule and responsible government, never held office, with the exception of a few months which I have mentioned without our support. Even during those few months he held office because we fought for the same principle. And yet he speaks of coming into power to establish majority rule! He has come in with a majority of two, and he is afraid to-night that that majority has dwindled away to nothing. When one honorable member incautiously pinned his card to a seat on the Ministerial side of the House, the Prime Minister said, "My majority has gone up 100 per cent." How much has it now gone down? Two hundred per cent. He wishes to know why we oppose his Government. Let me tell him. I hold that we have a right to oppose a Ministry that came into power to restore responsible government, and has evaded all responsibility by crawling on all fours ever since. We have a right to oppose a Ministry which came in to restore responsible government, but whose first public announcement is that it is not going to be put out of office until it is pulled out with a block and tackle. When I made an interjection a few nights ago about responsible government, the Prime Minister replied, "There is no rule without an exception." The right honorable gentleman is made up of exceptions.

and so is his Ministry. Yet he has come in to restore responsible government! He came into office once before, in the Parliament of New South Wales, to take the burdens off the shoulders of the poor. He did a little in that direction, and has never done anything since. The right honorable gentleman is very anxious to know something about the new alliance. A complete statement of its principles, and the terms upon which it united, has been published, but I desire to say that it has something better even than that to recommend it. It is an alliance of men who, so far as principles, excepting fiscalism, are concerned, are absolutely united. The members of the alliance believe in the same principles, and what is more natural than that men who are agreed upon essentials should combine? The Prime Minister desires to know what sacrifice of principle is involved. Let me deal with that question. I take the honorable member for Melbourne Ports. He is a protectionist, and has never hesitated to declare that he is. I am a free-trader, and no one will deny that, when I have stood on the free-trade ticket, I have always done my part in the advocacy of free-trade. I am so much a better free-trader than is the right honorable gentleman that, unlike him and the honorable member for Lang, I am in favour of resorting to land values taxation. The honorable member for Lang is opposed to land values taxation.

Mr. JOHNSON.—The honorable member for Lang will speak for himself.

Mr. HUGHES.—The honorable member surely cannot be the "Mr. Johnson" who spoke the other evening at the Henry George celebration. He cannot be the honorable member for Lang, who delivered an address on "Henry George and land values taxation," and the Prime Minister, who is opposed to land values taxation, surely cannot be the man who, in 1894, stumped New South Wales in favour of that principle.

Mr. WEBSTER.—He is.

Mr. HUGHES.—These honorable members now talk of free-trade. My record, as a free-trader, will bear favorable comparison with that of the Prime Minister, and the record of the honorable member for Melbourne Ports as a protectionist will bear favorable comparison with that of the Minister of Trade and Customs.

Mr. MALONEY.—It is much better.

Mr. HUGHES.—On every point, except fiscalism, I venture to say that the

honorable member for Melbourne Ports and I are perfectly in accord.

Mr. ROBINSON.—Then why did the Labour Party oppose him at the last election?

Mr. HUGHES.—I am just about to deal with our methods. The honorable member for Melbourne Ports says that he does not approve of our pledge; but on the broad principles which underlie our platform he and I are agreed. There is, therefore, nothing more natural than that, in the face of these serried ranks of honorable members opposite who have abandoned every principle, we should join our forces. We have before us the honorable member for Parramatta, hand in glove with the honorable member for Kooyong, and the sworn brother of the honorable member for Flinders. The honorable member for Parramatta also finds a particular friend in the honorable member for Corangamite. And so the list goes on. What more natural in these circumstances than that we, who believe in the same principles, but are not quite agreed as to the method of attaining those principles, should now band ourselves together, stimulated, and, indeed, compelled to do so, by the combination that we see on the Ministerial benches, consisting of honorable members who have abandoned every principle of which they have for a long time declared themselves in favour, and who apparently have no set principles, except a desire to get into recess as quickly as possible, and to evade the consequences of their treachery and misdeeds. When we compare the alliance with the coalition we find in our ranks no such divergences of opinion as are represented by the honorable and learned member for Parkes, and the honorable member for Lang.

Mr. JOHNSON. — The honorable and learned member for Parkes is a better judge of democracy than is the honorable and learned member.

Mr. PAGE. — The honorable member's idea of democracy is a remarkable one.

Mr. HUGHES.—If, as I understand, the honorable member for Lang regards the honorable and learned member for Parkes as an ideal democrat, it would ill become me to disturb such a pleasing belief. All that I have to say is that, as the honorable and learned member for Parkes has been throughout his political life bitterly opposed to everything that the honorable

member for Lang has permitted a long-suffering country to believe he insisted on, either one or the other cannot be a democrat. They cannot both be democrats, and I shall leave them to settle the delicate question as to which of the two is. The right honorable gentleman at the head of the Government is not a Socialist, or at any rate he is only a kind of "so-so Socialist." He is in favour of Socialism as long as it does not interfere with the exercise of individual freedom. He does not mind how far the Government and the nation go in restricting individual liberty. That is to say, so far as a straight line is a straight line, and can be made straight without curves he is in favour of straight lines, but when it comes to corkscrews—when it comes to circles—he altogether objects to straight lines. When we have a clear, definite, and unambiguous statement of that kind, no man can be under any misapprehension any longer. My right honorable and learned friend at the head of the Government, says he is opposed to Socialism. He says, "Restrict human liberty only so far as is necessary; but I will go no further"; and he does not even go so far! But what is the position of the honorable and learned member for Parkes? He, at any rate, is logical. His position requires no defence. By right of his opinions, he takes his position on the Government side of the House. He is opposed to our party, because he is a Spencerian, who believes to the very uttermost in individual effort, as opposed to State aid, or governmental effort. He believes in the "survival of the fittest" without qualification. He believes in no public libraries, no State-owned tramways, no public baths or washhouses, no municipal effort. He stands as a clear individualist, without any sort of kink or reservation. My right honorable friend, the leader of the Government, has never dared to oppose State railways or State tramways. He is in favour of doing anything that he can do towards assisting individual effort, when it can be done without affecting individual liberty—and above all, can be done without risking his position upon the Treasury bench. Here, then, is a combination—the right honorable gentleman at the head of the Government, the honorable and learned member for Parkes, and the honorable member for Flinders, who stands, I suppose, as the living embodiment of individual effort. He, however, is at least not so consistent as the honorable and learned member for

Parkes. As the leader of the Opposition said this afternoon, he is not one of those anti-Socialists who want everything done for them by the State, but refuse to allow the State to do anything for anybody else. The head of the Government says that one of the reasons why he is opposed to us is, that we stand for class legislation. I would ask the honorable member for Flinders, when he has time to get this idea thoroughly into him. I should like him to tell the House what he calls class legislation. Is it not class legislation to give to one section of the community aids in the direction of butter bonuses, assistance in the way of irrigation, and cheaper freights, and greater opportunities for displaying their goods in the markets of the world, and otherwise? Are not all these things advantages for a class? It is very necessary that they should be done—very desirable. And I stand by everything that the leader of the Opposition said on this subject. I desire that these people should get all these things, but not that they only should get them. I desire that some other sections of the community should get similar advantages. So that we are not for a class, as the head of the Government and the honorable member for Flinders and others are for a class; but we are for the whole nation. That is our position. We are opposed to this Government, that has come in, according to one of its leaders, to oppose Socialism, to restore responsible government, and to fight against class legislation, but which has behind it the Property Owners' Association. What is a property owner? How does he differ from an ordinary man? We stand for men—for citizens—not for property owners. Every man and every woman is not asked whether he or she has any property, on wishing to join our associations. We do not ask whether they have "a stake in the country." It is sufficient for us that they are men and women. That is all that we want to know, and we are here to help them. If they are down-trodden and suffering an injustice we are ready to help them. So much for class legislation, and now for another matter. My right honorable friend came in to abolish third parties—or at all events, one of the heads of the combination did. I give the Prime Minister credit for this—that he does not stand here to abolish anything that will abolish him. It so happens that the abolition of third parties would destroy

my right honorable friend. Therefore, he is opposed to their abolition.

Mr. REID.—Honorable members opposite, of course, came in to abolish themselves—poor disinterested people!

Mr. HUGHES.—The right honorable member for five years in New South Wales lived by virtue of a third party. To-day he is quite consistent to his old belief and opinions. He is living by a third party, or, for aught I know, by a third and a fourth party. There is one party who stand by themselves—that solid phalanx of men who represent people who have a "stake in the country," men of solid and prosperous appearance, who are so different from us wretched Cassiuses. We are not sleek, fat-headed men. I am sorry that we are not. The honorable members to whom I refer are such men as Cæsar would have desired to have about him—

Let me have men about me that are fat, sleek-headed men, and such as sleep o' nights;

They sleep o' nights, while other poor devils perhaps cannot sleep by virtue, it may be, of some of the laws which these gentlemen are going to oppose or introduce. We are asked why we oppose this combination. What is the position that the honorable and learned member for Ballarat occupies in this interesting coalition? Where is he? He does not believe in the policy of the coalition Government to the extent of joining it. He believes that the coalition is a jolly fine thing, but he will not become a member of it. His statement about it is very much like the advice given by certain people—"Go on the land; cultivate the soil"; but who will not go on the land themselves, and who would never cultivate anything more than a geranium in a flower-pot. The honorable and learned member for Ballarat says that he is opposed to our party, because we are over-organized, because we are dominated by machine politics, and because we are controlled by caucuses of men outside Parliament. He desires to re-establish responsible government, and so he gives his support to a Ministry which comes in to restore responsible government. How gratified he must be at their early movements made in that direction! I feel sure that he sheds tears of joy to see the herculean efforts of the Prime Minister towards that end. The honorable and learned member for Ballarat went out of office because he considered that third parties were obnoxious. He must be

highly pleased with the result of his action. He is followed by a small and rapidly diminishing band of faithful men who will not go into the ordinary room which the followers of the Government use, but go into a little room of their own. If the fates are as kindly to them as they have been, the honorable and learned member will soon be able to put his party into a piano-box or a packing-case. He started out with a party of some fifteen or sixteen, or more. They are down to some six now. Some of them sit opposite; some of them are with us. None of them are dead, I hope; but at any rate there are very few left. Some have been seduced by the siren's voice of the half-head of the Ministry. There they are—two of them—no, there are three, and they have accepted the advice of the right honorable gentleman, and gone into the thing thoroughly. They have trampled on their scruples, and they have forgotten their little remarks to their electors. Some were not asked to join the Ministry, and the iron has entered into their souls; and with the faithful leader of the party, who believes in the abolition of third parties, they have gone into a little room of their own. And if the honorable and learned member for Ballarat says to-morrow that black is white will the right honorable gentleman at the head of the Government say that it is not? The Government is absolutely at the mercy of that eloquent, inconsistent, and ingenious gentleman who set out to destroy a third party by the extraordinary expedient of establishing four, and who restored responsible government by putting in a Government which denounced the late Government because it had a "crawling" policy, and has substituted a policy of crawling away with tremendous energy and towards the lettuce of recess. The honorable and learned member for Ballarat is in favour of the abolition of third parties; and I want to know what party he is leading now—the second party, the third party—or the fourth party? At any rate, he will not acknowledge such men as the honorable member for Kooyong, the honorable member for Flinders, the honorable member for Corangamite, or the honorable and learned member for Wannon.

Mr. WILSON.—Why not?

Mr. HUGHES.—Why not? Ask me not why not. Ask the honorable and

learned member for Ballarat. I think that this refusal of recognition gives the honorable member for Corangamite a legitimate ground for complaint against the honorable and learned member for Ballarat. Are those gentlemen illegitimate followers of the honorable and learned member, that he will not acknowledge them. Why the honorable and learned member will not acknowledge them I do not know. Perhaps the room will not hold any more. A humorous effort was made by a newspaper a little while ago, when it said that only seven gentlemen attended the alliance meeting. How many followed the honorable and learned member for Ballarat into that little room? And who leads that other combination of righteous souls on the Government front cross bench? Is the honorable member for Moira in this, or that, or the other combination? Where does he sit? Where does he stand? Where is his resting place? We have a right to know. The Prime Minister says that the country wants to know all about the alliance on this side. What the country really wants to know all about, is what the present Government are doing in office? The Government came in to do something that the previous Government were unable to do. The present Government came in to restore responsible government. When the Prime Minister sat in Opposition he said that not for twenty-four hours ought the Labour Government to be allowed to remain in power, for we were, as it were, cutting right into the heart of responsible government—cutting right into the heart of those representative institutions under which the Empire has reached its present imposing proportions. But the Prime Minister never did anything after that. Having counted noses, he found that while not a day should be lost, many days had to be lost owing to the fact that he had no majority, and the time went on. Instead of challenging the late Government, as one would imagine such a man of principle would, he simply waited until the honorable and learned member for Corinella moved his ingenious little amendment. The honorable and learned member for Ballarat, whose speech about the Arbitration Bill would have moved even the angels to admiration, drafted, or assisted in drafting, that amendment.

Mr. REID.—Who drafted the proposal of the Labour Party as to clause 48?

Mr. HUGHES.—By whom does the right honorable gentleman think the proposal was drafted?

Mr. REID.—I have an idea it was not drafted in Melbourne.

Mr. HUGHES.—I trust the right honorable gentleman is not suggesting that we have any improper relations with any other place.

Mr. REID.—None whatever—they are business relations.

Mr. HUGHES.—I thought the right honorable gentleman was going to suggest that it was not drafted on earth. The emanations from this part of the House are deemed so suspicious as to lead to the belief that they come from “below.”

Mr. REID.—They would be too clever down “below” to make the mess which the party of the honorable and learned member did.

Mr. HUGHES.—I did not smell any brimstone about the amendment; but the brimstone may have been there all the same. Anyhow, it was an amendment which the right honorable member, while not believing in it, voted for. He was quite surprised when the late Government elected to make it a point on which they should resign if defeated.

Mr. REID.—No, I was not; I never expressed any surprise of the kind.

Mr. HUGHES.—The right honorable member said that he could not understand the late Government resigning on a matter of detail.

Mr. REID.—I said I could not understand the honorable member, after making the statement he did in the debate on the Address-in-Reply, in reference to the action of the honorable and learned member for Ballarat, doing as he did.

Mr. HUGHES.—That is another exception. I notice that when the honorable member for Bland declared his intention to regard the amendment as serious, the present Prime Minister said, “Quite right! Quite right!”

Mr. REID.—I should think so.

Mr. HUGHES.—There was an opportunity for the right honorable gentleman to attain the position he now occupies. We are opposed to this Government because it stands for a policy that dare not be enunciated. What is the Government policy? Why do those organizations outside, which stand for monopoly and reaction, pin their faith to the present Government? It is not because of any declaration of policy, or programme, because no declaration has been made. But they believe in the right honorable gentleman at the head

of the Government, supported by the honorable member for Kooyong, and the Conservative corner, and by the honorable and learned member for Ballarat, whose principles are hazy to a degree calculated to bring tears to the eyes of his friends, and joy to the hearts of his opponents. They believe that this Government is the only one that can help them, and that sooner or later, with, perhaps, a few recruits from this side, the Government will be able to put in force that policy for which the right honorable member, with as little reservation as is possible with him, says he stands. The Prime Minister stands for the policy of the abolition of a White Australia.

Mr. REID.—The honorable and learned member will say anything after that, and he has been saying a good deal.

Mr. HUGHES.—The Prime Minister stands for the policy of the abolition of a White Australia.

Mr. REID.—What rubbish!

Mr. HUGHES.—The right honorable gentleman said this afternoon that the section which permitted the six hatters to be detained——

Mr. REID.—Are not our fellow-countrymen from England, Scotland, and Ireland white people? The honorable and learned member is a disgrace to the people from which he sprang, if he takes any other view.

Mr. HUGHES.—The Prime Minister has declared himself against the policy of a White Australia. But I ask him what he is going to do, not in the matter of the six hatters, but in the matter of six potters, whom he is now prosecuting in Sydney? Six potters were brought all the way from England and landed in this country. Although they are here, citizens of our own flesh and blood, bone of our bone, sinew of our sinew, under the régime of the right honorable gentleman instructions have been given to the Solicitor-General of New South Wales to file against the man who brought them here an information under the section of the Act which did not permit of the six hatters coming in. Under the potters' thumb the right honorable gentleman now stands; the mark of the beast is on him.

Mr. HUME COOK.—What will the *Argus* say to-morrow?

Mr. HUGHES.—This is the right honorable gentleman of whom the *Daily Telegraph* on 17th November, 1903, said——

Mr. Reid has specifically announced that he would endeavour, if placed in office, to repeal

two enactments specially dear to the Labour Party, and which were only carried by the cordial co-operation of that party with the Government.

Mr. REID.—Hear, hear; I have not repeated them yet.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—The right honorable gentleman does not dare to propose it.

Mr. REID.—The honorable and learned member knows that I am sworn to carry out the laws of the country, and if I did not do it, he would accuse me of treachery in breaking the law.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Of what did the right honorable gentleman accuse Sir Edmund Barton?

Mr. HUGHES.—The *Daily Telegraph* further said——

One of these enactments is the notorious section of the Immigration Restriction Act, by which it was sought to keep the six hatters out of the Commonwealth. The other is the equally notorious section of the Postal Act by which the Government seek to prohibit mail steamers from carrying lascar seamen.

Mr. REID.—I said it to-day again.

Mr. HUGHES.—It is a singular thing, and something more than a coincidence, that the right honorable gentleman should in the last few days have been compelled to bow down to these two enactments.

Mr. REID.—To the law; that is what I bowed to.

Mr. HUGHES.—He has permitted an information to be laid against the men to whom I have referred. Proceedings have been directed to be taken by the Department over which the right honorable gentleman presides against a man in Sydney for importing six potters into the State of New South Wales under contract.

Mr. REID.—And in violation of the law, which I am sworn to administer.

Mr. HUGHES.—And the six hatters were introduced also in violation of the law.

Mr. REID.—On the contrary, they were admitted, on the ground that their introduction was not a violation of the law. That is the answer to that. They are here now.

Mr. HUGHES.—The right honorable gentleman seeks now to evade the full responsibility of his action. I ask the honorable and learned member for Ballarat whether it is not a fact that the point in dispute between Sir Edmund Barton, as Prime Minister, and Mr. Anderson, was simply this: that Mr. Anderson had not sought that permission to land those per-

sons which the Act required before persons introduced under contract could be admitted?

Mr. REID.—It was not that at all.

Mr. HUGHES. — The honorable and learned member for Ballarat acknowledges that I have stated the matter correctly, and that is the refutation of the statement of the Prime Minister.

Mr. REID.—The question was whether they came under that section or not.

Mr. HUGHES.—They had to ask permission.

Mr. GROOM.—They had to get a certificate of exemption.

Mr. HUGHES.—Persons who had contracted to perform manual labour came within the section.

Mr. REID.—The question was whether those persons did come within the section. That took a week to find out.

Mr. HUGHES.—And this is the first time the right honorable gentleman has said, in his denunciation of the proceedings relating to the six hatters, that this was the matter to which he took exception—the question whether they came within the section. What he said, according to the *Daily Telegraph*, is something very different. According to that newspaper, he objected to keep men of our own flesh and blood out of the Commonwealth—our own race, white men.

Mr. REID.—I say that now.

Mr. HUGHES.—Yet the right honorable gentleman now proposes to deport these six unfortunate potters—at any rate that could be done under the section—and to imprison the unfortunate man who brought them here—to paralyze his industry, and to drive out our own flesh and blood. The right honorable gentleman is pledged on this question. “If I have the opportunity,” he said, “I will strike this iniquitous section out of the Act,” and the first thing he does when he has the opportunity is to give instructions for a prosecution under it.

Mr. REID.—What would the honorable and learned member say of me if I deliberately broke the law of the land? Would he not denounce me?

Mr. HUGHES.—I am not here as a magistrate to declare what I should do with the right honorable gentleman if he broke the law; but, as a member of the House of Representatives, I call upon the right honorable gentleman to redeem his pledge, and strike that section out of the Act. The right honorable gentleman not only gives

orders for a prosecution under the Act, but he says, “I am now with men who believe in this Act, and I am not going to say one word against it any more.”

To do a great right, do a little wrong;
And curb this cruel devil of his will.

The right honorable gentleman talks of breaking the law; but if it suited him he would break the law and the prophets. He asks why we oppose the present Government coalition? I say, because it stands upon a policy which it dare not enunciate. It stands for a policy which, so far as it is enunciated, is entirely a policy of negation. What policy is the right honorable gentleman for? Is he for the policy of White Australia, or against it? He denounces it on one occasion, and yet orders a prosecution under the Act.

Mr. REID.—The potters are white men, not blackfellows. What question of “White Australia” is raised by white men coming here.

Mr. HUGHES.—The right honorable gentleman said he was opposed to the section, until these potters came here. What sort of a White Australia would it be if the right honorable gentleman had his way; or, rather, if the property-owners, the Employers’ Association, and the other non-class institutions which stand behind him had their way? He has said that we on this side are responsible for every word that Tom Mann has said.

Mr. MALONEY.—A very good man, too.

Mr. HUGHES.—I do not know that I agree with everything that Tom Mann has said, but I know that I would much rather stand by what Mr. Mann has said than by what Mr. Walpole has said. Let the Prime Minister stand by what Mr. Walpole has said. Let the right honorable gentleman go to his own electorate and advocate the policy put forward by Mr. Walpole. At any rate, that would be an honest course to take.

Mr. REID.—I did not ask the honorable and learned member to advocate the cause of the disloyal men behind him—anarchists and republicans.

Mr. HUGHES.—Here is a statesman, a widely-read economic thinker, and he says that the anarchists are behind us. A man has only to go down to the Yarra Bank any Sunday he has an hour to spare, and he will hear the most unsparing denunciation of the Socialist Party by the Anarchists, and he can hear the most unsparing denunciation of the Labour Party by the Socialists, if he goes to Sydney.

Mr. REID.—They will all vote for the honorable and learned member's crowd against ours.

Mr. HUGHES.—The right honorable member either does not know what he is talking about, or is saying that which is not true. At the last elections the Socialist party declined to vote for our nominees, and put up several candidates of their own. I have been opposed on two occasions by Socialists, and other members of the party to which I belong have been similarly opposed. We oppose the present Government because its policy, so far as we can understand it, is to do nothing, to delay, and to hurry into recess. The Government have not dared to enunciate their true policy, but, judging by the appearance of those who sit behind them, it is a policy of reaction, a policy that stands for monopoly and for class legislation, a policy that would paralyze industrial legislation, and aims at holding back the sweeping tide of democracy. It is a policy which is supported in this House by men who have abandoned every principle for which they have stood. I am not now referring to fiscal principles, because, of course, there is a fiscal truce. We are opposed to the Government because its members and those who support it have nothing in common with each other. Take the honorable member for Hunter. What are his views? Has he anything in common with the honorable member for Flinders?

Mr. LIDDELL.—Yes. We represent exactly the same kind of electorates—farming constituencies.

Mr. ROBINSON.—And they do not believe in bringing the farming industries under the Arbitration Bill, as the honorable and learned member and his party do.

Mr. HUGHES.—I have only lately realized what a happy escape I have made. I used to sit with some of those honorable gentlemen, and I thought that they were fairly democratic. I now understand that the honorable member for Flinders, who is one of the bulwarks of the men with a stake in the country in this great State of Victoria, and the advanced democrat who took the place of the conservative Sir Edmund Barton, who passed the White Australia legislation in which the Prime Minister does not believe, but which he either voted for or did not oppose, have the same opinions. What those opinions are no one seems to know.

Directly one asks, "Are you in favour of this?" he is told, "No, not just now." Judging by the men who sit behind it, the Government stands for the policy of reaction, of conservatism, of monopoly, and of class legislation. As such, I stigmatize them, and as such, I shall oppose them. The Prime Minister to-night said something about fiscalism, and contrived, in that way of which he is such a master, to make it appear that we are sacrificing something if we do not stand by our various fiscal opinions. I wish to say, first of all, that it is true that I stood with the right honorable gentleman as a free-trader in this Federal Parliament. I will not deny that I have always been a free-trader; but I deny that for five years any man knew whether I was a protectionist or a free-trader. In New South Wales I sat behind the Government of which the right honorable member was at the head as a member of a party which had sunk the fiscal issue. One of the reasons why the honorable member for Paramatta left that party was that it sank the fiscal issue, which he regarded as of paramount importance.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—That is absolutely incorrect.

Mr. HUGHES.—I thank the honorable member for those words, for when he says that, I know that everything is right.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The honorable and learned member is a good judge of what is right, and what is wrong.

Mr. HUGHES.—I am indeed. I have seen the honorable member do so few right things, and so many wrong things, that I am an excellent judge. When he did right, I supported him; but when he did wrong, I ceased to support him, and he went down, and has never been up since.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The honorable and learned member never did any wrong in his life.

Mr. HUGHES.—I thank the honorable member. I shall get him to sign that statement, so that should I lose my present position, I may have a character which will take me anywhere.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The honorable and learned member is a regular George Washington.

Mr. HUGHES.—I thank the honorable member again. The Prime Minister said to-night that we should stand by our fiscal opinions. For five years in New South Wales, the party to which I belong supported the Government which he led.

At that time, we were against having anything to do with, or to say upon, the fiscal question. I was elected on the first occasion in opposition to a nominee of my right honorable friend; but afterwards, he did not oppose me, because he was afraid that, if he did, some one who would sit in opposition to his Government would be elected. There was, therefore, an alliance between himself and myself, and between himself and the party to which I belong. That alliance existed *de facto* for three elections. We went to the country together, and we worked together harmoniously. It was only in rare instances that a candidate of one party was opposed by a candidate of the other. During those four or five years, the right honorable gentleman did not say a word against our caucus methods or pledges. He was perfectly satisfied with the party, and was delighted with the way in which we supported him.

Mr. REID.—The honorable and learned member is entirely wrong again. I publicly denounced the methods of the party during the elections of 1894.

Mr. HUGHES.—The right honorable member denounced us in 1894, before we supported him, but after we supported him he discontinued his denunciations until 1899, when we were again opposed to him, and he again denounced us.

Mr. REID.—I would take support from any one who would vote with me.

Mr. HUGHES.—Even the section of the Labour Party which supported the right honorable gentleman after 1899 were not denounced. Only quite lately he said nice things of the honorable member for Canobolas and myself, and exempted us from the avalanche of criticism which he levelled against our party generally. We had done all that was right, and he gave us a character like that which the honorable member for Parramatta has just given to me. The Labour Party in New South Wales, for five years, supported a Ministry headed by the right honorable member, and went to the country practically in alliance with him. He cannot, and does not, deny that. We supported him, and he supported us. After five years we had to put the right honorable member out, and we put the honorable member for Hume in. The latter introduced legislation of which we approved, and a great deal more of it than the right honorable member had given to us. The Prime Minister said the other night that we had squeezed more out of the honorable member

for Hume in two years than out of him in five years; but the truth is that the honorable member for Hume proved himself so much the better democrat, that in two or three years he gave the people of New South Wales more and better democratic legislation than the right honorable member had given to them in five years. That is a fact.

Mr. WILKS.—Legislation that he originally opposed.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—That is not so.

Mr. HUGHES.—I know that the honorable member for Dalley did not oppose that legislation.

Mr. WILKS.—I supported certain legislation, but not the honorable member for Hume.

Mr. HUGHES. — We supported that legislation. The honorable member knows very well, because he is perfectly acquainted with all the circumstances of the case, that we supported legislation introduced by the honorable member for Hume, who proved himself to be at least as good a democrat and a statesman as the Prime Minister. We passed legislation under his leadership which stands on the statute-book of New South Wales to-day, and which has done for the people of that State much that is good. Very many people bless the name of the Government that introduced and passed such legislation. Now we are told that we must stand fast by our fiscal opinions. This admonition comes from a gentleman who, all his life, has been a free-trader. He is a free-trader first, last, and all the time. Now I am not a free-trader, first, last, and all the time. I am a member of the Federal Labour Party, a member of the Labour Party of Australia, and I believe the aims of that party to be infinitely more important than fiscalism. I have declared not once, but a hundred times, in the Parliament of New South Wales, that I was in favour of the labour platform as opposed to fiscalism. The Prime Minister never said a word when Mr. McGowen and Mr. Arthur Griffith and other men who were solid protectionists gave his Free-trade Administration for five years their consistent support. He never said that they were betraying their principles. He accepted from Mr. McGowen, and Mr. Griffith, and others, their faithful and unswerving support, and he relied upon them. Now he says that we must not, at this stage, do what we did then. As to what I am going to do upon the fiscal question in this Parliament, my

position is abundantly clear. I was returned to revise the Tariff, and to support the right honorable gentleman in doing it. My honorable friend, like the brave old warrior that he is, never tried to do it. I remember him saying—when we members of the late Labour Party in New South Wales said that Federation would kill free-trade, and when he knew it—“Let us have Federation, and I will fight like a tiger for free-trade.”

Mr. REID.—And so I did—more than the honorable and learned member ever did. Not once did he stand upon the platform with me in support of that policy.

Mr. HUGHES.—That is one thing that stands to my eternal credit.

Mr. REID.—The honorable and learned member took my flag and my support, but did not back me up.

Mr. HUGHES.—I never had, in my electorate, any man outside of my own party who said one word in my favour. I never asked for it, and the greatest boon that they could confer upon me was to keep away.

Mr. REID.—What?

Mr. HUGHES.—The greatest boon they could confer upon me was to keep away.

Mr. REID.—Who are “they”?

Mr. HUGHES.—They are “they;” ye are “they.” I am not denying, and I have never denied that I was ready enough to accept the support of the Free-trade Party, and they have always been ready enough to accept mine.

Mr. WILKS.—Did not the honorable and learned member ask for the support of the Free-trade Party?

Mr. HUGHES.—Undoubtedly I did.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—And received it to a very material extent.

Mr. REID.—When the storm was on the honorable and learned member was very good to me; we got on splendidly.

Mr. HUGHES.—I had a right, occupying the position that I did, to know whether or not the Free-trade Party proposed to support my candidature as a labour representative, and I asked the right honorable gentleman whether he proposed to support me, and he said, “Of course.” I had a right to expect that, because for four previous elections the right honorable gentleman had supported me.

Mr. REID.—When the honorable and learned member explained that he was free on the fiscal question I was quite satisfied.

Mr. HUGHES.—On the fiscal question, I was returned to this Parliament to revise

the Tariff, and I followed my right honorable friend, because he was the reviser.

Mr. REID.—And now the honorable and learned member is following the honorable member for Indi.

Mr. HUGHES.—For two and a half hours I listened to the right honorable gentleman, and did not interject once, and I cannot go on if he persistently interrupts me.

Mr. REID. — I shall not do so any further.

Mr. HUGHES. — The right honorable gentleman was returned here to revise the Tariff. Now, what did he say? He is reported in the *Sydney Daily Telegraph* of 18th August, 1903, as having spoken as follows:—

I want to tell you frankly that, although all sorts of temptations have been addressed to me to sink the fiscal question, and although I believe I would be an infinitely stronger man, so far as the whole of Australia is concerned, if I would only sink this question, I cannot do it. My whole public career would be a fraud if I endeavoured to get political power by sacrificing the great principle of my political existence.

Mr. REID.—Hear, hear!

Mr. HUGHES.—Now the right honorable gentleman is a free-trader first, last, and all the time. I am not, and never have been, and do not want to be. I believe that free-trade is a better policy than protection, but I have declared, and I say again, that the planks of the labour platform are infinitely more important to me than any form of fiscalism. Does the right honorable gentleman say that a White Australia—or rather a Black Australia—is more important to him than fiscalism? No. He says free-trade is to him the beginning and end of everything; and yet there he sits in calm community with the Minister of Trade and Customs, the Treasurer, and the Minister of Defence. These three protectionists and another leaven the lump. The right honorable gentleman has sunk his fiscal belief. He is in favour of amending the Immigration Restriction Act with a view to removing the present restrictions upon the immigration of contract labourers, but he will not do that at this stage, because his friends in the Ministry do not agree with him. In fact, the right honorable gentleman is a seething volcano of convictions, but he cannot find an opportunity to carry them into effect. He says he will fight like a tiger for free-trade, and he will fight more like a hyena to carry out his other convictions; but circumstances are not favorable,

and he cannot go on. He asks us to formulate in detail our objections to the Government. Why, it is with difficulty that we can bring ourselves to consider the claims of such a combination to ordinary treatment. Consider the circumstances under which the late Government came into office, and the conditions under which they were thrown out. Consider the promise we got from the honorable and learned member for Ballarat that we should have fair play. Consider the circumstances connected with the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill. Consider the volume of opinion in this House that had led the country to believe it was in favour of the whole of that measure, and consider how it changed the moment that we assumed control of it. The head of the fourth party, or the third party in this Chamber—the honorable and learned member for Ballarat—wanted to give us fair play. He himself said so. He was in favour of entering into an alliance with us. That honorable and learned member who is opposed to the existence of third parties and to the methods of the Labour Party, made overtures to us some considerable time before the House met, that we should join with him. He did not qualify those overtures with any objection to our methods, to those irresponsible persons outside of Parliament, to the caucus, to the pledge, or to anything else. He was willing to ally himself with our party, ignoring what he now professes to regard as blemishes in our movement and platform. The House met. He was still in favour of an alliance, so much in favour of an alliance as such, irrespective of the party with whom he allied himself, that he was also in favour of an alliance with the right honorable member for East Sydney. That was, indeed, putting the virtues of an alliance before anything else. He made overtures to the right honorable member for East Sydney, and to us. We were unable to agree to his overtures. The right honorable member for East Sydney was in a very different position. He had taken a very rapid bird's eye view of the situation, and saw clearly enough that there was no hope from fiscal strife, or anything in that direction. He knows when he is "licked," and says so. Anybody who has watched his career would know so much without his saying so. No man accepts defeat more readily, or declares it more readily, when it suits his purpose to do so. The honorable and learned member for Ballarat was negotiating with

two parties at the same time. The right honorable member for East Sydney objected to that. The honorable and learned member for Ballarat said he was very sorry, but could not help it. It was one of the consequences of his insatiate desire for an alliance of some sort, and if there had been three or four parties in the House, doubtless he would have offered to ally himself with every one of them. That is why I cannot understand why the honorable member for Corangamite has not been admitted to the little room in which the Ministerial protectionists meet. Yet, although the honorable and learned member for Ballarat wanted to ally himself with the Labour Party, because he conceived it would be a natural alliance with the Liberal Party which he was leading, he now stands behind the present Ministry, the head of which says he is glad to intimate that the honorable and learned member for Ballarat is his warmest friend, and that he has now only one mission in life, namely, to bring the blessings of brotherly love to the people of Victoria from those of New South Wales. He declares that his one mission in life is to bear the olive branch. He desires to embrace all the people of Victoria. He loves them so much that he wishes them to understand that those cruel things which he uttered a little time ago, were uttered in a frenzy, and must not be considered seriously. According to the *Age* of 17th May, 1904—

There is really a good deal of humour in politics "would men observingly distil it out." One exquisite piece of it lies in the tearful yearnings of the inventor of the *Petriana* Myth towards Mr. Deakin. Only a few months ago, when the local free-trade press was vainly trying to get the Victorian electors to accept Mr. Reid's nominees and throw over those of Mr. Deakin, no abuse was too rabid, and no falsehood too foul, with which to bespatter the protectionist leader. He was held up to the odium of the world at large as a man who pushed shipwrecked sailors back into the sea, and denied them a foothold in Australia. When Mr. Deakin branded these fictions with the name of the "*Petriana* Myth," and proved by irrefragable documents that his accusers had deliberately invented their accusations, he was told that he was a mere tool of the Labour Party, ready to cling to office by any means, however grovelling.

That represents the attitude of the right honorable member for East Sydney towards the honorable and learned member for Ballarat a little time ago. Now all is changed.

MR. REID.—I never made such a statement, and only the *Age* would say so. It is an absolutely false statement.

MR. HUGHES.—Anyhow, the *Age* does say so. When the late Government

came into office, the honorable and learned member for Ballarat was still smarting under these gentle, amicable olive branch overtures on the part of the right honorable member for East Sydney, and he would not look at him. On the contrary, he declared that he was one of our warmest friends. According to the *Age* of 19th May, of the present year—

When Mr. Watson sat down yesterday, after making his statement to the House, of the Ministerial programme for the current session, Mr. Deakin rose and complimented him on having announced a policy almost identical with that which had been agreed upon between Mr. Reid and himself.

The honorable and learned member for Ballarat promised that we should receive fair play. At that time he was not opposed to our party to the extent to which he has latterly betrayed himself, but he was still angling for a coalition with the supporters of the right honorable member for East Sydney. Upon 20th May last the *Age* said—

The liberal caucus has silenced the cry of conservative coalition.

The honorable and learned member for Ballarat did not begin to see the vices which are inherent in the organization of the Labour Party until some time after. Possibly he thought that the Watson Government would fall into decrepitude and decay almost before it was out of its swaddling clothes. Possibly he hoped for the very best—that is, for the very worst. Perhaps he thought that we should require his assistance—that we should run to him, as to a foster mother. At any rate, we were promised fair play at his hands, and we expected to receive it. He urged then, as the chief reason why he acted as he did, that three parties in the House were undesirable, and rendered constitutional government impossible. Upon 23rd May last the honorable and learned member had altered his opinions to such an extent that the *Age* made the following remarks—

Mr. Denkin is at great pains to emphasize the differences between himself and Mr. Watson, and to minimize the points of dissimilarity between himself and Mr. Reid. . . . Having admitted that the business programmes are identical, he flies off to something which Mr. Watson has outlined as possible work for another session; and so, as there are no difficulties for to-day drags in possible differences of the future. That is not the attitude of a friendly critic, and shows a disposition of mind which is anxious to cause a quarrel. But the singular thing is that the leader who thus strains after something to justify him in opposing men to whom he has promised a fair trial quite ignores the dangerous differences

which ought to have guarded him against all present thought of coalition with the free-trade leader.

Here then, the honorable and learned member for Ballarat begins to evidence that objection to the Labour Party which latterly has become accentuated. Now he is not only opposed to third parties as such, but he is opposed to the Labour Party as such—the very party with which, a few weeks or a few months ago, he was perfectly willing to ally himself, upon almost any terms—at any rate upon equal terms. As to this coalition, to which my honorable and learned friend has lent his powerful aid, but to which he has not committed himself body and soul, I would remind the House that as formerly projected, it was dealt with by the *Age* in its issue of 26th May last. I understand that the present coalition is the lineal descendant of that first proposed. I presume that the basis which supported the one first proposed supports the present. May I ask the Prime Minister for an approving nod.

MR. REID.—The honorable and learned member will not allow me to interrupt.

MR. HUGHES.—Jove sleeps. I presume that the present coalition is the same as that which formed the subject of the famous effort made by the honorable and learned member for Ballarat.

MR. WATSON.—He said some time ago that it was not the same; therefore, there has been no public notice of the understanding.

MR. HUGHES.—If it be not the old coalition, what is it? What guarantee has the honorable and learned member for Ballarat that it is going to do that which he said it would? Where is the agreement for the maintenance of a White Australia? Has my honorable and learned friend not obtained it? I believe that he has. Can he rely on it? I believe that he cannot? Is he satisfied with a mere declaration? Does he not desire that it shall be in black and white? Will the honorable and learned member who does not believe in written pledges take the mere *ipse dixit* of my right honorable friend in this matter? I do not think that he will. I think he betrays a weakness in this little matter for black and white. And the Prime Minister, who has nothing but scorn for the labour pledge, says of the terms of the alliance, "Let us see it in black and white." Will he not take the word of an honorable member? It is, nevertheless, very convenient apparently to have everything in black and white. Now, this is what the

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Age said of the coalition as first proposed in its issue of 26th May last:—

It may be at once conceded that if a coalition were necessary to make a policy effective, or to avoid any great danger to the integrity of parties, a coalition between the Liberals and the Labour Government would be quite a natural one. It would be a coming together of the two great branches of the Liberal party—a union mostly of affinities as contrasted with a union of discords in the proposed coalition with the conservative free-traders.

Here, then, we find that the Age emphasized that coalition which it believed ought to have been effected. The honorable and learned member for Ballarat was in favour of that coalition, but it did not come about, and he has ever since consistently opposed the party to which I belong. I have merely a few more words to say on the attitude of the honorable and learned member for Ballarat, and I shall have done. The honorable and learned member was in office for nearly three years as a member of the Barton Government. During that time the Labour Party supported him, and he never said a word against it. Then he became Prime Minister, the Labour Party supported him, and he still was silent as to our organization and our methods. He next went to the country, and the verdict was so much in our favour that he thought it would be unwise to continue without our aid. He then requested us to join him. He made overtures of the most liberal character to us, and said not one word against our pledge, our methods, or our outside organizations. He did this publicly, in his Ballarat speech, and subsequently privately. We did not accept those overtures. He hoped by decisive action, possibly, to bring us to his way of thinking. Following that, he offered to coalesce with the right honorable member for East Sydney. He still hoped, I believe, during all this time, to coalesce with us. He never shut the door to a coalition with the Labour Party even while he was endeavouring to coalesce with the party led by the present Prime Minister. After that coalition had been consummated, however, he denounced our methods, although not to the extent he has since done. He denounced third-party Government, the methods of our selection, and everything in connexion with us. He demanded that the Labour Party, because of these things, should go out. At the very time that he was willing to coalesce with our party he had apparently some over-

whelming objection to us. As time went on his denunciations became more bitter. And so we come down to the present day. We find that for three years he accepted our support, and said nothing against us. We find him during all this time willing to accept the aid that we would give him, glorifying in it, and willing enough to join with us in preference to coalescing with the party led by the right honorable member for East Sydney. Having coalesced with that party, however, he gradually withdrew that fair-play treatment that he had so liberally promised, and now we have not a more consistent opponent than is my honorable and learned friend. That is a very saddening reflection, and it is a matter which I should be glad to hear the honorable and learned member attempt to explain. On a previous occasion he smarted so much under some criticisms that I had offered, that he made some personal accusations against me—accusations which perhaps would have come better from some other man—but I ask him now to endeavour to explain, if he can, not to me, but to the country, the attitude at present taken up by him. I call upon him to explain his opposition to third parties, when he himself leads such a third party; that little band of honorable members who go with him to the little room to which I have referred. I ask him to say whether the members of that little band owe allegiance first to him, or to the Government. I ask him to say where he stands with the conservative phalanx on the front cross bench on the Government side, and also to state how he stands in regard to democracy in Australia, in regard to the policy of a White Australia, and to that reversal of such a policy which the Prime Minister has promised. The people of Australia have a right to receive an answer to these questions. If they be answered, we shall know something about majority rule; we shall then learn who is ruling the country—whether the little band behind my honorable and learned friend control it, whether it is run by the conservative phalanx in the Government corner, or whether it is controlled by my right honorable friend who has placed himself in the hands of outside class organizations, employers' unions, and property-owners' associations to such an extent that he stands here to-day without a declared policy, except that of getting into recess. He has thrown over the High Commissioner Bill. Where is the right honor-

able member whose last "Swan" song amused the late Government? He has been thrown over because the Government's march to a speedy recess would not be expedited by the introduction of the High Commissioner Bill. The Prime Minister has inquired why we are opposed to him, and has requested us to formulate some reason for seeking to displace him. The late Government were butchered in the most cowardly and unprecedented fashion by honorable members who had not the courage to formulate in detail their reasons for displacing it, and were unable to deal with us as every other Government has been dealt with in this House, irrespective of from what section of the House it came. This Government, which comes into office with its hands stained with the last Government's blood, composed of honorable members who have abandoned their principles, and have nothing in common save a desire to remain where they are, now ask for consideration. If the Government wish to know why we are opposed to it, let me say that it is because it stands for reaction, for monopoly, for class legislation, and for what it terms "anti-Socialism." I shall not deal with that phase of the question, for it has already been dealt with by the leader of the Opposition. The difference between the policy of our party and that of the Government, so far as it has been enunciated this afternoon by my right honorable friend, may be briefly stated. The Prime Minister says the difference between his party and ours, so far as Socialism is concerned, is that while we are prepared to go to extremes—to socialize everything—he will only go a certain length in that direction. I appeal to him to be specific in this matter, and to tell us at what particular point he will stop. Where will he stop? As for us, our policy is clear, and our methods are open to all men. We would socialize everything when, and only when, it became a monopoly. When it is necessary in the interests of the community to socialize anything, is when, in our opinion, it has become a monopoly, and, therefore, dangerous to human liberty. Let my right honorable friend dare to say what his masters outside wish him to say, that he stands against Socialism in that direction, and that he will not nationalize monopolies because the employers' associations outside and other associations—class associations—that he stands for, are in favour of them. We

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are opposed to this Government, because it has no policy. We are opposed to it, because it threatens us with a dissolution if we dare to do anything against it. We are opposed to it because it is made up of men who have nothing in common. We are opposed to it because it crawls on all fours towards recess, and because it stands for nothing but reaction.

Mr. REID.—Has the honorable gentleman got to the peroration yet?

Mr. HUGHES.—Peroration, with an individual like the right honorable gentleman sitting in front of me! He interrupts in such a way that Demosthenes himself would be unable to perorate under the circumstances. If I were to perorate as I should like to do, I should tell of a man who has shamefully betrayed his hustings pledges, as the right honorable gentleman has done, and it would be a peroration that would burn into his heart and mind, and be engraven there for ever. It would be a peroration that would penetrate even that pachydermatous hide of his that no ordinary criticism seems to be able to pierce. He would not then sneer about a peroration, but would betake himself to some quiet, secluded recess, where he could commune with himself and ask whether repentance was not possible. We have no confidence in this Government, we can have none, and, therefore, we oppose it. I believe that if an appeal were made to the country, the people of Australia would be only too ready to approve our opinions as to this Ministry. We believe that this Government does not occupy the Treasury bench by the will of the people of Australia. We say that it is there first of all by a trick, and secondly as the result of a combination of men who have abandoned their principles. Not all of them; I do not say that for a moment. I do not say that men like the honorable member for Flinders have abandoned their principles; but I do say that the Government is composed of men who are so widely dissimilar in their opinions that if they have not abandoned their principles, some tremendous explanation or excuse is necessary to explain to the country how it comes to be that they are now united upon a policy which absolutely is so tenuous as not to bear examination, and which we, as an Opposition, do rightly challenge and denounce.

Mr. JOHNSON (Lang).—I am but a young parliamentarian, and, therefore, I cannot speak from long experience; but,

as far as my knowledge goes, I believe that usually when a Government is challenged, it is challenged upon some question of public policy, or because of the non-fulfilment of pledges, or for some specific reason which can be clearly shown. But now we have the astonishing spectacle of a Government being challenged, not for acts of maladministration, not upon any ground of public policy, or of injury to the public weal, but simply because it has decided to go on with public business, and devote the tail end of the session to some useful public purpose. That is the sole ground, apparently, for challenging the existence of the present Government. There is no justification whatever for the action which has been taken by the leader of the Opposition. So far as his speech was concerned, not the slightest reason was advanced for the tabling of this motion. The speech to which we have just listened has added nothing further in that direction. On the contrary, it has simply been one long tirade of abuse, and of misrepresentation, and has been conspicuous for the amount of spitefulness and vindictiveness which have been imported into it. We have heard a great deal about a White Australia. But is it not a fact that the present Prime Minister moved an amendment in the Alien Immigration Restriction Bill to substitute the colour line for the education test, and is it not a fact that he had the support of the leader of the Opposition in doing that?

Mr. TUDOR.—Not in this Parliament.

Mr. JOHNSON.—So much has been made of this White Australia cry, that I am justified in saying that the use which has been made of it is altogether unjustified by the facts. I will quote what the *Tocsin* said in regard to certain members of the Opposition in reference to that matter. Speaking of two members of the Opposition, the *Tocsin* said—

When it came to the vote, McMillan kept his promise, but Mauger did his little somersault. That is in reference to the honorable member for Melbourne Ports. Then, in regard to the honorable member for Bourke, the *Tocsin* said—

When it came to the division, he, like Mauger, turned turtle. Hume Cook was one of the few citizens of the Commonwealth who, to use his own words, would not support the proposal for which he had spoken.

As to the honorable member's attack upon the Prime Minister, in reference to his action with regard to the six potters, I should like to know what action the honorable and

learned member himself would have taken, and what he would have said if the Prime Minister had adopted any other course. He would have said that honorable members ought to vote against the Government, because the Prime Minister had not the courage to carry the law of the land into effect. I ask honorable members opposite whether it is not the duty of the Prime Minister, or any responsible Minister, when he finds a law in existence of which, personally, he may disapprove, to carry out that law just as fully as if he was in favour of it? Would it not be a dereliction of duty if a Ministry did not carry out the law? That is an aspect which ought to be placed before the country in contra-distinction to the aspect already placed before us—an aspect which has been grossly distorted. Carrying out the law as it exists is not inconsistent with any promise which a Minister may make to alter that law if he gets the opportunity. Until that opportunity presents itself, and the Minister is able to repeal the law or its objectionable sections, it is his duty to see that it is carried into effect.

Mr. REID.—A Minister is under oath to do so.

Mr. JOHNSON.—That is so; and if he does not do so, he simply breaks the oath he takes on accepting office.

Mr. TUDOR.—But the Prime Minister denounced a previous Government for carrying out the law.

Mr. REID.—In that case the men were not breaking the law, and they were liberated.

Mr. JOHNSON.—It is unfair for the honorable and learned member for West Sydney to bring charges of this character against the Prime Minister. But what can we expect? The Opposition has absolutely no material on which to base an attack of a legitimate character, and they are driven to the necessity of resorting to those questionable and very unfair means to bolster up a motion which has no justification whatever so far as the public interest is concerned. I am surprised that an attack of the kind made on the Prime Minister should come from the honorable and learned member for West Sydney.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—He, of all others!

Mr. JOHNSON.—Of all men in this Parliament, the honorable and learned member for West Sydney is the last who should say one unkind word of the present

Prime Minister. No man has received more favours or greater kindness at the right honorable gentleman's hands than has the honorable and learned member.

Mr. BAMFORD.—What does the honorable member for Lang know about it?

Mr. JOHNSON.—I happen to be in a position to know. While the honorable and learned member for West Sydney has been making attacks on honorable members on this side, because of an alliance with those who are of opposite fiscal faith, it is a fact within the knowledge of many besides myself that the honorable and learned member sought the support of the party in New South Wales, of which the present Prime Minister was the head.

Mr. FRAZER.—The honorable and learned member for West Sydney does not deny that.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The honorable and learned member for West Sydney had more support from that party than either myself or the honorable member for Lang.

Mr. JOHNSON.—Unquestionably. The Prime Minister went out of his way to assist on the platform, and in other ways, the candidature of the honorable and learned member for West Sydney. That honorable and learned member himself, when he saw that his name did not appear on the list of approved candidates of the party led by the present Prime Minister, I am credibly informed, went to the newspapers and sought the support of the party. I hold in my hand a special issue of a leaflet sent out by the Free-trade Association of New South Wales at the request of the honorable and learned member for West Sydney.

Mr. BAMFORD.—The honorable and learned member is a good free-trader.

Mr. JOHNSON.—That leaflet asked the electors to vote for the honorable and learned member, not because he was a labour candidate, or because he was a member of any other party, but because he was a free-trader, and he desired the imprimatur of the Free-trade Association.

Mr. BAMFORD.—When was that?

Mr. JOHNSON.—At the last Federal election. The leaflet is headed, "How to vote in the West Sydney electorate," and there is a representation of a ballot-paper with the honorable and learned member's name marked.

Mr. FRAZER.—Why labour the point? The honorable and learned member does not deny being a free-trader.

Mr. JOHNSON.—But he sought the imprimatur of the Free-trade Association while running under the flag of the Labour Party.

Mr. FRAZER.—He does not dispute that.

Mr. JOHNSON.—He was running in a dual capacity. It is all very well for the honorable and learned member to now come into the House, and say that free-trade is a secondary or tertiary matter—that the Labour Party is first. Free-trade was first when he was seeking election. And why? Because he knew perfectly well that if the Free-trade Association had put another free-trader up against him he would not have been returned. Did not the honorable and learned member, through the present Prime Minister as the leader of the Free-trade Party, beg for the support of the association when he was in danger, knowing that without that support he would probably lose his seat? If the honorable and learned member makes these disgraceful and unwarranted attacks on the Prime Minister it is right that something on the other side should be shown. I would be the last to say an unkind word of an opponent, and these words are said, not in any unkindness, but only with a desire that honorable members and the public shall learn the truth as to the actual position the honorable and learned member for West Sydney occupies as a member of this House. I have a perfect right to show that the honorable and learned member was a candidate with the imprimatur of the Free-trade Association, from which a request was sent out that the electors of West Sydney should give him their votes.

Mr. FRAZER.—The honorable member has only proved what was admitted before he started.

Mr. JOHNSON.—The honorable and learned member for West Sydney also went out of his way to attack my position in regard to certain principles which I hold—to charge me with abandoning those principles. But I have a better record than the honorable and learned member can show for holding true to the principles which I have advocated all my life. There is not the slightest abandonment of principles shown, in the fact that I am supporting the present Government. There is no alliance, so far as the two parties are concerned, other than one which is based on the perfect freedom of individuals—on an entirely voluntary principle. There is no attempt to subjugate principles, or to put a round peg into a square hole. Every honorable

member in the alliance is left absolutely free to follow his own inclinations, according to his convictions; there is no restriction in any direction. I defy any honorable member of this House, or any one else, to coerce me into voting in a way I do not think proper. I am a free agent, and I am at liberty to hold opinions differing from the opinions of the leader of my party on other matters than the one vital principle which unites us as a party.

Mr. BAMFORD.—Why was the honorable member not here to vote against the third reading of the Arbitration Bill?

Mr. JOHNSON.—I was laid up with influenza at the time, and I did not know that a division was to be taken. There is absolutely no justification whatever for the motion tabled by the leader of the Opposition. The half-hearted manner in which the honorable member for Bland advocated his cause, showed clearly, to my mind, at any rate, that he has no great confidence—that he feels there is no justification for the motion at the present time. What good can possibly be done by the motion? If the Prime Minister had brought forward a larger programme for this session, knowing there was no possibility of carrying it into effect, there would have been just ground for a motion of no-confidence or of censure. Here we are, at this late season, without the Budget, which ought to have been before us long ago; and this motion is only brought forward with the obvious object of obstructing public business, and with no other object in the world. It was clearly seen that the Government were going on with some useful measures, and making progress with useful legislation. We had got so far with the Transcontinental Railway Survey Bill that honorable members opposite began to take alarm. Some of them were afraid that the Bill would be carried, and that, by contrast with the work done by the late Government during a much longer period of office, there would have been too good a record for the present Government for the short time they have been in office.

Mr. TUDOR.—That was owing to the obstruction of honorable members opposite.

Mr. BAMFORD.—Was not the Seat of Government Bill of more importance.

Mr. BROWN.—If honorable members on this side treated the present Government as honorable members opposite treated the late Government they would be able to do nothing.

Mr. JOHNSON.—I now come to the real grounds for the opposition to the present Government. It is not opposed on the ground of public policy, because of the non-fulfilment of promises, or on account of any maladministration of public affairs. It is opposed for two reasons only, the first of which is personal animus against the Prime Minister. That is the mainspring of the action of honorable members opposite, and it is bolstered up by the second reason for opposition, which is the gratification of personal ambition by individual members on the opposite side. Not grounds of public policy, but private ambition and private hatred are the two worthy motives which are the basis of this motion of want of confidence.

Mr. BAMFORD.—The honorable member is altogether wrong.

Mr. JOHNSON.—We have only to look at the newspapers supporting honorable members opposite, and the utterances of their public men, to know that there is no other reason. We know that the public, of Victoria especially, have, month after month, and year after year, had their minds inflamed with the sole object of defaming the Prime Minister in their eyes. I am glad to know that the right honorable gentleman's residence in Victoria for some time, and his position as head of the present Government, has given, and will give him opportunities of meeting the people of Victoria face to face, and thus by personal contact, destroying the baneful influence brought to bear unfairly on the people of Victoria, with a view to prejudicing him in their eyes. We have to go back to the recent elections, and ask ourselves what was the issue put before the public at that time. We know that the issue, so far as honorable members opposite who at that time supported the honorable and learned member for Ballarat are concerned, was fiscal peace. That cry was taken up by every member of that section of the Opposition that is now clamouring for fiscal strife. In their election addresses and elsewhere, they supported the honorable and learned member for Ballarat in the demand for fiscal peace, which he raised as the chief issue of the general election. Those honorable members now break away from the agreement into which they entered with their chief, and, after the verdict of the country has been given in favour of fiscal peace, they desire to go back upon the verdict which they asked the people to

give, and resort to fiscal strife. It is this betrayal of pledges which is the basis of the unholy alliance between those honorable members, and the members of the Labour Party. I say an "unholy" alliance advisedly, because it is an alliance which is based, not upon a recognition of the individual rights of free men, or on voluntary support, but on the subjugation of principles for private and party ends.

Mr. TUDOR.—What about the alliance which the party to which the honorable member belongs tried to make a couple of months ago?

Mr. JOHNSON.—That was an alliance made in open daylight, and all the points of the proposed agreement were handed to the press, while no honorable member of either party to the alliance was pledged to stand to it unless he chose. There was nothing of the "caucus" in that case. There was in that case no violent disagreement on the matter amongst ourselves, no bearing-garden within our own ranks, owing to some being for it and some against it, and those against it being compelled to vote for it afterwards. There was nothing of that sort. The agreement was simply put to members of either party individually and collectively, and they could accept or reject it at their pleasure. There was no power in either party to compel any single member to subscribe to the proposed agreement.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The honorable member for Grey left the party, and he has not yet been denounced as a renegade.

Mr. JOHNSON.—The honorable member for Grey left the party because he did not accept what was proposed. The honorable member went over to the Labour Party, and, as is usual with brand new converts, he is now one of the bitterest opponents of those with whom he was formerly associated. I have just stated the issue put before the electors by the honorable and learned member for Ballarat as Prime Minister, and that issue was supported by the *Age* newspaper as the central cry upon which the campaign was based.

Mr. TUDOR.—Some of us were not in favour of that.

Mr. JOHNSON.—Perhaps not, but as a party honorable members supported it, and after they were returned, though they might not have supported it prior to the election, they sat behind the Government that had declared that that was the policy on which they had gone to the country, and upon

which the verdict of the country had been given. On the 12th December, 1903, the *Age* said—

The watchword of the Deakin Ministry is fiscal peace, and all Australia at the present juncture should cry a truce on the Tariff question while the great issue of Imperial preference is being fought out in England.

A truce not only up till now, but while that great issue was being fought out in England. That is what the *Age* said on this question.

Mr. BAMFORD.—Who takes any notice of the *Age*?

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—Speakers on the opposite side have quoted the *Age* all night.

Mr. JOHNSON.—The *Age* newspaper was the organ of the party that went into the election campaign on that cry for fiscal peace. On the polling day, 16th December, the *Age* published a leader in which these words occurred—

To-day the electors will return their verdict. They are to-day most truly a jury in their country's cause. In this State we know beforehand the overwhelming preponderance of the popular voice is for the Deakin Government and fiscal peace as against Reid and another fiscal war.

I do not think the matter could have been put more clearly. There is the issue put on behalf of the Government by the *Age* newspaper, which was the organ of the Government, and was backing it up. The verdict of the people was in favour of that issue, not in New South Wales, it is true, but that State is only one of six, and the verdict outside of New South Wales was admittedly one of fiscal peace. On the same date, amongst the names printed in heavy black type, as supporters of that policy of fiscal peace, and as opponents of Socialism—because opposition to Socialism was another matter put prominently before the electors by the party—I find those of the honorable member for Bourke, the honorable and learned member for Corio, and the honorable member for Melbourne Ports. The same paper cautions the public against voting for Reidites, amongst other reasons because he is the man who, "by re-opening the Tariff, will disorganize Victorian trade and commerce." Who is it who to-day wishes to re-open the Tariff, and to disorganize Victorian trade and commerce? The prime mover in that direction is one of those who subscribed to the speech delivered at Ballarat by the representative of that city, who was at the time Prime Minister. But although he

subscribed to the declaration for fiscal peace which that speech contained, he is to-day endeavouring to promote fiscal warfare. Associated with the honorable member to whom I refer is the honorable member for Hume, who, by the way, has been supplanted in the leadership of the rebellious section of the Opposition. The honorable member for Hume is reported to have said at Albury—

The fiscal question should never have been raised at this election. Whatever party is in power, the only possible Tariff must be very similar to that now in force, and until the expiration of the Braddon sections of the Constitution Act, it would be vain for either party to try to frame a Tariff.

How does that statement tally with the present position of the honorable member? Amongst others who supported the declaration for fiscal peace were the honorable and learned members for Northern Melbourne and Indi, and the honorable member for Bourke. We, on this side, have been charged with having sunk our principles, because we have entered into a perfectly voluntary and open alliance with members of the protectionist party. But our alliance involved none of the elements of coercion such as were involved in that of honorable gentlemen opposite. It has been the result of political accident, and has been caused by political circumstances, and the necessity for restoring responsible government and saving the country from the threatening disasters of class legislation of a most pronounced character. The representatives of New South Wales found that, as the result of the verdict of the people, they were not in a position to challenge the Government of the day. The Free-trade Party comprised only one-third of the House, and were consequently in a minority. That being so, how could they give effect to their fiscal principles?

Mr. BAMFORD.—We, on this side, have always kept our flag flying, no matter how few our numbers.

Mr. JOHNSON.—There has been no hauling down of the flag on the part of either free-traders or protectionists; but an informal and unofficial alliance has been come to between us, which is more powerful, and more likely to do useful work than the alliance of honorable members opposite.

Mr. POYNTON.—The honorable member agreed to a tied alliance.

Mr. JOHNSON.—This is no tied alliance. Every member on this side of the Chamber is free to vote as he likes. No

section and no clique can interpose between him and his constituents. He could, if he chose, vote against the Government. He is not bound by any pledge to an organization, and no one can come between him and his constituents. But what is the position of honorable members opposite? Some of them belong to a party which is governed by the caucus, and it does not matter what pledges they may have given to their constituents, if the caucus decides that it is not in the interests of the party to keep them, they must break them. That is the machine against which we are fighting. It is admitted, too, that there is no full agreement among honorable members opposite as to their alliance. Even if it had not been admitted, the modifications of the proposals for an alliance which have been put forward from time to time, modifications which have practically amounted to the surrender of principles on both sides, show that there is no full agreement. The leaders of the Labour Party have given the assurance that every effort will be made to induce labour organizations to withhold opposition to the extreme protectionists who have joined the alliance on a basis of support in return for concessions. But as they are only part of a huge machine the controlling influence upon which is the organizations outside, it is seen that they have no power to bind those organizations. Do honorable members think that members of the Labour Party outside who aspire to political honours will submit to the thwarting of their aspirations because the seats upon which they have cast their eyes are occupied by protectionists? Is it to be supposed that these men, after working for their organizations for years, subscribing to their funds, and, perhaps, suffering some privations, will consent to be calmly swept aside because the leader of the Labour Party in this House says that they are not to offer themselves for election to the positions to which they have been aspiring? Perhaps they may submit to such treatment, but unless human nature has undergone a great change within the last few weeks, I doubt very much whether we shall see any evidence of that unquestioning support by the Labour Party which has been promised to those honorable members who have entered into alliance with them.

Mr. MAHON.—When did the Labour organizations ask for the advocacy of the honorable member?

Mr. JOHNSON.—How long is this alliance to last? We find that the agreement entered into is not intended to extend—as our alliance was—over the life of this Parliament only. Honorable members opposite have assumed a power they do not possess, namely, to bind the next Parliament. How can they control the action of the next Parliament, of which they may not be members? It is certain that at least some of them will not be returned as members of the next Parliament. Their agreement can extend only for the life of this Parliament, and can affect only those parties who signed it.

Mr. POYNTON.—Let us go to the country. There is no need to prophesy as to the result.

Mr. JOHNSON.—If we do go to the country, the party to suffer will be that which is now trying to obstruct public business and to secure special privileges for a certain class, at the expense of all others in the community. I think that there is a fair amount of evidence of fear on the part of some honorable members opposite, that they will lose their seats. When some humorist, on a recent journey to Sydney, sent a telegram, which seemed to indicate the possibility of a dissolution, upon the defeat of the Watson Ministry, honorable members who had been very pot-valiant in this House, and who had talked in grandiloquent strains about appealing to our masters, the people, ceased their jubiliations. A great change came over the scene, because some honorable member were not sincere, even as advocates of the rights of the Labour Party. They had posed as the champions of certain principles, which they themselves abandoned when they had an opportunity to carry them into effect. What did they do? When the Deakin Ministry was in office, they went to the length of tabling a motion in favour of the inclusion within the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill of the public servants of the States. The then Prime Minister stated that the Government could not accept that proposal, because, in their view, it was unconstitutional.

Mr. TUDOR.—They have accepted it now.

Mr. JOHNSON.—No; they have not. Let me relate the history of events which have been referred to, but not correctly, by honorable members opposite. The honorable member for Wide Bay was put up to move an amendment providing for the inclusion within the scope of the Bill, not of the railway servants, but of the whole of the

public servants of the States and of the Commonwealth. The honorable and learned member for Ballarat gave the Labour Party clearly to understand, that, if they pressed their proposal to a division, the Government would make it a vital matter, and, if defeated, would have to consider their position.

Mr. TUDOR.—That is the reason the honorable member voted for the amendment.

Mr. JOHNSON.—That is one of the reasons, because I had pledged myself to get rid of the Deakin Government. Our object in New South Wales was to reduce the Customs duties, and to get rid of all those who were responsible for the Tariff, or who were likely to seek to increase the imposts under it. So that I was pledged, first of all, to get rid of the Deakin Government, and when the opportunity arose, I voted in order to put them out of office. But I had good reasons apart from that consideration for voting as I did. Honorable members of the Labour Party spoke about the amendment proposed by the honorable member for Wide Bay as embodying a vital principle, without which the Arbitration Bill would be absolutely useless. Notwithstanding that, by reason of their numerical strength as a minority, they were in the position to coerce the Government into bringing in measures which they, when they took possession of the Treasury benches, dared not bring forward, they were willing to press their amendment to a division. They did so, not because they desired to displace the Government, but because, secure, as they thought, in the knowledge that their proposal would be defeated, they wished to pose as the champions of the civil servants. They knew that the present Prime Minister was practically bound to vote for the Government on the question, because he had spoken so strongly in support of the attitude they had assumed, and they also thought that all the members of his party would follow him. That is where they made a grave miscalculation. They had overlooked the fact that the members of that party were free men who had the right to vote as they thought fit upon such questions. They had measured the Free-trade Party by the conditions of their own caucus, and they made a great mistake. The result was that when they discovered that several honorable members of the Free-trade Party intended to vote with them, it

was too late for them to retreat from the position which they had taken up. The honorable member for Gwydir waved his arms like a wind-mill, and threatened those honorable members who supported the amendment with what would happen to them when they went before the electors—as if the Labour Party had not previously opposed them. Honorable members of the Labour Party, one after another, expressed themselves in terms which showed how disappointed they were at the prospect of the amendment being carried. But their knowledge came too late, and their object in posing as champions of the public servants was defeated, because, when they came into office, and had an opportunity to carry into effect the principle they had advocated, they failed to do so.

Mr. TUDOR.—No, they did not fail.

Mr. JOHNSON.—I say they did. They took into their Cabinet the honorable and learned member for Northern Melbourne, who had previously voted for that provision. I believe that he voted for it. At any rate, whilst the Labour Party occupied the cross-benches the honorable and learned member, in speaking upon the Address-in-Reply, attacked the Deakin Government upon their position in regard to this matter. He said—as will be seen by reference to *Hansard*, page 1037—

The best argument that has been advanced by the Prime Minister is that at the inception of this Act it is inexpedient to overload it. I should be strongly impressed by that argument if this question were not involved in a greater one. We are asked to refuse to extend the operation of this Bill to the public servants of the States, upon the ground that we do not possess the constitutional power to take such action. With me that consideration overweighs any question of expediency. If we believe that we have the necessary constitutional power, by all means let us exert it. Now is the only time for us to exercise it. We must speak now, or be for ever silent. When we are told by the Government that we do not possess this power, we must insist upon testing the question.

That declaration meant that the only way in which the matter could be tested before the High Court was by including that provision in the Bill. The honorable and learned member affirmed that that was the only opportunity which honorable members had of testing the question, and if they believed in the principle they should incorporate it in the Bill. He continued—

I would not be a party to including in the measure any provision which I thought would be obligatory and useless. At the same time, if we

honestly believe that we possess this power, let us exert it, and not abandon the trust which the people have reposed in us.

That language clearly indicates the attitude of the honorable and learned member upon this question. What happened subsequently? The Labour Government succeeded the Deakin Administration. Having defeated that Administration upon this very principle, which they had declared was absolutely necessary to the successful working of the Bill, one would naturally suppose that their first step would have been to include such a provision in that measure. Instead of doing so, however, they presented the Arbitration Bill with this clause excised from it, and that upon the advice of their Attorney-General, who had previously declared that they must seize this as the only opportunity which would present itself of including it in the Bill, so that the question might be tested.

Mr. POYNTON.—Can the honorable member name a public servant who is excluded from the operation of the Bill?

Mr. JOHNSON.—All civil servants were covered by the amendment.

Mr. POYNTON.—So they are now.

Mr. JOHNSON.—No; only the public servants of the States, and those who are engaged in industries.

Mr. TUDOR.—Would clerical employes have been covered by the amendment in its original form?

Mr. JOHNSON.—Unquestionably. There was no invidious distinction thus contemplated. The contention was that, without the amendment of the honorable member for Wide Bay, the Bill would be absolutely useless. I should like to dwell for a moment upon the attempt which is now being made to reintroduce the Tariff question, with a view to raising the protective duties at present operating? The object of the Ministerial alliance is to abide by the verdict of the people during the life of this Parliament. That arrangement involves no sacrifice of principle, because protectionists are still free to advocate their Tariff theories, whilst free-traders possess absolutely the same liberty. So far as the Free-trade Party are concerned, I hold that when they have not the power by force of numbers to effect any revision in the Tariff by way of lowering the existing duties, the next best thing for them to do is to attempt to prevent those duties from being increased.

Mr. TUDOR.—Then the honorable member admits that the protectionists who are associated with the Ministerial following are betraying the people.

Mr. JOHNSON.—No; because the appeal to the people was not made on behalf of protection, but on behalf of fiscal peace. As evidencing that, I will read what honorable members said immediately this Parliament met. According to *Hansard*, page 90, the present Prime Minister, in discussing the motion for the adoption of the Address-in-Reply, said—

I wish now to express my entire agreement with a remark made by the Prime Minister in a remarkable announcement which he made on the occasion of a great gathering in this city at the beginning of last month. I heartily agree with the Prime Minister that the only basis upon which a system of a responsible Executive, acting in a Parliament of this type, can be secured—the only possible condition under which that principle can be honorably and usefully worked—is when the Ministry in office commands the confidence of the full majority of the people's representatives. If the Ministry do not command that confidence, they should make an alliance—provided that alliance can honorably be made.

That is precisely in keeping with what has since taken place. He continued—

I will at once admit that, provided an alliance can be honorably made between two parties in the House, it is the only way in which to adjust the balance. But as long as three independent parties live in the same House—the parties being more or less equally balanced—the basis of an honorable Government is, I will not say lost, but endangered. . . . There must be none of these underhand intrigues. I hope that the party to which I belong, and that the Labour Party too, whatever they may do in the public life of this country, will act up to the principle which the Prime Minister has announced.

The honorable and learned member for Ballarat said, as will be seen by reference to *Hansard*, page 91—

The problem facing them now was how to conduct a Parliament which, instead of having a majority and a minority, had three practically equal parties taking part in the proceedings. It was a problem which had not yet been solved in any part of the world. . . . Administration and legislation had always been conducted on the principle of a majority and a minority. Now, however, they had practically three equal parties, and the position was unstable. It was absolutely impossible. It could not continue, and ought not to continue.

Mr. POYNTON. — That is the position which exists to-day.

Mr. JOHNSON.—It was the position taken up by the honorable and learned member for Ballarat, and the present Prime Minister, immediately after the assembling of Parliament—so early, indeed, as the debate

which took place on the Address-in-Reply. Their attitude indicated that two parties must find a common basis of agreement if the business of the country was to be successfully carried on. This statement was made by the honorable and learned member at a time when he was fresh from the elections. We may say that we are still fresh from the elections, for are we not in the first session of the new Parliament? Let me read what the honorable and learned member for Ballarat said on the question of the armed truce during the course of the same speech. At page 108 of *Hansard* he is reported as follows:—

When he spoke with a certain sympathy—

He was referring to the right honorable member for East Sydney—

of the funeral obsequies of the Ministry, the apprehensions which I might otherwise have felt were calmed by the realization that he is wearing black crape upon his own arm in remembrance of obsequies far more important than those of a Ministry or party—the death and burial, during this Parliament, at all events, of the fiscal issue.

The honorable member for Bland, who at this time was the sole leader of the Labour Party—

Mr. BAMFORD.—He is still the only leader of the party.

Mr. TUDOR.—Does the honorable member think that we now have more than one leader?

Mr. JOHNSON.—The Labour Party is now a triple-headed party. I understand that the honorable member for Hume is one of its leaders, that the honorable and learned member for Indi is another, and that it has yet another in the honorable member for Bland. Honorable members on this side of the House have been twitted with supporting a double-headed Ministry. That may be an undesirable state of affairs. I should be better pleased if it did not exist; but, on the other hand, those who "live in glass houses should not throw stones." When we look at the composition of the Opposition, we find that they are in a worse plight than we are—that instead of having only a dual-headed leadership, they have a triple-headed one. It will perhaps in time be only a dual-headed Opposition, for the head that happens to be between the other two will probably get crushed in the course of the battles that are sure to rage in the ranks of the party itself.

Mr. WEBSTER.—It is only the honorable member's imagination that we have a triple-headed Opposition.

Mr. JOHNSON.—We witnessed the spectacle of the honorable member for Hume leading the forlorn hope of the extreme protectionists, who are anxious to raise the fiscal issue, notwithstanding that they have subscribed to a Tariff truce, and honorable members on this side of the House commenced to look upon him as the actual leader, not only of the Labour Party, but of the whole Opposition. Suddenly, however, another leader sprang up, and the honorable member for Hume was apparently deposed. I should not like to say that he was, for it is only charitable to believe that he still holds the position which he was assumed to occupy.

Mr. TUDOR.—Who assumed that he occupied that position?

Mr. JOHNSON.—Honorable members were entitled to assume that he held that position, in view of the very prominent part which he played on various occasions as spokesman for the whole party, and also by reason of the fact that several consultations took place between him and other leading members of the Opposition. I shall not read any lengthy quotation from the speech made by the honorable member for Bland, during the course of the debate on the Address-in-Reply; but I shall take extracts from it which show that when he met this House, he, in common with the leaders of the other parties, recognised that the country had declared for a truce on the fiscal issue. It was not the fault of the free-trade members of this House that such a declaration was made by the people. So far as New South Wales is concerned, the country declared for a revision of the Tariff in the direction of free-trade. But New South Wales is only one of six States in the Union. The remaining States were opposed to her in this matter, and declared not for a greater measure of protection, but for a Tariff truce. That is vouched for by the honorable member for Bland, who, at page 147 of *Hansard*, is reported to have said—

There is another feature of the elections to which I should like to refer, namely, the fiscal question. I share the feeling of gratification which has been expressed by the Prime Minister, that with the last election the issue as between free-trade and protection has disappeared for some time to come. . . . At any rate, so far as the Tariff is concerned. Practically, the fiscal issue is dead, and the surest confirmation of that view is the neglect of the leader of the Opposition to test the feeling of this House upon the subject. That is an admission that the question is dead, at any rate, so far as this Parliament is concerned.

There is no vague ambiguity about that declaration. How can the honorable member reconcile the position which he then took up, with his position at the present time, as a member of a party which, although it has declared the Tariff issue to be dead, is now anxious to raise it to its highest possible point? How can he reconcile his position as an advocate of fiscal war, with the position which he then took up as an advocate of fiscal peace, declaring that he accepted the verdict of the country as being in favour of the adoption of that course?

Mr. WEBSTER.—That is not correct.

Mr. JOHNSON.—I have quoted from *Hansard*.

Mr. WEBSTER.—I say, that the conclusions which the honorable member draws from the speech are not correct.

Mr. JOHNSON.—I am not responsible for the accuracy of the report, but I presume that, had there been any inaccuracy, it would have been corrected. If the honorable member thinks that the *Hansard* report is incorrect, what has he to say to a further declaration which was made, on a subsequent occasion, by the honorable member in his capacity as Prime Minister?

Mr. WEBSTER.—I am not doubting the accuracy of the *Hansard* report, but the conclusions which the honorable member draws from it.

Mr. JOHNSON.—Let me first quote a statement made by the honorable member for Bland, when before the electors. On the 12th November, 1903, shortly prior to the general elections. He said that—

He would not, in any circumstances, be a party to disturbing the fiscal peace now reached.

That is a fairly comprehensive statement.

The Labour Party had been able to knock out a few taxes which pressed heavily on the people, and in this way had reduced the revenue by a large amount.

After making the speech during the debate on the Address-in-Reply, to which I have referred, the honorable member, as Prime Minister, went to his own constituency, and, speaking at a public meeting at Wagga, on 9th of August last, said—

I believe there is no probability of any appeal for the alteration of the Tariff being responded to during this present Parliament. The people were assured at the last elections that it was desirable to have fiscal peace, at any rate, for this Parliament, and I must say that I agree that it is desirable to have some rest from the eternal fight on the fiscal question. If this were a country which had been united for many years, and the full effect of Inter-State free-trade could be

accurately gauged, and the whole records were available for years, then I should say that there might be grave reason to inquire again into the conditions brought about by the Tariff. But we have not had time since the passing of the Tariff to get any clear idea of what its incidence will be in the future.

We thus have the evidence of the leaders of the three different parties which were then in existence—the Deakin Party, the Reid Party, and the Watson Party—as to the verdict of the country. We have also the evidence of another honorable and learned member, who, strange to say, is to be found to-day most actively assisting those who wish to fight against what they declared to be the verdict of the country. We find the honorable and learned member for Northern Melbourne among those who now wish for fiscal war instead of the fiscal peace on which they appealed to the electors. Here is what the honorable and learned member for Northern Melbourne said in regard to that question—

Now that the Tariff has been disposed of, surely we must recognise that there is nothing between the Ministerial and the Opposition side of the House than the table. There are more differences of opinion between individual members of the Opposition than there are between members of the front Ministerial and front Opposition benches.

The honorable and learned member professed to recognise that there was practically no difference between those who were sitting in Opposition and those on the Ministerial benches.

Similarly there are more differences between Ministerial supporters themselves than there are between the political views of Ministerialists and Oppositionists.

I should like to know how the honorable and learned member reconciles that attitude with the attitude he takes up now, as one of the small party led by the honorable and learned member for Indi, who are anxious to raise the Tariff issue at the present time? Some complaint has been made by the leader of the Labour Party about the unfair tactics which have been pursued in arriving at the vote by which the late Government were ousted from office. But I would remind honorable members opposite that the battle ground was of their own choosing. The issue upon which the late Government were defeated was not in itself necessarily a vital issue. Believing that they had means of escape at their disposal the late Government, with that appearance of courage which characterizes them when they think they are going to win, and that there is no possibility of defeat,

made the question vital. But while they chose the battle ground, the members of the then Opposition chose the time for making their attack. This was what the Labour Party had not bargained for. It was a case of being out-generalled. The then Government had made provision for meeting a frontal attack. They had prepared bridges by which they could escape, and laid mines and made other preparations to repel an onslaught from the front. But they had not made provision for an attack on their flank. The members of the Opposition, whilst accepting the field of battle, chose the time when the issue should be fought, and by means of superior generalship a time was chosen which was inopportune for the occupants of the Treasury bench, whose sentinels were caught napping at their posts. It was a perfectly legitimate thing when the gauge of battle had been thrown down by the Ministry of the day, and they had declared that they would regard a certain proposal as vital, for the Opposition, accepting the situation, to choose their own time for making the attack. Their choice, of course, was made when it best suited them. That was perfectly fair tactics in political warfare. But there was no necessity to make a detail of a Bill in Committee vital, and the members of the Opposition are not to be held responsible because the late Government were foolish enough to do such a thing. But the charge of unfairness made against the Opposition is absolutely baseless. I now want to refer to something which was said by the honorable and learned member for Indi in reference to the Prime Minister. He quoted a passage from a speech by the Prime Minister, in which that right honorable gentleman said—

In the plenitude of time, when our millions have become tens of millions, we shall have a crop of misery which shall solve the difficulty in regard to cheap manufactures.

The object of that quotation was to indicate that the present Prime Minister meant that the question of cheap competition was to be solved when men and women in Australia were starving and lacking even a crust of bread. But I charge the honorable and learned member for Indi with gross unfairness in separating that quotation from its context, which bore no such construction as he placed upon it. This is a sample of the kind of charges which are levelled against the Prime Minister and honorable members on this side.

Mr. TUDOR.—Let the honorable member read the context.

Mr. JOHNSON.—This is the portion which the honorable and learned member for Indi did not read—

Will the erection of a fence solve it? Never! We may run a ring round our own people, but we cannot bull-doze the markets of the world. When we come to compete with those markets, we shall have to do as all other nations do. That is why I have abhorred the policy of producing artificial industries which belong to a period of human misery and over-population.

It will be seen that those words are not capable of the construction which the honorable and learned member for Indi sought most unfairly to put upon them. The Prime Minister was referring to the futility of attempting to improve human conditions, and to get rid of misery, starvation, and other evils which oppress humanity, by raising Tariff walls around industry—he was trying to prove the absolute futility of such means for bringing about an improvement in the social and industrial conditions of the people. The words are not capable of the construction which the honorable and learned member for Indi most cruelly attempted to put on them, and which went broadcast through the newspapers as the sentiments of the Prime Minister. I should like to say a word as to the position of the honorable and learned member for Indi, in regard to the fiscal truce. In the Melbourne *Argus*, of 14th September, there is reprinted an extract from a speech delivered by the honorable and learned member on fiscal matters, and as I have seen no contradiction I may assume that the report is correct.

Mr. TUDOR.—What is the date of the speech?

Mr. JOHNSON.—The date of the delivery of the speech is not given, but it was before the last election, I think.

Mr. TUDOR.—The speech was delivered about ten years ago.

Mr. JOHNSON.—The speech was quoted in the *Argus* a few days ago, and I presume that if anything had been wrong the honorable and learned member would have taken the very first opportunity to send a correction.

And the miner, how is he on a level with the workers in the town? He has a weight round his neck.

Evidently, the honorable and learned member was a staunch free-trader at that time.

We are told that the miners patriotically stood by protection in the past. Are we to whip the willing horse to death? Is protection to go on for ever to an unlimited extent, right on, as we are told, to prohibition? Are we never to stop taxing the miner? He is the man who goes through the most arduous labour, the most dangerous pursuits, to win the wealth of the country; and what does he get in return for it? A promise that more burdens shall be laid upon him. His pick is weighted with taxation, every article he wears is weighted with taxation, and when he goes home every article in his house, even his knife and fork, is taxed.

When we read that speech, can we conceive it possible that it was delivered by the same honorable and learned member for Indi, who is now seeking to place fresh burdens on the shoulders of the miner—to put fresh taxes on what the miner uses? Can we conceive it possible that the two are one and the same person? I must confess that to me it seems a most strange and unaccountable metamorphosis. As to some other honorable members, it is interesting to see what they have said in regard to those matters. The honorable member for Bourke is reported in the Melbourne *Age* of November 25, to have said at Northcote—

The electors had to consider whether they would be represented by a person who was the nominee of a little clique called the Political Labour League—

I wonder whether the honorable member meant any allusion to gentlemen now sitting on the other side of the House. Seeing that he is in active association with those same gentlemen, I can hardly believe that to be the case. But still we have to go by what the honorable member himself has said. The speech proceeds—

or whether they would send back their present member, who represented, not one section, but all sections of the constituency . . . leaving the ballot-box to decide whether the choice should rest with the domination of the Political Labour League or the individual judgment and liberty of the people.

How are we to reconcile those sentiments with the position of the honorable member at the present time in association with those whom he in November last, during the recent campaign, denounced in no unmeasured terms? In making a very violent attack on that party, he further said—

Their methods savoured of Tammany Hall and Russia—the caucus did not allow any liberty.

Those are peculiar sentiments for an honorable member to hold who is now so closely associated with the very men whose methods he thus described in November.

Mr. TUDOR.—Tell us what the Prime Minister said about the honorable and learned member for Ballarat.

Mr. JOHNSON.—I leave that to other honorable members. Here is another remarkable speech, delivered at Brunswick Town Hall, and reported in the *Age* of November 12th:—

It was a question of the domination of a party called the Political Labour Party or of the electors choosing a candidate of their own free right. He would deal with the constitution, the tactics and methods of the Political Labour Party at a future election meeting, and he would promise to make it very interesting indeed.

And he did, though I shall not quote the speech just now. Honorable members may look it up on the files for themselves.

He held their own declaration in his hand, on which were the names of Tom Mann, Messrs. White and Fleming, and other anarchists.

Mr. TUDOR.—Whose declaration?

Mr. JOHNSON.—The declaration of the Political Labour League.

Mr. TUDOR.—I think the honorable member is misquoting the honorable member for Bourke.

Mr. JOHNSON.—I am reading the speech as reported in the *Melbourne Age*, and if the honorable member had been misreported, I take it that he would have sent a correction. I looked in subsequent issues for a correction, but could find no trace of one, and, therefore, I think it is perfectly legitimate for me to accept the report as an accurate statement of what the honorable member said. At this juncture of the honorable member's speech, a voice interjected, "What has that to do with the Labour Party?" and the reply of the honorable member for Bourke was:—

It had got this to do with it; that circular was issued as the result of a minute carried at the Trades Hall Council. . . . With reference to the future, he would support the Government as regards the maintenance of the present fiscal protection and fiscal peace.

So that the honorable member for Bourke was a declared anti-Socialist at that time, and asserted that the Political Labour League was composed of anarchists and Socialists, because they had accepted as their creed a circular issued by those bodies. The honorable member's name appears in the list published by the *Age* newspaper of those who were opposed to any interference with the Tariff and to Socialism, but we now find him amongst those who are raising the Tariff issue in order to bring forward measures of extreme protection, and who to do this have allied themselves with

those very Socialists whose policy they have condemned in such vigorous language. I have a good deal more to say upon the question, and possibly honorable members would agree to an adjournment of the debate at this hour.

Debate adjourned.

House adjourned at 10.40 p.m.

House of Representatives.

Wednesday, 21 September, 1904.

Mr. SPEAKER took the chair at 2.30 p.m., and read prayers.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION.

Mr. REID (East Sydney—Minister of External Affairs).—I wish to make a personal explanation with reference to a statement made in this House last evening as to my conduct in connexion with the case of some potters under the Immigration Restriction Act. Honorable members will recollect that the honorable and learned member for West Sydney stated last night that I had taken certain proceedings with reference to either the employer or the men themselves. In one of the newspaper accounts published this morning he is reported to have said that I had taken proceedings against the men.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—He said "against the employer."

Mr. REID.—I think that he did. In the other and fuller account—that which appears in the *Melbourne Age*—he is reported to have said that I had taken the proceedings against the employer. I should have liked to refer to an advance proof of *Hansard*, to set the matter at rest; but we are not entitled to see proof copies of other member's speeches until they have been corrected, unless with the permission of the member concerned, and, as the honorable and learned member for West Sydney was not here, I could not get his authority. I have therefore had to fall back on the newspaper reports. The *Age* report of the honorable and learned member's remarks reads as follows:—

The Prime Minister stated his intention of altering the law—

That is the law with reference to this contract arrangement—

as soon as he got into power; but what has he done? Listen: Six English potters landed in this country—men of our own flesh and blood—and are now here as citizens; but instructions are being given—

Honorable members will notice that the present tense is employed—

to the Solicitor-General to file, in New South Wales, an information against the man who brought them here, and under the very section of the Act under which it was sought to prevent the six hatters landing. (Sensation, and loud Opposition cheers).

Since the rising of the House I have had an opportunity to get full information on the subject from the Secretary to the Department, and I am now in a position to state to the House that I have never, from the time I entered office until this moment, had any papers submitted to me in connexion with any incident of the kind, nor have I ever given any instructions of any kind with reference either to the potters themselves or to their employer. I knew that something had occurred in reference to this matter since I came into office, and that made me reticent until I could satisfy myself of the facts, because it is always best to wait until one is sure. This is what has occurred: When I came into office the Secretary to the Department asked me if I wished to disturb any of the actions of my predecessors, especially with reference to this Immigration Restriction Act. Honorable members who have been in office know what the universal rule is—that no Minister who comes in disturbs the decisions of his predecessors except under some very special circumstances. That is an unwritten law, of which every man of experience is aware. The Secretary asked me whether I had any intention to undo or to unsettle the actions of my predecessors under this Act, and I said, as I think any other Minister in the world would have said, that I had not. As a matter of fact, the instructions to prosecute were issued by the honorable and learned member for West Sydney himself some days before I took office. I am sorry that he is not here now. I asked that word should be sent to him of my intention to make this explanation, but unfortunately he is not here. I am making a statement of my own now, but it will be more satisfactory if I presently read the report of the Secretary to the Department. I am stating now what I think is the worst feature of this matter,

that the honorable and learned member, standing at this table, put that imputation upon me, to be printed in the records of the national Parliament, and to be circulated against me all through Australia, and, a few minutes afterwards, went out of the Chamber, and made another statement to the representative of the *Melbourne Age*, which was absolutely at variance with it, and in which he acknowledged that he had given the instructions himself, though he said that I could have undone them.

Mr. MAUGER.—Hear, hear.

Mr. REID.—Of course I could. Who requires to be told that? I could have undone the administration of the law; but is that what honorable members wish a Minister to do? Just fancy the denunciations which would have been levelled against me if I had undone the work of my predecessor under that Act without either rhyme or reason. Honorable members surely see the distinction between fair political fighting and the making of statements to be reported in our proceedings which are absolutely untrue. Surely there is a distinction between those two things!

Mr. WATSON.—I do not think the honorable and learned member wished it to be implied that the right honorable gentleman should have undone his work.

Mr. REID.—So far from implying it here, he stated that I had done what was really done by himself; but outside he admitted that I had not done it, though I could undo his work. Yet, notwithstanding that admission, there is left on the pages of *Hansard* his statement that I did the work.

Mr. HIGGINS.—The right honorable member would have carried out the law, would he not?

Mr. REID.—I hope that the honorable and learned member will allow me to make this explanation. I know that he is generous enough for that small favour. On my arrival at my office this morning, I addressed this minute to the Secretary to the Department—

The alleged prosecution of six potters.

My impression at the time was that the honorable and learned member for West Sydney had stated that the six potters had been prosecuted. That is the statement reported in one of the newspapers; but in the *Age* report it is stated that it is the employer who was prosecuted. However, that is an immaterial point.

Mr. WATSON.—The honorable and learned member for West Sydney said that it was the employer who had been prosecuted.

Mr. REID.—My minute continues—

Perhaps the Secretary will be good enough to furnish me with a report on this subject. Is there any truth in the suggestion that I put the provisions of the Immigration Restriction Act in force in connexion with any such case?

The Secretary replied—

The papers in this matter are in Sydney. The order of Mr. Hughes to initiate proceedings was communicated to the Collector of Customs, Sydney, in a letter dated 13th August—

That was before I came into office—

instructing him to lay the papers before the Crown Solicitor, with a view to prosecuting the firm under section 12 of the Act, which provides that—

“Any person who makes or authorizes any contract or agreement, the performance of which would be a contravention of the Act, shall be guilty of an offence.”

No instructions were given to take proceedings against the men.

Mr. MCCAY.—The 13th August is the day upon which my motion was carried against the Watson Administration.

Mr. WATSON.—The decision may have been arrived at earlier than that.

Mr. REID.—I am not making any point of that.

Mr. MAHON.—But one of the honorable member's colleagues did.

Mr. REID.—I have no complaint of any kind to make upon that point. I was so anxious to carry out the ordinary rules that when I found a recommendation of my honorable predecessor with regard to the appointment of a judicial officer for New Guinea, I accepted it, although the appointment had not actually been made. I wished to show proper respect for the decisions of my predecessor, although they might not have been formally ratified. The memorandum proceeds—

On Mr. Reid taking over the administration of this Department, I had a conversation with him about the more important cases then current, and informed him briefly what had been done in this matter. Mr. Reid said that he did not propose to interfere with any directions given by his predecessor.

I never even saw the papers upon the subject, because they were in Sydney when I came into office. Mr. Hunt proceeds as follows:—

Recently I wrote to the Collector of Customs, Sydney, asking how the matter stood, and was informed, in reply, that the Crown Solicitor had asked for further particulars, which were then being obtained.

Then I asked the following question:—

Since our conversation, when I took office, above referred to, has the case been submitted to me in any shape or form?

Mr. Hunt's reply was “No.”

HONORABLE MEMBERS.—Hear, hear.

MOTION OF WANT OF CONFIDENCE.

Debate resumed from 20th September, (*vide* page 4758), on motion by Mr. WATSON—

That the present Administration does not possess the confidence of this House.

Mr. JOHNSON (Lang).—The statement which has just been made by the Prime Minister, with reference to the attack upon him as the head of the Government, in connexion with the six potters, shows the unscrupulous character of the opposition which is being directed against the present Ministry, not, I admit, by the whole of the members of the Opposition, but, certainly by some of the prominent members of that party. I have every liking for a fair, straight-out fight, no matter how hard the hitting may be, but I entirely disapprove of tactics which savour of gross unfairness.

Mr. FRAZER.—Then why did the honorable member take part in the sand-bagging of the last Ministry.

Mr. JOHNSON.—I never took part in any sand-bagging. In my attitude towards the Opposition I have throughout been guided by principle. I have endeavoured at all times to refrain from personalities or attacks upon individuals.

Mr. KELLY.—Is the honorable and learned member for West Sydney a prominent member of the Opposition?

Mr. JOHNSON.—He is an ex-Minister. I have never descended, and I trust I never shall, to pursue such despicable tactics as have unfortunately been practised by some honorable members opposite. The new-found zeal for fiscal war on the part of honorable members who were returned to promote fiscal peace, is certainly most peculiar, in view of the death-like silence they have maintained with regard to that question during the last few months. We are entitled to believe that some sinister influence has been at work, rather than that their action is prompted by a desire to promote the public interest. We have been told by the honorable and learned member for Indi that the alliance entered into between his followers and the Labour Party is a perfectly natural one, because the

Labour Party have always helped the protectionists to impose the heaviest burdens upon the backs of the people.

Mr. WATSON.—The honorable member should not attack his friends.

Mr. JOHNSON.—I am not doing so. I am speaking of those honorable members who wish to raise the Customs duties still higher. The desire of the honorable and learned member for Indi is to secure the assistance of the members of the Labour Party in imposing still further burdens upon the people whose interests they are supposed to have specially in their care. The honorable and learned member, who, by the way, is playing the part of the spider in the fable of the "Spider and the Fly," when speaking a few days ago, said—

But for the assistance of the protectionist majority in the Labour Party, the Tariff would not have been as protective as it was.

The honorable member for Melbourne Ports stated—

The alliance is purely on a protectionist basis. The honorable member for Darling said—

The only true protectionists are on this side of the House.

The desire on the part of honorable members for an increase of duties is in strange contrast to the attitude they assumed when they were before the electors recently. Among those honorable members who subscribed to the principle of a fiscal truce was the honorable member for Melbourne Ports. His utterances are specially interesting in view of the present action of the Labour Party, because in his speech reported in the *Age* of 24th November last, the honorable member not only defined his position with regard to the Tariff, but also expressed his opinion very strongly with regard to the Labour Party. He said—

He had no intention, however, of re-opening the Tariff fiscal question. (Cheers.) In answer to a question Mr. Mauger said he had been asked to "nominally" sign the platform of the P.L.C. A Voice—"Then the Council is a failure." (Cheers.)

Mr. MAUGER.—"I say it is not only a failure—it is an absolute fraud."

Now we find the honorable member, who described the Labour Party with which he is in alliance as a fraud —

Mr. MAUGER.—That is not correct.

Mr. JOHNSON.—I am reading from the report published in the *Age*.

Mr. MAUGER.—The honorable member is placing his own construction upon it.

Mr. JOHNSON.—I have not seen any contradiction in the same paper.

Mr. MAUGER.—No, because it did not suit the honorable member to look for a contradiction.

Mr. JOHNSON.—I have looked through the files, and I have not seen any contradiction. If the honorable member assures me that he did not make the statement attributed to him, I am prepared to accept his denial. His position on the Tariff question has, however, been clearly defined. He was one of those who supported the honorable and learned member for Ballarat, who was appealing to the country on the issue of fiscal peace. Notwithstanding that during all these months he has never opened his lips in an attempt to raise the Tariff question, he now wishes to deny that the verdict of the electors of the Commonwealth was—as his erstwhile leader, the honorable and learned member for Ballarat declared—in favour of fiscal peace.

Mr. MAUGER.—I was the first to open the matter, and to point out what I thought was necessary.

Mr. JOHNSON.—I cannot help contrasting the utterances which I have just quoted with the attitude of the honorable member at the present time. How can he reconcile his appeal to the electors to return him to assist in promoting fiscal peace, and his tacit acceptance of the result as a verdict for fiscal peace, with his action in denying, months afterwards, that the verdict of the people was in favour of a Tariff truce?

Mr. MAUGER.—That was a mere incident in the elections.

Mr. JOHNSON.—It was the main issue at the general elections. As I pointed out last night, it was the issue set forth by the organ of the Protectionist Party—I refer to the *Age*—day after day, and it was also that which was put before the electors by the honorable and learned member for Ballarat in his opening speech of the campaign, and the issue put to the electors of Melbourne Ports by the honorable member himself. How, then can the honorable member for Melbourne Ports justifiably urge that it constituted merely a minor incident in the elections? It was the main issue, I repeat, and that upon which the battle was fought in Victoria and the other States. The verdict of the electors of New South Wales was overwhelmingly in favour of free-trade, but that of a majority of those of Victoria and the Commonwealth was in favour of the maintenance of fiscal peace,

as the honorable member for Melbourne Ports is very well aware.

Mr. MAUGER.—The verdict of the electors of Victoria is always in favour of adequately protecting industries.

Mr. JOHNSON.—How can the honorable member reconcile his present attitude with the speeches which were delivered by himself and others in this House at a very early stage of the present session? Both the present Prime Minister and the leader of the Labour Party admitted in the debate which took place upon the Address-in-Reply that the people had declared for the maintenance of fiscal peace. Since then they have emphasized that fact time after time.

Mr. MAUGER.—That is twelve months ago. Look what has happened since then.

Mr. BAMFORD.—What was the verdict of the electors of New South Wales?

Mr. JOHNSON.—It was in favour of the adoption of a free-trade policy. I am just as ardent a free-trader now as I was when I appeared before the electors. I am also an advocate of temperance and other reforms. Does the mere fact that I cannot achieve my desire in respect of these matters, because the numbers are against me, constitute an abandonment of principle? The idea will not hold water. Honorable members upon the Ministerial side of the House are perfectly free to express their individual opinions. I stand here to-day as absolute a free-trader as I ever was, and with full power to exercise my own judgment as to how I shall vote. Honorable members opposite cannot lay claim to the same measure of freedom, because no matter how ardently they may believe either in free-trade or protection, if a majority of the caucus decide against them they have to bow their heads in submission.

Mr. MAUGER.—That is not correct.

Mr. JOHNSON.—That is the position, and honorable members know it. If the adoption of a certain course is declared to be in the interests of the party, the minority have to vote in a certain way.

Mr. WATSON.—Nonsense; that was the pledge which the honorable member signed in New South Wales.

Mr. JOHNSON.—Not at all. The leader of the Opposition forgets that the first fighting platform of the Labour Party was an absolutely free-trade platform. It contained these words—"We will raise revenue by the taxation of land values, irrespective of improvements."

Mr. WATSON.—It did not say that.

Mr. JOHNSON.—I have the platform here.

Mr. WATSON.—Read it.

Mr. JOHNSON.—I have already quoted from it in this House. I read the extract in question when addressing honorable members from the Opposition side of the Chamber at an early stage of our existence as a new Parliament. As a matter of fact, I have copies of all the platforms which have since been adopted by the Labour Party. With each succeeding year that platform has retrograded from democratic ideals more and more. I repeat that the original platform of that party partook more of a free-trade character than did the platform of the Free-trade Party itself, and when I ran under the auspices of that party, it was on that democratic free-trade platform, and with the express stipulation that if I were ever called upon to give a vote which would involve the sacrifice of my free-trade principles, I would resign my seat in Parliament rather than consent to such a proceeding.

Mr. GROOM.—Was that stipulation in writing?

Mr. JOHNSON.—We have every reason to believe that there is in the Labour-Liberal alliance something which has been kept very much in the background. There is a compact which has not yet been revealed, but upon which some light has already been thrown. The somewhat blunt, and, perhaps, incautious remarks of the honorable member for Hume shed a little light upon this matter. He informed us that the Labour Party has pledged itself to support the Manufactures Encouragement Bill. Where do free-trade members of the Labour Party come in when they sell themselves body and soul to a body which wishes to introduce that measure of protection? When they charge Ministerial supporters with having abandoned their principles, how can they reconcile their own free-trade tenets with a pledge to support a Bill which is admittedly of a severely protectionist character?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Who said that?

Mr. JOHNSON.—The honorable member for Hume gave us an insight into the basis of the alliance.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—He is not one of the leaders.

Mr. JOHNSON.—I understand that at the time of which I speak he was one of the leaders. I do not know what position he

occupies at present, but it seems to me that the superior generalship, and perhaps cunning, of another ambitious individual in the person of the honorable member for Indi has unfortunately paled the lustrous radiance of his political light.

Mr. MAUGER.—The honorable member is entirely wrong. The honorable member for Hume is as much a leader now as he ever was.

Mr. JOHNSON.—Then we are to understand that the Opposition has three leaders. I repeat that the honorable member for Hume has declared that the Labour Party has entered into a compact to support the Manufactures Encouragement Bill. That measure, as honorable members are aware, was made the subject of an inquiry by a Select Committee, which was subsequently converted into a Royal Commission. That Commission consisted of twelve members, and opinion was evenly divided upon the merits of the proposal. Amongst those who disagreed with the principle embodied in the Bill were the honorable member for Bland and the honorable and learned member for West Sydney, who subscribed to the following paragraphs in the report:—

1. We, the undersigned members of the Commission, are against the passage through Parliament of the Bill for the payment of bonuses by the Federal Government for the establishment of the iron industry within the Commonwealth. . .

3. The Bill provides for the payment of £324,000 of the people's money to private individuals engaged in an enterprise for their private gain.

These are not my words, but those used in the report itself—

There can be no guarantee that the bonuses proposed would permanently establish the industry, though it is probable the inducements offered might be instrumental in forming speculative companies.

4. One of the witnesses, Mr. Sandford, managing director of the Eskbank Iron Works, New South Wales, stated that he had made an agreement with an English syndicate to spend £250,000 in extending the Lithgow works if the Bill passed. In answer to another question, Mr. Sandford said that to make pig-iron he wanted a plant involving an expenditure of from £100,000 to £125,000. This estimate is less than half the sum proposed to be paid in bonuses.

These are very strong statements, to which the leader of the Opposition and the honorable and learned member for West Sydney subscribed, in the report of the Commission. Yet we are now told, in the face of these damaging assertions, that the Labour Party, of which these honorable members are shining lights, have pledged

themselves to support the very Bill against which they reported in such unmeasured terms of condemnation.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Why not quote all that I said? In addition to the statement which the honorable member has attributed to me, I said that in Committee the members of the party would be free to vote as they pleased on the question whether the industry should be owned by the State or taken up by private enterprise.

Mr. MAUGER.—That is the whole point.

Mr. JOHNSON.—I quoted the exact words used by the honorable member.

Mr. GROOM.—But the honorable member suppressed the context.

Mr. JOHNSON.—The statement just made by the honorable member for Hume does not alter the position.

Mr. GROOM.—The position may remain the same, in the opinion of the honorable member, but not in the view of any one else.

Mr. JOHNSON.—These honorable members show clearly in the report to which they subscribed that it is proposed to put an immense sum of public money into the pockets of private individuals.

Mr. GROOM.—And some of the members of the present Ministry also agreed to the payment of the proposed bonuses.

Mr. JOHNSON.—Is it not the purpose of the honorable and learned member for Indi and the honorable member for Hume to secure the passing of the Bill in the interests not of a State industry, but of private enterprise?

Mr. HUGHES.—Should not the honorable member be very glad of that?

Mr. JOHNSON.—I am merely showing the position taken up by the honorable and learned member. I desire to put before the House the inconsistency of the position now occupied by him as compared with that which he took up when he signed the report to which I have referred. If it be true that the alliance has been established on such a basis, I can only say that it is an unholy one, and will not commend itself to the respect of the people.

Mr. GROOM.—The honorable member should now justify the coalition.

Mr. JOHNSON.—The honorable and learned member will have an opportunity later on to deal with that matter, but I intend on this occasion to hoe my own row, and will come to that point presently. I wish now to refer to the claim made by the leader of the Labour Party—one of the leaders of a party which has three

heads—that the particular section to which he belongs is the representative not of a class, but of all classes. That assertion, however, has been denied, not only by honorable members on this side of the House, but by members of the Labour Party. It is true that when it suits their own purpose members of the Labour Party claim to represent all classes. For example, when they were speaking on the motion for the second reading of the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill, some of them—and the honorable member for Darling was among the number—were careful to state that they came into this House to represent no particular class, but all sections of the community.

Mr. SPENCE.—We could not be returned if that were not so.

Mr. JOHNSON.—In the face of that assertion the honorable member for Darling and other members of the party, when called upon to deal, in Committee, with certain clauses of the Bill conferring special privileges upon a particular class—and that only the section of a class—sang a very different tune.

Mr. MAUGER.—That is not correct.

Mr. SPENCE.—I desired fair play for them, that was all.

Mr. JOHNSON.—On that occasion the honorable member for Darling said, among other things, that—

Non-unionists are the most miserably mean, selfish, and narrow-minded men in the community, and why should they be considered.

Mr. MAUGER.—Many of them undoubtedly are selfish.

Mr. JOHNSON.—Notwithstanding this statement the honorable member for Darling insists that he represents non-unionists. At a later stage he said—

Non-unionists are largely men of a criminal type—a criminal class.

Mr. SPENCE.—Hear, hear.

Mr. JOHNSON.—Does the honorable member represent men of a criminal type?

Mr. MAUGER.—No; criminals have not a vote

Mr. WATSON.—Does the honorable member represent every man in his constituency?

Mr. JOHNSON.—I represent men of all shades of opinion.

Mr. WATSON.—Including criminals?

Mr. JOHNSON.—There may be some lurking unknown in my electorate—

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—No; I live in the district. There are no criminals there.

Mr. JOHNSON.—I am not prepared to say that I do represent any criminals. My constituency is an eminently respectable one. Although the portion in which I reside possesses a police station, it has no police court within its boundaries. I have every reason to believe that even the lock-up rarely has an occupant, so that I think I may fairly claim that I do not represent any criminal class. I am not prepared to dispute with the honorable member for Darling the honour of representing a criminal class. I am quite satisfied to represent those who do not belong to that type.

Mr. SPENCE.—I am not a champion of the non-unionists. I do not want the support of some of them whom I know.

Mr. JOHNSON.—Just so. Yet but a short time since the honorable member claimed to represent them equally with unionists. I come now to the honorable member for Kennedy, who, in the course of a speech delivered recently by the right honorable member for East Sydney, interjected that non-unionists were “scabs and blacklegs.” If the honorable member is a representative of scabs and blacklegs, I do not think that such a declaration comes very well from him. It certainly is not creditable to him, and his constituents will not consider that it is at all complimentary.

Mr. POYNTON.—He never said that he represented scabs and blacklegs.

Mr. JOHNSON.—The statement which I made can be found in *Hansard*.

Mr. WATSON.—But he did not say that his own constituents were scabs and blacklegs. The honorable member has placed his own interpretation upon the statement.

Mr. JOHNSON.—I made the reference in only a jocular vein, but it cannot be denied that the expression to which I have referred was used by the honorable member. Notwithstanding the assertion made during the second-reading debate by members of the Labour Party that they represent all classes, many of them in discussing the provisions of the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill in Committee declared that they were sent here to represent not all classes, but certain special interests, and to legislate for those interests.

Mr. WILSON.—To secure class legislation.

Mr. JOHNSON.—Exactly. Many of them admitted that they were here to secure

the passing of legislation in the interests of a certain section of the community; although others denied that that was so. This is only another evidence of the want of unanimity which exists among members of the Opposition. I hold that the members of the Labour Party do not truly represent labour. Those who are associated with other parties in the House more truly represent labour than do the members of that party, who claim to be the representatives of special classes. Honorable members on this side of the House represent labour in the broadest and fullest sense of the term—in that sense which recognises as a labourer every man who by the exercise of his brain or muscle uses the energies with which the Creator has endowed him to carry out his allotted work on this planet. Those who justify their existence by the application of mind or physical energy in any avenue of employment are labourers in the truest sense of the word, and in that sense I represent labour far more truly than does the leader of the Labour Party. The basis of the alliance opposite is an absolutely un-democratic one. It is absolutely opposed to every principle of democracy. The alliance is based upon an effort to secure for certain classes special privileges at the expense of the remainder of the community. The Labour Party desired to obtain special privileges for a certain class by means of a certain clause in the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill, which we, in the interests of the whole of the workers, thought it to be our duty to oppose. They sought to establish minority rule. We asserted that democratic principles demand that the rule of the majority should be respected, that we should endeavour to legislate in the interests of all, and that where a difference of opinion existed we should always allow the majority to decide. But that is a principle which the Labour Party through their legislation have denied. They have sought to turn what was intended to be a beneficent and useful piece of legislation for settling industrial disputes into an engine of political tyranny and oppression—a machine for the creation of industrial disputes. The fight on this side of the House has been against that principle which has been the guiding principle of the Labour Party in engineering the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill.

Mr. WATSON.—Some honorable members opposite were against the principle of the Bill, and I think that the honorable member was one of them.

Mr. JOHNSON.—No; I was not antagonistic to the principle of the Bill. The view which I expressed was this—and if the honorable member looks up *Hansard* he will see that I am right in stating it. I had no great faith in measures of this kind as being measures which would permanently ameliorate the condition of the workers. But I was willing to give them a trial—to make an experiment. They could only be palliatives at the best. I was prepared to accept the Bill as a temporary expedient. I expressed my opinion perfectly frankly and clearly, that such measures would not permanently improve the industrial condition of the workers of this or any other community; and that, whilst we were wasting time over such palliatives, we were neglecting to deal with the root of the evils which we sought to correct, and which would continue to grow in spite of our temporary remedial legislation.

Mr. MAUGER.—What, in the honorable member's opinion, is the root of the evil?

Mr. JOHNSON.—If the honorable member will go to the Library and look up some of the interesting books on political economy to be found there, he will get rid of a great many of those cobwebs of superstition which at present obscure his intellect, and at the same time obtain some useful light on this great subject, and I can assure the honorable member, he is in sad need of enlightenment on economic laws.

Mr. MAUGER.—Does the honorable member think that no one reads but himself?

Mr. JOHNSON.—I do not intend to occupy the time of the House by giving a dissertation of that kind when there are so many means of getting information to the honorable member's hand.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The honorable member for Lang will know, when he has been here a little longer, that No. 66 Bourke-street knows it all!

Mr. JOHNSON.—I shall learn, I suppose, provided I outlive the age of Methuselah. In regard to the coalition, I wish to make my position perfectly clear. I have never been an enthusiastic advocate of coalitions, nor do I view the present coalition with anything like ecstatic admiration. I should prefer, as a matter of fact, to be without it. So would other honorable members who are also parties to it, and who dissent from me in regard to my fiscal views. I am perfectly sure that I express their views equally with my own when I say that if the country had returned a verdict which would have

enabled us to come to a straight-out vote on the fiscal issue, a more satisfactory condition of things would have obtained. But the country returned a verdict which made that impossible, but which at the same time did make it possible for the representatives of a small class in this Chamber to dominate legislation in such a way as was, in our opinion, against the interests of the country at large. It became evident at an early stage of our proceedings, that it would be necessary, if we were to combat that tendency, for some sort of alliance to be formed for the purpose of carrying on responsible government, and to check the mischievous legislation with which we were threatened. The only possible way to do that was to recognise for the time being, so far as the life of this Parliament was concerned, that the Tariff issue was at rest, and on that understanding, to allow honorable members holding similar views to come together, temporarily sinking their differences, though adhering to their opinions on the fiscal question. That is the basic principle of this alliance. I saw that I had three courses open to me. As a free man I had a choice of those courses. First I could be a party unto myself. In that case I should have been absolutely useless for any practical purpose, though as an independent member I should have been very useful to honorable members opposite in enabling them as a minority to go on with legislation which I believed to be disastrous. Then I had a second course open to me—to be one of the party of Socialists and protectionists seeking class legislation and endeavouring to impose new Tariff burdens. I, as an anti-Socialist—as one who all my life has fought against Socialism and for individual freedom—could not possibly take up that position. I was antagonistic both to the principle of Socialism, and to the principle of extreme protection sought to be imposed by the Labour Party through the instrumentality of the alliance. Then I had a third course—to support an alliance of two parties, who, although differing on the fiscal question, had come together to respect the verdict of the country, and to resist demands for imposing further burdens on the people. There has been no bond—no formal agreement—not even a joint consultation between these two parties, but merely a natural spontaneous co-operation against class legislation and minority rule, and in supporting such a party in present circumstances I am sacrificing no principle.

Mr. Johnson.

In fact, I am rendering the very best service which I, as an individualist, as a free man, as an anti-Socialist, and a free-trader could render to the country, to the cause which I advocate, and to the party to which I belong. That is my position to-day. I stand for equal rights for all, and for special privileges to none; in contra-distinction to the attitude of honorable members opposite, who deny equal rights, and stand for privileges for a certain class of the community. How could I for a moment support honorable members who took up that attitude? The position that I have assumed I am perfectly prepared to justify before my constituents. I am perfectly satisfied that the verdict of my constituents will indorse my attitude on the question. They realize as clearly as I do that the pressure of political circumstances has rendered a combination necessary to preserve the best interests of the country from falling under the baneful influence of legislation which would destroy industry, stop progress, and make for stagnation—which would ultimately be such a retrogression as to hold up this country in the eyes of the world as one from which those with energy, capital, and enterprise ought to keep away. That is the position I take. It is a position which I have fought for ever since I entered the House, and which I have since avowed in explaining my attitude to some of my constituents. And that is an attitude which has received their unqualified indorsement so far, and one which I am prepared to continue, and to further justify when the proper time comes.

Mr. CROUCH (Corio).—I regret very much that the Prime Minister is not present.

Mr. MAUGER.—Send for him; he ought to be here.

Mr. CROUCH.—Last night I was subjected to a bitter personal attack at the hands of the Prime Minister. Of course, I feel that since the right honorable member for East Sydney has taken the position of Prime Minister, certain good traditions of decency, fair play, and proper conduct have been practically relegated to the background. It was only last week, if I remember rightly, that the Prime Minister used, in regard to myself, an expression so indecent that Mr. Speaker, I believe, has directed that it shall be struck out of the *Hansard* reports. And yesterday he used another expression of an equally dirty nature. If the Prime Minister continues to indulge in such ex-

pressions it will be just as well that ladies should know when he is going to speak, so that they may realize that it is quite impossible for them to attend.

Mr. JOHNSON.—That is a bad construction to place on an innocent remark.

Mr. CROUCH.—The traditions of this House have remained unsullied in the hands of decent men until the Prime Minister assumed office. It is a common saying that if we scratch a Russian we find the Tartar, and I venture to say that if we scratch the right honorable member for East Sydney we find a larrikin. If I had no other ground for getting rid of the Ministry than the fact that a gentleman of his calibre—of his manners and sense of decency—holds the high office of Prime Minister, that of itself would certainly be some justification, and a great justification, for voting for their immediate dismissal. Since the right honorable gentleman came into office, this corner has been subjected to his bitter attacks, though previously all interjections from this portion of the House were received with smiles. The fact was, he wanted to cajole or get the support of the Labour Party, who then occupied the corner. Shortly after the right honorable member for Adelaide left the Government, the present Prime Minister approached the Labour Party and asked the latter to assist in removing the Government from office. He was only too eager to enter into coalition with the party he at present despises and condemns. But now anything from this corner is looked upon by the Prime Minister most severely. Honorable members who sit in the corner are personally attacked, and everything they say seems, in the mind of the Prime Minister, to have a personal meaning. I want to refer, in the first place, to the quotation which the Prime Minister made yesterday from a letter which appeared in the *Melbourne Age* of 9th September of this year, as follows:—

It is notorious that his accounts were publicly condemned as "cooked"; and that a disinterested board, appointed by the Government, consisting of the general managers of the leading banks in Sydney, supported this criticism by finding that public moneys had been misused, accounts doctored, and balances wrongly applied.

The Prime Minister used that quotation and added—

I say that if that were true, I should not stand in any public assembly of honorable men.

I am glad the Prime Minister has taken up that position, because I venture to say that

I shall be able to show his brazen effrontery in attempting, not only to deny the existence of documents, but to use those who signed the report on which he apparently attempts to base his vindication, thus exhibiting his absolute disbelief in the existence of any intelligence in the House. He evidently thinks the public will not take the trouble to read the report for themselves.

Mr. MAUGER.—I beg to direct attention to the state of the House. This is an important matter, and Ministers ought to be present to hear the debate. [*Quorum formed.*]

Mr. CROUCH.—In the first place, I want to say that there is nothing in my attack which reflects on the Prime Minister's personal honour. I am not charging him, as I suppose honorable members will understand, with putting his hands into the Treasury and taking out sovereigns—I am not charging him with paying public moneys into his private account. That, I presume, will be understood by anybody except the Prime Minister, who tried to place that interpretation upon my letter. But, at the same time, I charge the Prime Minister—and I think I can prove the charge—with lavish expenditure of borrowed money. I also make the charge that his accounts were publicly condemned as cooked, that a disinterested Committee, appointed by the Government, supported that criticism by finding that the public funds had been misused, accounts doctored, and balances wrongly applied. I wish to deal with each one of those statements, in order to ascertain whether they cannot be justified.

Mr. LONSDALE. — Who appointed the Committee? It was a partisan Committee.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—That is not correct; two of its members were recommended by the right honorable gentleman himself.

Mr. CROUCH.—I am asked, who appointed the committee. I was just going to ask, who had the selection of the members of it? The Government of New South Wales appointed the committee, but the two banking members, Mr. T. A. Dibbs, the General Manager of the Commercial Banking Company of Sydney—an institution and a man of good repute—and Mr. J. Russell French, General Manager and Chairman of the Bank of New South Wales, were selected by the right honorable member for East Sydney himself to represent him upon the board. I know nothing about the other member of the Committee, Mr. Yarwood, except that he is a public accountant of

repute, in Sydney, and he was appointed by the Government.

Mr. FULLER.—A political opponent of the right honorable member for East Sydney.

Mr. CROUCH.—Apparently honorable members on the other side do not like this. Yesterday these men were all first-class men. When, in order to get a certificate of character to present to the people of Australia, in reply to what he called "slandorous statements" concerning him, the right honorable gentleman read a letter from these gentlemen white-washing him, they were all first-class men, though now Ministerial supporters are doing their best to discredit them. I take the Prime Minister on his own ground. In order to vindicate his position and his financial administration, the right honorable gentleman selected three men, and he yesterday placed before honorable members a document signed by them. As soon as it is clear that I am able to show who those men are, and the right honorable gentleman and those behind him become aware of the nature of the report of the Committee, and that it will justify every one of the statements made in my letter to the *Age*, Ministerialists say that "these men are no good. They were appointed by a Government adverse to the present Prime Minister." The honorable member for Hume informs me that two of the members of the Committee were nominated by the right honorable member for East Sydney to represent himself. That is to say, he had the nomination of two out of the three members forming it. The right honorable gentleman yesterday brought to this House what he called a justification, signed by the three members of the Committee. In the first place, we do not know the terms of the letter the right honorable gentleman wrote to those gentlemen. We may gather something of it from the statement made by Mr. Kirkpatrick, who says, "There is nothing against your personal honour." The letter from Mr. T. A. Dibbs, Mr. J. Russell French, and Mr. Yarwood is as follows:—

Dear Mr. Reid,

Referring to your note of the 10th inst. to Mr. Russell French, covering extract from a letter published in the *Melbourne Age*, our report, which is referred to, speaks for itself, and should not have given rise to any misapprehension.

In view, however, of the remarks in the extract in question, it is but just to you to state that we made no reflection whatever on your personal honour or integrity.

Who alleged that they did? No one made any statement with respect to the right honorable gentleman's personal honour, but only in regard to his action as Premier and Treasurer of New South Wales. The letter continues—

Nor did we intend to suggest any improper manipulation of the Treasury accounts by yourself, or the Treasury officials, as would seem to be implied by the terms "cooked" or "doctored," which appear in the letter.

This is the justification which the right honorable gentleman puts forward. He first submitted a clean bill of health from Mr. Waddell, who says that he knows nothing bad of the present Prime Minister. I suppose the right honorable gentleman was very glad to get that recommendation. Mr. Waddell personally approves of him, and thinks that there is nothing materially wrong with him. That is all Mr. Waddell said; but we find Mr. J. Vernon, and Mr. Kirkpatrick—the Auditor-General of New South Wales, and the Under-Secretary of the State Treasury—are also called as witnesses. I have here the actual report of the Committee, and I find that the Prime Minister is appealing in this question from the judges in the case, two of whom were selected by himself, to the very men who were the principal witnesses. The right honorable gentleman forgot to tell us yesterday, that what he submitted was the witnesses' evidence brought up again. The three judges, whose remarks are really condemnatory, by their faint praise and attempt to save the right honorable gentleman from the results of his own maladministration, had heard the evidence of the two men whose certificates the right honorable gentleman submitted to this House, and they still decided against him.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Is that all the evidence they heard?

Mr. CROUCH.—I say that they were amongst the witnesses heard.

Mr. ROBINSON.—Where is the letter from Mr. Dibbs the honorable and learned member said he had?

Mr. CROUCH.—My honorable friends will have the letter quickly enough—too quickly for those who desire to defend the character of the Prime Minister. I propose to deal with the matter in my own way. At present I am dealing with the report brought up by the Committee. Although the Prime Minister is not present, I trust that both the Melbourne daily newspapers will give me fair play, in the endeavour to show conclusively, as I think I can, that

my statements that the right honorable gentleman's accounts as Treasurer of New South Wales were cooked, that the funds were misappropriated, and the balance wrongly applied by him, are true. I shall then leave it to the Prime Minister himself to say if, in view of the facts, he feels that he can stand in any assembly of honorable men.

Mr. JOHNSON.—I thought the honorable and learned member was not going to attack the character of the right honorable gentleman?

Mr. CROUCH.—The right honorable gentleman attacks his own character. He has said that in certain circumstances he could not stand in any assembly of honorable men. I propose to mention the circumstances, and if, when they are mentioned, the right honorable gentleman chooses to stain his own character, I shall let him do so. I cannot read the whole of the evidence, which covers 263 pages, but I propose to read certain portions of the report—

As regards the division between the amount charged to "Loan Expenditure" and the ordinary and usual expenses of carrying on the Government of the colony, we find that the appearance of a surplus at the end of the first year (30th June, 1896), was produced, to some extent, by changing the date of the financial year from January-December to July-June, whereby the inclusion of a considerable amount of the annual expenditure proper, to the accounts of 1895-6, was avoided. Some of the items we refer to are as under, viz. :—

	£
Treasury Bills redemption	75,000
Railway Debentures redemption, 53 Vic., No. 24	37,000
Naval expenses, say	13,000*
Interest on various trust accounts and other items	103,000*

Total £228,500

*Approximate.

That shows clearly that the Treasurer of New South Wales, the Premier of New South Wales, the present Prime Minister, in order to get a good balance-sheet to put before the people of that State, did not charge to its proper account each item of expenditure which should properly have been debited to a particular year, the object being to inflate his balance-sheet, and make it appear that he was a good financial administrator, when, as a matter of fact, he was not. The right honorable gentleman simply "cooked his accounts"—that is the plain way of putting it. The members of the Committee, as judges, proceeded with judicial calmness, and expressed their

view in judicial language; but the man in the street, and honorable members here, on hearing the evidence, would say that the right honorable gentleman had "cooked his accounts." The Committee further report—

In addition to the above, the principle of treating part of the expenditure on services paid in 1895-6 as liabilities of previous years, was not one which should have been adopted if it was intended (which we think ought to have been the case) to have shown a true and actual twelve months' expenses against a twelve months' revenue.

The first showed that the right honorable gentleman had included in his income amounts which should not have been so included, because they were not properly receivable in the year, and that he had omitted from his expenditure amounts which he should not have omitted from a true account of the actual revenue and expenditure for the twelve months. I ask the House whether that does not prove that the accounts were "cooked."

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—If the honorable and learned member's statement gave the whole truth, it might prove that; but we are getting from him a "cooked" account of the report of the Committee.

Mr. CROUCH.—I am quoting from the "Report of the Committee of Enquiry into the Public Accounts, together with the minutes of evidence, appendices, &c., appointed 2nd April, 1900, and printed under No. 7 report from Printing Committee, 2nd August, 1900." That report is signed by every member of the Committee. Another statement which it contains is this—

It seems to us that while the full year's revenue collected was put to the credit of 1895-6, the expenditure charged against the same was relieved to such an extent as to produce an alleged surplus of about £333,000 on the 30th June, 1896, whereas it is our unanimous opinion that, had the year 1895-6 been charged with a full ordinary twelve months' expenditure, there would have been a considerable deficiency. We unanimously estimate the same at not less than £550,000.

The Prime Minister had stated that he had a surplus of £333,000 on the 30th June, 1896, whereas the Committee, two of whom were appointed by himself, and one of whom is an experienced public accountant in New South Wales, said that there was a deficiency of £550,000. Am I justified, therefore, in saying that the Prime Minister "cooked" the accounts?

Mr. ROBINSON.—No. The honorable and learned member might perhaps explain the *Contemporary Review* incident.

Mr. CROUCH.—The honorable and learned member is referring—in my opinion, very improperly—to a statement which appeared in to-day's *Argus*, and I ask him if he has any charge to make against me to do me the courtesy to state it. I cannot but be conscious of the interjections of himself and the honorable member for Wentworth. I strongly object to alleged gentlemen—

Mr. ROBINSON.—This from the hero of the Albert Park incident!

Mr. CROUCH.—Perhaps these are Oxford manners, and must therefore be excused. When a man's sole claim to breeding is that he has been in the same shop, and has been shaved by a barber who once shaved the Prince of Wales, there is no more to be said. The report continues—

The above figures are based on those of the Treasury itself, and are without taking into consideration the fact that on the expenditure side the full payments in redemption of old liabilities, which, it appears to us, should have been made during that period according to law (31 Vic., No. 11), have been omitted to be charged to the extent of £68,292 10s.; while several small amounts have been put to the credit of "revenue" which ought rightly to have been considered as received in reduction of liabilities prior to the 30th June, 1895, when the change in system took place.

That is clearly a case in which balances were wrongly applied, which is another criticism to which the right honorable gentleman objects. The third statement to which he objects is that he was guilty of lavish borrowing and expenditure; but the figures given by the Committee show that during the five years in which he was Premier of New South Wales the loan indebtedness of that State increased by over £10,000,000. If that is not an instance of lavish borrowing and expenditure, to use the words of the charge, I do not know what further evidence is necessary to convict the right honorable gentleman of it. The report continues—

During the whole of this branch of our inquiry we have invariably, where we could conscientiously do so, given the Administration of that time the benefit of any doubt in connexion with any matters which have arisen; but we cannot help coming to the conclusion that the accounts of 1895-6 should have been submitted in such a manner as would have enabled the public to form a correct judgment of the effect of the change of system on that year's accounts. We recognise that the accounts, as they were submitted, after the change of system to what has been termed the "cash" basis, conformed to the programme sanctioned by Parliament—

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—Hear, hear. It is Parliament that is there being criticised, not the Minister.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—The honorable gentleman knows better than that.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—It is true, anyhow.

Mr. CROUCH.—The report continues—

The accounts, as so made up, brought out a surplus; but, from a business point of view, we cannot see that any such surplus really accrued to the period, but the contrary, as we have shown, and we think this should have been clearly set forth at the time the accounts were submitted. In other words, the result of our inquiry shows that, under all the circumstances of the case, the issue of Treasury Bills, to the net amount of £1,024,700, as covering liabilities of previous years, and representing an ascertained deficiency at the 30th June, 1895, was unnecessary, and had the effect of considerably and unduly lessening the expenditure charged to the next ensuing year, and was, therefore, in our opinion, misleading, inasmuch as thereby the subsequent real condition of the finances was not made apparent.

If any further evidence of my charges is required, there it is. The Committee say that the real condition of the finances was not made apparent. I admit that I am not reading the whole report, but I am reading everything that fairly bears upon the case. The Committee were asked to answer the question—

Whether the sum of £1,500,000 was transferred from Trust Funds to the General Loan Account, as alleged, by the Auditor-General?

To that question their reply was, "Yes." I will not read the whole of the report, it is too long, but it shows, amongst other things, that the Savings Bank funds were applied to ordinary loan accounts. I think I have said sufficient to show that the Prime Minister not only misused the public moneys, but also cooked the public accounts. Now for the sequel. In January, 1903, I attended the opening of the Kalgoorlie Water Works. The Prime Minister was, at the time, engaged in making a tour of Western Australia in the free-trade interest. He was not then favorably disposed towards the Victorian protectionists, whom he has now got into his clutches, and he spoke as bitterly as he possibly could against them, and made strong attacks upon the Victorian manufacturers. I was representing a protectionist constituency, and I was glad enough to accede to the request of a Western Australian newspaper for an interview to defend them. I thought that the statements which the Prime Minister was making against the Victorian manufacturers and workers were absolutely unjustifiable, and that the sooner a direct denial was given to them the better. The statements I made in the course of that interview are not of any great importance, so

far as the present occasion is concerned. The Prime Minister answered my remarks at Kalgoorlie. He was then a great distance away from Sydney, and, as it was very unlikely that the reports in the Kalgoorlie newspapers would be circulated in New South Wales, he thought he could safely abuse the gentlemen who have now given him a certificate of character. This was not the first time that the right honorable gentleman had denied the statements made by the members of the Committee on Public Accounts in New South Wales, but his remarks were then stronger than ever before. He not only said that the report was of no good, but attacked the members of the Committee who were appointed by himself. I shall only quote a portion of his statement. He said—

When the charges of unfair financial administration were investigated by a committee appointed by Sir William Lyne, that committee reported that I had kept the accounts of the Treasury according to law, and that the accounts, as so kept, showed a surplus. That finding completely exonerated me from all imputations which had been made. The questions, with regard to the legislation of Parliament, are open to differences of opinion. The only serious one for the public to determine was whether I had adhered to the legislation that I had passed in managing the Treasury. This was found by Sir William Lyne's appointed committee. I had no confidence in that committee.

The right honorable gentleman has no confidence in any one unless they are prepared to make him the Prime Minister. He proceeds—

because one of its members was a political opponent, and I had protested against his inclusion.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Hear, hear!

Mr. CROUCH.—Might I ask who was the political opponent of the right honorable gentleman?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Mr. Yarwood.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—A great free-trader.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—He was nothing of the kind. He stood at the elections as a supporter of the honorable member for Hume.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—That is not a fact.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Mr. Yarwood denounced the Prime Minister, up and down, at the previous election.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—That is not correct.

Mr. SPEAKER.—Order. These conversations across the floor of the Chamber, specially when they so seriously interrupt an honorable member who is addressing the

Chair, are entirely out of order. Therefore, I would ask honorable members who wish to place their views before the House to wait until an opportunity is presented to them to speak in the ordinary course.

Mr. CROUCH.—In justice to the honorable member for Parramatta, I must say that I appealed to him for the name of the member of the Committee of Inquiry who was supposed to be a political opponent of the Prime Minister. I would now like to ask him whether it is not true that the two bankers who were members of the Committee were appointed by the right honorable gentleman?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—No.

Mr. CROUCH.—Or selected by him?

Mr. FULLER.—No. They were appointed by the honorable member for Hume.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The Prime Minister took no exception to their appointment.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—The Prime Minister nominated them.

Mr. CROUCH.—The Prime Minister proceeded to say—

It transpired that another member, Mr. Dibbs, of the Commercial Bank, had judged the case before his appointment.

Of course, I knew my man, even though I had had only a few years' experience of the right honorable gentleman. I thought it very unfair to the members of the Committee that these statements should be made at a place like Kalgoorlie, far distant from Sydney, and I took care to communicate them to the chairman of the committee, Mr. T. A. Dibbs, the general manager of the Commercial Banking Company of Sydney, one of the principal financial institutions of Australia. The reply I received was dated 14th March, 1903, and read as follows:—

Most people do not attach much importance to what Mr. Reid says when he is out on the stump. In your clipping he says the Committee exonerated him from blame; then what necessity to say that I was a political opponent? I read the other day that, in answer to a deputation, he said that if he got into power he would disturb the Tariff as little as possible, and in the next sentence he said that he would make drastic alterations, statements made to please both sides. The best answer I can give you is to read the report of the Finance Committee, a copy of which you could get on application to the See Government. The committee were:—Mr. J. R. French, general manager of the Bank of New South Wales; Mr. Yarwood, a very able accountant; and myself. Mr. Reid appointed the bankers, Sir William Lyne appointed Mr. Yarwood. Let me refer you to the last Sydney *Bulletin*, which is worth your perusal, on Mr. Reid's ever-changing attitude in politics.

I send you a clipping taken from it (28th February) referring to the particular subject of your inquiry.

P.S.—The finding of the committee was adverse to Mr. Reid.

I do not know that it is necessary for me to proceed much further. It was said of George IV. that to the end of his days, he claimed to have been present at the Battle of Waterloo. He had told the lie so often that in the end he was persuaded that he was stating the truth. The Prime Minister has so frequently made misstatements and denials that I should not be surprised if he fully believed that the report of the Committee was favorable to him. When he stamped and screamed in this Chamber yesterday, and pointed to me and others, and spoke of the slanderous statements that had been uttered, I have no doubt he thought he was a much maligned man. No doubt it is quite possible for him to work himself up into such a state that he will believe anything. The fact that he made the statement to which I have referred in Sydney, that he repeated it in a much stronger form at Kalgoorlie, and at last—under the impression that I was not in possession of the letters which I have read—attacked me in this House evidences an amount of moral obliquity which is surprising. Honorable members have heard the statements which I have quoted, and I invite them to again study the letter from the members of the Committee which was read by the Prime Minister yesterday in his endeavour to refute the accuracy of my charges. That letter states—

Dear Mr. Reid,

Referring to your note of 10th inst. to Mr. J. Russell French, covering extract of a letter published in the *Melbourne Age*, our report, which is referred to, speaks for itself, and should not have given rise to any misapprehension.

I think I had better repeat those words—

Our report, which is referred to, speaks for itself, and should not have given rise to any misapprehension. In view, however, of the remarks in the extract in question, it is but just to you—

Evidently the Committee think that it is necessary to add something to be just to the right honorable gentleman, thereby implying that in itself their report cannot be favorable to him. The letter continues—

It is but just to you to state that we made no reflection whatever on your personal honour or integrity—

Who did? I was glad that the honorable member for Wide Bay pointed out yesterday that no such reflection had been made. At the same time I hold that for his political

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trickery and maladministration as Treasurer of New South Wales, the right honorable gentleman is deserving of the severest censure.

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—The report says that he kept the accounts according to law.

Mr. CROUCH.—The letter continues—

Nor did we intend to suggest any improper manipulation of the Treasury accounts by yourself or the Treasury officials, as would seem to be implied by the terms "cooked" or "doctored," which appear in the letter.

I am very glad that the Prime Minister brought this matter forward, because now that he is at the head of the Commonwealth Government we know that he has a right to interfere in all Departments, and if he continues in office we need to be very careful indeed that he does not interfere with the Treasury.

Mr. ROBINSON.—He would not send an article to two different newspapers and ask for cheques from both.

Mr. CROUCH.—I cannot say straight out that the interjection of the honorable and learned member for Wannon is a lie, because that would be unparliamentary, but when he declares that I sent an article to two newspapers and requested cheques from both, I ask him if he has any sense of fair play? If he has, he will father that statement outside the House, and I will soon teach him manners.

Mr. ROBINSON. — The honorable and learned member runs away from a vote here, and he would run away outside.

Mr. CROUCH.—If the honorable and learned member will repeat the statement outside of the House I will give him some lessons in veracity which he very much needs. There are some men who have no manners, and who can be reached only through their pockets. I regret this unfortunate digression. Perhaps I have devoted too much attention to a State matter, but I do not think that the time has been wasted in exposing the present Prime Minister and his methods. Immediately after his assumption of office, the right honorable gentleman issued a manifesto to the people of Australia, in which he declared—

We thoroughly believe in progress, a fearless forward policy.

That declaration appeared in the newspapers of 22nd August last. I now wish to show the character of this "fearless forward policy." Personally I regard the Ministerial policy as one of the most watery and colourless that has ever been presented to any deliberative Assembly

in the world. For example, the right honorable gentleman accepts all the amendments which have been made in the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill. He bids farewell to State rights, although he voted with the Deakin Administration to resist what he deemed to be an encroachment upon them. In spite of the position which he then took up, he now says, "We accept the Bill as it stands." Although he came into power over a clause in that measure, and although the Deakin Ministry were defeated upon another provision in it, he says "We accept the Bill as it stands." Despite the injury which he declared would be done to State rights by making the measure applicable to the railway employes and public servants of the States, he is now content to accept it in its present form. That represents his "fearless, forward policy." Then upon the question of preferential trade and Tariff Revision, he says that the Government take up the same position as did the Watson Administration. That is another evidence of his "fearless, forward policy." There are three Bills, however, with which he will proceed, and in regard to which he will nail his colours to the mast. In such matters he is simply reckless in his bravery. He says that he will proceed with the Papua Bill, the Trades Marks Bill, and the Fraudulent Trade Marks Bill—all non-contentious measures. But upon measures of a party character, we find how weak and colourless is the policy of the Government. I do not know whether honorable members have heard of the man who entered a restaurant, and after being supplied with chicken broth which he had ordered, handed it back to the waiter with a request that the chicken should be allowed to run through it again. That story reminds me of the "fearless, forward policy" which the Government have adopted. They had better let a little more courage run through it. This remark applies even to the High Commissioner Bill, which is absolutely a non-party measure. Unfortunately, the terms of the Labour-Liberal Alliance were disclosed upon the very day that the Prime Minister was to make his statement of policy to the House. The alliance decided that the appointment of a High Commissioner should be subject to the approval of Parliament. That was sufficient to make this fearless, forward policy-monger immediately double back, and announce that in order that there should be no interference with States rights,

the Government had determined to allow the High Commissioner Bill to remain over until next session. If there is one thing more than another of which the Commonwealth Parliament has absolute control, it is the appointment of a High Commissioner; but the Prime Minister has determined to allow the Bill to stand over in order that he may, during the recess, consult the Premiers of the States in regard to the matter. On the one Bill, in regard to which there was the slightest possibility of opposition being shown, the right honorable gentleman backed down. Some of the protectionist supporters of the Ministry have fought well in the past, and I appeal to them to say whether this is the sort of craven leader that the fighting men of Victoria are going to accept in order that they may remain in office. This is one of those occasions on which angels should weep.

Mr. WILKS.—The honorable and learned member is himself a good mourner.

Mr. CROUCH.—The interjection made by the honorable member reminds me of another matter, to which no reference has been made during the debate. The Ministry is not entirely a free-trade one. We have to remember that the Prime Minister was returned not merely as a free-trader, but as a free-trade and sectarian member.

Mr. WILKS.—The honorable and learned member played the sectarian card fairly strongly at the last general election.

Mr. CROUCH.—Those are the two planks on which the Prime Minister was returned. He secured the votes, not merely of free-traders, but of others, because he promised Dr. Dill-Mackay that he would do certain things, and accepted the platform of a certain organization. The free-trade ticket was not solely responsible for the return of that solid phalanx of representatives from New South Wales, which we see on the Government side of the House. The cry related, not only to free-trade, but to the question whether there should be certain precedence given to ecclesiastics, and whether Roman Catholics should not be employed in the Public Service.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—That is all right; we do not object to that.

Mr. CROUCH.—Some persons may object to the introduction of this subject; but the distinct appeal which sectarian bodies made to the people of New South Wales, to almost entirely support free-trade candidates at the last elections, was outrageous and scandalous. I am told

by those who are familiar with the conditions which prevailed in New South Wales—and the matter was mentioned during the Address-in-Reply—that one of the ablest members of the protectionist party in the last Parliament was defeated simply because of his religion, and because he would not subscribe—

Mr. SPEAKER.—I must ask the honorable and learned member, whether he proposes to connect the matter which he is at present discussing with the motion now before the Chair? Unless he can, he certainly ought not to proceed to debate the motion on these lines.

Mr. CROUCH.—I shall certainly connect my remarks with the motion, Mr. Speaker. If the Prime Minister was returned on certain grounds, and received the support of a certain following, because of promises which he made, he should be ready at once to fulfil those promises, rather than to sink them, as he has sunk everything else. If he intends to sink the particular pledges upon which, I contend, he was returned, he should inform the House of that intention. It seems to me little short of scandalous that at the last general election he largely used the influence to which I have referred. Perhaps it is not desirable to deal with this matter at greater length, but I strongly object to the combination of sectarianism and of free-trade, on which the Prime Minister was returned. It is a combination that should, at the very outset, be strongly reprobated.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—In New South Wales the issue was not merely that of sectarianism and free-trade.

Mr. CROUCH.—I cannot forget that the Prime Minister, when leader of the Opposition, wrote a letter to an organization in New South Wales, in which he stated that throughout his public career he had always been opposed by a certain religious body, and that he would never forget that fact. That assertion constitutes one reason why he should not be allowed to remain in office one hour longer than we can prevent. I wish now to deal with the position of the seceding protectionists who have left this side of the House to take refuge under the wing of a free-trade Prime Minister. I regret already to observe a desire on the part of the Prime Minister to depose the honorable and learned member for Ballarat from the leadership of the protectionist wing of his supporters. Up

to the date on which he issued his manifesto to the electors of New South Wales, the Prime Minister had always referred to the honorable and learned member for Ballarat as "the leader of the protectionist party"; but in that manifesto he shifted his ground, and endeavoured to introduce other leaders. The honorable and learned member for Ballarat had refused to join his Ministry, or to have anything to do with him; he had declined under any circumstances to enter the coalition as a Minister, and as the result of this the Prime Minister, in his manifesto to the electors of New South Wales, referred to "Mr. Deakin and Sir George Turner, and their supporters." Since then this free-trade Prime Minister has apparently taken up the position that he has a right to depose the honorable and learned member for Ballarat from the leadership of the protectionist wing of his supporters, and to appoint another leader. In accordance with this view, he now invariably refers to the Minister of Trade and Customs as "the leader of the protectionist party on this side of the House." I do not know what right the Prime Minister has to make a change in the leadership of his protectionist wing. If I were in the position of the honorable and learned member for Ballarat, I should certainly object to his efforts in that direction; but we find that the honorable and learned member is taking them very quietly. He is, so to speak, taking them "lying down." I should like to know what the Minister of Trade and Customs has to say to the statement made last night by the Prime Minister, that there is no longer any coalition, and it would also be interesting to learn the views of the honorable member for Eden-Monaro.

Mr. MAUGER.—The Prime Minister said that the Deakin party had refused a coalition.

Mr. CROUCH.—And that there was no coalition on that side of the House. That statement was distinctly made by the right honorable gentleman.

Mr. POYNTON.—He said that it was now a voluntary association.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The honorable and learned member should quote the next sentence.

Mr. CROUCH.—If the honorable member will supply me with it I shall be happy to read it. In his manifesto to the people of New South Wales, the Prime Minister said that the appearance in office of a

caucus-tied Labour Administration, supported by a small minority in the House, raised constitutional and national questions which—

I think fully justified the junction which has taken place between myself and my supporters, and Mr. Deakin and Sir George Turner and their supporters, a junction which leaves all our supporters free from any surrender of principle.

Evidently, on the 22nd August, 1904—the date of this manifesto—he did not think it necessary to endeavour to depose the honorable and learned member for Ballarat from the leadership of the protectionist wing on the Government side of the House; but, judging by his present attitude, and from certain indications afforded us by the speech made by him last night, I feel satisfied that he will do his best to gradually draw away from the honorable and learned member for Ballarat, and so to secure an entirely undivided party. If his protectionist supporters cannot be absorbed by the free-trade wing he will endeavour to eject them. I can clearly read for them “the handwriting on the wall.” The Prime Minister is doing his best to induce the honorable and learned member for Ballarat to finally leave him. He certainly does not wish to lose his support at this stage, but if a dissolution occurs at an early date, the Prime Minister will take up an entirely different attitude in regard to the terms of the coalition than that which he assumes at the present time, when he absolutely relies on the support of some of the protectionist members of this House.

Mr. HIGGINS.—As soon as he gets into recess he will sell them.

Mr. CROUCH.—The Prime Minister, for some weeks past, has been touring the country and talking of the restoration of responsible government; but he knows that the honorable and learned member for Ballarat—and this is why he does not relish the position occupied by the honorable and learned member—has him completely in the hollow of his hand. If the honorable and learned member chooses to say to the Prime Minister, “Do this,” or “Do that,” he must obey or leave office, and a dissolution would then at once take place. The right honorable member is seeking to undermine the position of the honorable and learned member for Ballarat. He is never grateful for services rendered. That is his record, and I certainly think it will be his record, so far as the honorable and learned member for Ballarat is concerned. That he should be grateful to a man

is his best excuse for disliking him. In regard to the protectionist position, I may say that at the last election I was in favour of fiscal peace. I was returned on the principle of fiscal peace. But then we had this condition and circumstance obtaining: that there was a protectionist Prime Minister in power. That altered the position very materially. As long as a protectionist Prime Minister was in power, I do not think I should have advocated any change in the Tariff without going to face my electors again. I made fiscal peace so prominent in my programme that I could not honorably have changed my vote in this House without resigning.

Mr. EWING.—Why, then, does not the honorable and learned member resign?

Mr. CROUCH.—The position is altogether changed. A free-trade Prime Minister is in power, who certainly was not chosen by the electors. In fact, the electors declared against him. At the last elections the contest was not between the present Prime Minister, the leader of the Opposition, and the honorable and learned member for Ballarat. It was distinctly between the honorable and learned member for Ballarat and the Prime Minister. So far as the electors of Australia could say that the present Prime Minister should not occupy that office, by an overwhelming majority they said it. It seems to me to be a blot upon our democratic institutions that a man whom the country so overwhelmingly condemned and rejected should have attained to the position of Prime Minister—in my opinion, by a long course of juggling and trickery. In my belief the Prime Minister will take the earliest opportunity to sell the Protectionist Party. Indeed, he has already given indications in that direction. On the last Thursday in August—I cannot give the exact date—he spoke to a Farmers' Conference in Melbourne, and he then made use of this statement—

I was Premier for five years in New South Wales, during which the Labour Party had me in the hollow of their hand. And what was the result? I got my free-trade policy passed by protectionist labour men. You can always come upon me with a deal of that kind.

Here was this Prime Minister, having consummated a coalition with certain seceding protectionists, stating about a fortnight after the coalition was formed, and after he had got certain protectionists in his Ministry, that he passed his free-trade policy in New South Wales with the assistance of protectionists,

and that "You can always come upon me with a deal of that kind." If that is not a statement which should make those honorable members, who were previously with us in the Protectionist Party, pause in their career — if they are really protectionists—and prevent themselves being used by the present free-trade Prime Minister, as he used the protectionists in New South Wales, I do not know that any more public warning could be given.

Mr. EWING.—It was not the Protectionist Party, but the Labour Party in New South Wales that the Prime Minister used.

Mr. CROUCH.—The right honorable gentleman said, "I got my free-trade policy passed by protectionist labour men."

Mr. EWING.—Yes; labour men.

Mr. CROUCH.—If, after a warning of that sort, the protectionists who are supporting the Prime Minister can continue honestly and honorably to do so, I am very much surprised. A little while ago, I asked the Prime Minister what his position would be in reference to giving a preference to local contractors. He refused to answer, but made some sort of a joke. I should like to point out to those protectionists who have seceded from the Protectionist Party, that the Prime Minister said that he would never rest until the policy of the Protectionist Party was stamped out. It was not so long ago since the Prime Minister called the protectionists cowards. During the Tariff debates, he accused the honorable member for Mernda, in this House, of discreditable actions in trade. The right honorable gentleman continually interjected remarks about starch during the speeches of the honorable member. After his references to the weight of the packages sold by the honorable member's firm, after his statement that the honorable member was really making his money out of the poverty of the people who used his starch, and after the series of accusations which the Prime Minister made against him during the Tariff discussions, it seems to me that the honorable member for Mernda is a very funny protectionist if he is prepared to follow, as he seems to do, the right honorable gentleman. There is one other position which the Prime Minister takes up in his manifesto. He says that he is strongly against Socialism. Since the issue of that manifesto, he has addressed several meetings against Socialism. He thinks that Socialism is one of the worst things in the world. He defines it as the

nationalization of industries. Unfortunately, we have the honorable member for Wilmot stating that, although the leader of the Opposition is a Socialist, he finds that the Prime Minister is also a Socialist. Yet the Prime Minister goes up and down the country denouncing Socialism. That is the ground upon which he endeavours to retain his position. History does not pass away from our memories so soon. We have had only four years of Federal parliamentary life. Statements have been made in this House by the Prime Minister, which are reported in *Hansard*, and which show that he was formerly very anxious to get the Labour Party to vote with him. The Prime Minister was going a good way in the direction of Socialism then. On the 21st May, 1901, when this Parliament met for the first time, and we were discussing the Address-in-Reply—and he was not then indulging in any funnyisms, but seriously placing his political intentions before the country—he said—

We say—"If you will encourage new forms of industry, make Government industries of them. If you believe that you can fashion industries, try a few experiments—Government experiments, and let us see how they get on. Then, if there is failure, no one else can be blamed, and the experiments can be dropped."

On the 15th October, 1901, when he knew he could not carry a vote of want of confidence without the support of the Labour Party, he said—

I have always been one who would like to see the iron industry firmly established, but my method of effecting this would be by giving it direct encouragement from the national exchequer. My reason for so doing would be that as it is a national industry the nation should pay the expense of encouraging it.

I do not go so far as the Prime Minister as a Socialist; but I object to his going around the country speaking against Socialism when we remember that only two or three years ago he was ready enough to agree to almost any nationalizing of industries if he could only get the support of certain persons. Then what do we find this anti-Socialist, to the horror of some of his supporters, and certainly to the horror of the conservative group in the Government corner, saying in regard to the Papua Bill, in which there was a most Socialistic experiment—

Mr. POYNTON.—Clause 20.

Mr. CROUCH.—That is so. To the surprise and horror of those I have mentioned, the present Prime Minister said that that clause was accepted by a large

majority of the House, and he did not think he ought to disturb it. There was a fear-
less policy! There was anti-Socialism! This clause was actually moved and agreed to by the present Prime Minister, and it stands to-day in the Papua Bill, as I hope it will stand for some time, though it gives up a principle which the right honorable gentleman outside the House is only too ready to advocate. I do not wish to speak at any length on the question of preference to unionists. When that question was discussed I was, to a certain extent, "sand-bagged," and could not say all I desired; but it is just as well that the people of the country should recognise where the difference is. Both sides of the House were agreed that there should be preference to unionists, and the only difference between honorable members on this side and the Ministerialists was that we held that the preference should be unencumbered by any proviso which would make it unworkable. The desire was to recommit the Bill, in order to pass a really workable clause; and there is not the slightest question that those who voted against the recommitment of clause 48 desired that preference should be given to unionists. That provision was in the original Bill, introduced by the honorable and learned member for Ballarat, and the principle is supported absolutely and completely by the present Prime Minister, and even by those five representatives of the Victorian Employers' Federation who sit in the Government corner. But it ought to be distinctly understood that the difference between the Ministry and the Opposition is not as to whether there shall be preference, but only as to whether the provision giving preference shall be workable or combined with conditions which will make it practically impossible. I have already referred to the Deakin party, who are still following the Prime Minister. In his manifesto the right honorable gentleman stated that he would adhere to the position he assumed in the negotiations with the honorable and learned member for Ballarat. But, in the first announcement he made to the House, the Prime Minister went back on that position, and said that so far as preferential trade was concerned—and this was certainly the most important plank of the Deakin party at the last election—he was going to take up exactly the position of the Watson Government, who, until approached by England, were not going to do anything in the matter. What was the plat-

form agreed to at the meeting at which the joint proposals were considered? It was that the question of preferential trade should wait until the British Government had spoken, as is shown by the following:—

It is recognised that no proposals affecting trade relations within the Empire can be looked for from the mother country during the life of the present Commonwealth Parliament, but the maintenance of a truce for that period is not to prevent the acceptance of statutory concessions offered to us by any other part of the Empire.

The Prime Minister has confined his opposition entirely to refusing to do anything in regard to preferential trade until the United Kingdom makes approaches; he neglected altogether the latter part of the paragraph—

but the maintenance of a truce for that period is not to prevent the acceptance of statutory concessions offered to us by any other part of the Empire.

Already the Deakin party are in process of being "sold," and this they will find out and be sorry for. They are dealing with a very astute man; and they will recognise that it is impossible to follow a free-trade Minister and expect him to endeavour to conserve a protectionist policy. The sooner they get into office a man whom they can trust as a thoroughly honest man, who regards his political engagements as binding on him, the better it will be for them; and unless they can achieve that end they had far better sit in Opposition, and endeavour to remove the present Government from office. The Ministry has been christened the "sand-bagging" Ministry, though I do not know that that is a good description. It might really be properly called the "Yes-No" Ministry, simply because on the fiscal question we have four members of the Government saying "Yes" and four members saying "No." Or it might be called a "black-white" Ministry, because we have five saying "black" and three saying "white."

Mr. MAHON.—What about the free-trade Minister who gives protectionist preference in the Post Office?

Mr. MAUGER.—The Minister is going to consider that matter on its merits.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I was "game" to give a decision, and the late Postmaster-General was not.

Mr. CROUCH.—I do not want to call the Ministry by any of the names I have suggested, because it will sufficiently condemn them as unreliable and incompetent

in the eyes of the people of Australia if it be simply called the Reid Ministry.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK (Parramatta).—I desire to make one or two remarks concerning a matter to which the honorable and learned member for Corio has alluded, and which relates to the keeping of the accounts of New South Wales by the present Prime Minister. I venture to say that the honorable and learned member for Corio, by the statements which he has made to-day, has altogether disproved his allegations made outside this Chamber. Instead of showing that there had been any "cooking" or "doctoring" in connexion with the accounts of New South Wales, the honorable and learned member, out of his own mouth, has proved that everything was done with the sanction of the New South Wales Parliament, and at the behest of that Parliament, and done in a legal and orderly way. What was the matter about which all the controversy has arisen? It has been stated that the honorable member for Hume appointed an impartial and disinterested Committee. The whole matter has reference to the administration of the Dibbs-Lyne Government, and to an old deficiency which they left, and to which the Reid Government succeeded on coming into office in New South Wales. It relates to a deficiency which had accumulated under the previous Administration, and which amounted to £1,500,000. The present Prime Minister, before proceeding to deal with the deficiency in the way to which objection has been taken, actually reduced it from £1,500,000 to £1,100,000. I propose to quote a few sentences from a speech made by the Colonial Treasurer of the day, Sir John See, bearing upon this very matter. That honorable gentleman, in his Budget Speech, admitted that this deficiency had arisen under the administration of the Government of which he was a member, and he said—

So far as can now be ascertained the deficiency is about £1,200,000, and I propose to ask authority to issue Treasury Bills to cover this deficiency. The then Premier estimated that the deficiency for 1893, and previous years, was £1,500,000 and this he considered would be the amount to be so dealt with.

When we took office, one of the first things the present Prime Minister did, was to re-arrange the whole system of public accounts. Instead of perpetuating the old credit system, by which accounts of years' standing were carried over to succeeding years, so that no one could

tell what was the condition of the public accounts, the right honorable gentleman introduced what is now known as the cash system. He altered the close of the financial year from December to June, and in doing that, he said that, instead of taking over this deficiency of previous Governments into his accounts, he would do as Sir John See had proposed to do, and wipe it off by funding it. The whole controversy that has arisen, as between the bankers and the right honorable member for East Sydney, and as between the honorable member for Hume and the right honorable gentleman, is as to whether he ought to have funded the accumulated deficiency, or whether he ought to have loaded his new cash system with it. The right honorable gentleman said, "I have quite enough to do. I am taking £800,000 a year in taxation off the people of this country, and I cannot afford to take over this old liability into my new accounts." Furthermore, he said, "I do not think it would be fair to the new system if I were to do so. We have a new cash system. Let us have a fair start, so that the system may stand on its merits." With that object in view, the right honorable gentleman funded the accumulated deficiency. The whole controversy which was waged, and which has been waged ever since, and all these charges of "doctoring" and "cooking" accounts, have arisen, because the right honorable member for East Sydney came in a straightforward way to the Parliament, and asked it to give him authority to fund the deficiency, and so wipe it off his accounts altogether. I have here the New South Wales Act authorizing the whole transaction. It is entitled "An Act to authorize the issue of Treasury Bills, to cover the deficiency debt up to 30th June, 1895." That amounted to £1,100,000.

Mr. MAUGER.—Who introduced that measure?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—It was introduced by the right honorable member for East Sydney, and the New South Wales Parliament unanimously passed it. I think there were one or two criticisms only, but there was no question at all as to whether the measure proposed a proper way of dealing with this very difficult matter. That was done by the right honorable gentleman.

Mr. CROUCH.—Nobody has disputed that. The honorable member is dealing with something which is altogether outside the question.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I am afraid the honorable and learned member has not read the report which he has quoted so extensively. If he had he would know that that is the whole point of the controversy.

Mr. CROUCH.—The Committee found against the right honorable member for East Sydney.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Of course they found against the right honorable gentleman. They simply said that he should have brought over the old deficiency into his accounts.

Mr. CROUCH.—They said much more than that.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—This is what they said, and it is the whole point of the controversy between the bankers and the present Prime Minister. That right honorable gentleman said, "I do not think that it is fair to load the new cash system with this old deficiency, for which I am not responsible, but which Sir William Lyne and Sir George Dibbs have accumulated. In starting a new system I desire to begin with a clean sheet." The bankers said that this old deficiency should still have been carried forward, and should have been liquidated from succeeding revenues. That was the whole question in dispute.

Mr. MAUGER.—You cannot say that you begin with a clean sheet by merely wiping off your books a debt which has not been paid.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Sir John See and Sir William Lyne proposed the same thing.

Mr. WEBSTER.—To pass it on to posterity.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Precisely. That is what was done, and that is precisely what other Governments had done before. I am not justifying it, but pointing out that the criticism is not a criticism of the right honorable member for East Sydney, but in effect of the Parliament that sanctioned what he proposed.

Mr. WEBSTER.—Who took the lead in the matter?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I have already told the honorable member that the right honorable member for East Sydney took the lead, but he was simply carrying out the intention of the previous Government, as I have already shown by the quotation I have made from the New South Wales *Hansard*.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—Sir William Lyne suggested it.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—There never was any question about the legality of the transaction. The New South Wales Parliament gave its consent to the whole proceedings, and, therefore, what the honorable and learned member for Corio has quoted is not a condemnation of the right honorable member for East Sydney, but of the whole Parliament of New South Wales. Honorable members have only to look up the New South Wales *Hansard* of the time to learn how the Parliament of New South Wales regarded that criticism. Although the report was tabled with a flourish of trumpets by Sir William Lyne, no report was ever more flat and stale, or fell more unprofitably on the table of any Parliament House than did that report, notwithstanding all the trouble which had been taken to produce it. Now, as to the genesis of the Committee: We have heard much about its being a disinterested Committee. Do honorable members know the genesis of the whole matter? When the present honorable member for Hume was in Opposition he was attacking the Reid Government, week in and week out, upon these financial matters. He was being fed up at the time by a public servant, who afterwards became an adverse witness before the expert Committee appointed, and also became its secretary. The very man who had engineered the whole thing was made secretary to the Committee. This was the same Mr. Martin whom the honorable member for Hume wished to foist upon the Federal service, and the honorable gentleman would have been successful in doing so, only that his then colleagues declined to make the appointment he wished to have made. Of course the honorable gentleman wished to reward Mr. Martin for his political services. This was the man who engineered the whole thing, and he became secretary to the Committee, and gave adverse evidence when the Committee was considering the matter. Now, as to the composition of the Committee itself: Mr. Yarwood was one of the gentlemen selected by the honorable member for Hume. Only just previously Mr. Yarwood had run in a constituency as a supporter of that honorable gentleman, and as a straight-out opponent of the present Prime Minister and his land and income taxation. It is amusing to me to hear members of the Labour Party cheering references to Mr. Yarwood, whose chief object was to discredit the only man who had been game to stand up and fight the big property-owners of New South Wales.

Mr. WEBSTER.—Who is the right honorable gentleman fighting now?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I am fighting for fair play just now, and I am putting this matter in its proper light. I challenge honorable members to contradict what I am saying. I have nothing to say against the two bankers who were members of the Committee. There is no doubt that they were smarting at the time for the very same reason. They did not like the income tax, and they did not like the land tax. They were probably at the time the bitter political enemies of the right honorable gentleman, and he was warned by some of his supporters that it was not wise to appoint such gentlemen, one of whom it has since been proved had expressed opinions adverse to his system of finance. It is well known, for instance, that, long before his appointment to the Committee, Mr. Dibbs had told the present Minister of Home Affairs, in no unmistakable terms, his opinion of the finance of the right honorable gentleman, and we know that when he entered upon the inquiry, he was as much biased as a man could be against both the right honorable gentleman and his system of accounts. When the honorable and learned member for Corio says that these gentlemen were appointed by the Prime Minister—

Mr. BAMFORD.—He said "nominated."

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I think that the right honorable gentleman simply agreed to them over the table of the House. Every one who knows him must be aware that he is not the most suspicious man in the community; that he is always disposed to put the best construction upon the actions of those with whom he comes into contact.

Mr. HIGGINS.—It is well to hear that.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—If the honorable and learned member does not know that that is a fact, he does not know the Prime Minister very well. I doubt if there was another man in the Ministry who would have consented to the appointment of those two bankers, in view of all the political circumstances. It only came out afterwards that Mr. Dibbs, who has written to the honorable and learned member for Corio in such an impartial strain, had said beforehand, that he was opposed to the right honorable gentleman's system of accounts. Let honorable members read that letter, and see if it is the letter of an impartial man. It is rather the letter of an opponent, and of a bitter one at that.

When these facts came out in the New South Wales Legislative Assembly, the right honorable gentleman determined that he would be judged fairly, and another board was appointed, to which the honorable and learned member for Corio made no reference. Although he has boasted so much of his fairness, he was careful to quote only from the report which suited him, and to ignore another report which exonerates the Prime Minister.

Mr. CROUCH.—I ask the honorable member to believe that I did not know of the second report.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—That is a fair answer to make. The Prime Minister determined that the second board should be one in regard to whose composition there could be no cavilling; and he therefore asked the president of the Institute of Accountants to name an accountant, and the acting president of the Incorporated Accountants of Australia to name a second accountant; and he then asked these two accountants to name a third. No more honorable course than that could have been taken. Mr. J. E. Bowes was named by the president of the Institute of Accountants, and Mr. Thomas Davis by the acting president of the Incorporated Accountants of Australia; while Messrs. Bowes and Davis named Mr. Richard Teece, the general manager of the Australian Mutual Provident Society. The directors of that society, however, withdrew Mr. Teece from the inquiry after he had begun his work, thinking, I suppose, that the manager of a public company like theirs should not be concerned in the squabble. Messrs. Bowes and Davis then selected Mr. Vane, of the firm of Miles and Vane. All three gentlemen stand at the head of their profession. The Prime Minister did not appear before them, but he gave them the free run of the accounts of the Treasury and of the Auditor-General, and put the various Treasurers' Statements before them. In their report they admit that on the first six months' financing there was a deficiency of £151,000, but taking the four years' revenue and expenditure, including all extraneous items, they report that the surplus was £261,000. The Prime Minister had stated that he had a surplus of £147,000 on the four years' working; but the accountants make up the difference in this way. During the period under review, he had advanced £188,000 repayments of which were made during the term of office of his successor. A fair

review of the financing for the whole four years, however, showed him to have a surplus of £261,000. Honorable members will recollect, in addition, that during those four years his Government had remitted to the people of New South Wales £3,000,000 worth of taxation. The honorable and learned member for Corio has also spoken of the loan expenditure during the right honorable gentleman's term of office; but all these matters were brought under the cognizance of the people of the State, and the strongest argument that could be used to defend our system of finance from the public platforms was to show the difference between the financing of the right honorable gentleman and that of the honorable member for Hume, and of Sir John See. It was sufficient to read the bare figures, to convince the people of that State that the Reid Government carefully husbanded their resources, while succeeding Governments recklessly squandered the public money in the most extravagant way.

Mr. WILKS.—The honorable and learned member for Corio has similar material to fire off against the honorable member for Hume. He loaded both his barrels.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I hope that on the next occasion when the honorable and learned member makes an attack of this kind, he will first read all the information on the subject available to him, and not content himself with a jaundiced and prejudiced report to prove that the accounts of New South Wales were "cooked" and "doctored" by the Prime Minister. The honorable and learned member himself "cooked" and "doctored" the report of the Committee by the way in which he quoted it. The whole question at issue was whether the Prime Minister should carry on the deficiency of his predecessors, to be liquidated out of future revenue, or do as the honorable member for Hume and Sir John See proposed to do, fund it, and make a fresh start with a new system.

Mr. WEBSTER.—That was a very ready way of getting rid of the difficulty.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I do not say that it was the right way, but to begin with, the Prime Minister was carrying out the intention of his predecessors, and there is a great deal to be said for his determination when creating an entirely new cash system, to give it a fair start, instead of loading it with previous deficiencies. Although he funded those deficiencies, he instituted a sinking fund, and during

the four years, paid off over £1,000,000. The honorable member might have quoted that fact, but he conveniently forgot it. The first thing that the next Administration did was to suspend payments into the sinking fund, and none have been made since. That was done by the men who instituted the inquiry.

Mr. WEBSTER.—The Reid Administration starved the roads of the country, and their successors had to make up the leeway.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The answer to that statement is that there is less money being spent upon the roads of New South Wales to-day than when we left office.

Mr. WEBSTER.—That is no reply; two wrongs do not make a right.

Mr. HIGGINS.—More New South Wales politics.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—This time the subject was introduced by a Victorian representative.

Mr. ROBINSON.—Cheered on by the honorable and learned member for Northern Melbourne.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Any one taking an impartial view of matters as they affect this Parliament must, I am sure, be very much disappointed—I make no secret of my disappointment—with the position of Federal affairs. We have had three crises during this year. Three times we have had a political stocktaking, and here we are at it again.

Mr. POYNTON.—And likely to be so, too.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Then all I can say is that we had better surrender the political estate to the liquidator outside as quickly as possible. The course now being pursued is paralyzing the whole industrial and political life of Australia, and is certainly doing us no good in the eyes of people abroad.

Mr. WEBSTER.—The old "gag."

Mr. POYNTON.—The honorable member and the other members of his party helped to put out two Governments.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Did not the honorable member help to put out any Government?

Mr. POYNTON.—Yes.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The honorable member was as eager as any one to put out the Deakin Government.

Mr. POYNTON.—I was not eager to put out the Government, but I was anxious to secure the insertion of a certain provision in the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill.

Mr. MCCAY.—So were we.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The present position seems to be a curious commentary on the popular idea that all our political troubles would be ended if we only adopted a system by which Ministers would be personally responsible to the House. All I have to say is that the present position of affairs represents upon a miniature scale the conditions which would obtain under that system. The House is full of parties—full of coalitions, and that is precisely what would happen under a system of non-party government. We have too many parties now, and they are too inextricably mixed up to do anything of a permanent character so far as this Parliament is concerned. Honorable members opposite have referred to the coalition on the Government side as an unholy combination which embraces men of widely divergent opinions, and I wish to place my position very clearly before the House. I hope that honorable members will believe me when I say that I do not care very much for the present coalition. I hope that is plain. At the same time I like it a little better than the arrangement which has been entered into by honorable members opposite.

Mr. WEBSTER.—That is quite natural.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—It may be, but I shall give my reasons for taking that view. One of my objections to the coalition is that it is only half a coalition.

Mr. WILKS.—My objection is that there is not enough of it.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The honorable member has hit it off exactly. The coalition does not embrace a sufficient number of honorable members. It is not the combination that we expected. As a matter of fact, the Protectionist Party has been split in two and the wriggling that has been going on between the two rent parts has been very amusing. What we anticipated was that it would be a genuine coalition, and that, as the whole of the free-traders joined it, the whole of the protectionists would come in on the basis of that fiscal peace which I believe was promised by every protectionist on the platform at the last election.

Mr. MAUGER.—The protectionists would not agree to that.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—In my opinion the arrangements made by the Prime Minister might have been of a different character. For instance, although he has only a few protectionists among his supporters, he has taken five fiscal-sinkers into his Cabinet.

Mr. MAUGER.—That is a good name.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—In the Cabinet there are only three fiscal militants as against five Ministers who believe in sinking the fiscal issue. Again, if I had been in the position of the Prime Minister, as a free-trader, I should not have handed the Customs Department over to the control of a protectionist. I say that candidly and frankly.

Mr. FRAZER.—This is interesting.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I think that the Minister of Home Affairs might very well have been placed in charge of the Department of Trade and Customs.

Mr. MAUGER.—What difference would that have made?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I think it would make a great deal of difference.

Mr. MAUGER.—Would a free-trader favour the importers?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Not at all. The difference is this: A protectionist would have a bias towards his own fiscal system, and a free-trader would have a bias towards his side of the question—call it an unconscious bias if you like. Take a case in point. A few days ago the Minister of Trade and Customs received a deputation with regard to the duty charged upon chocolates. He told the deputation that wherever there was a duty on the border-line he would give them the advantage of the higher duty. I suppose that the honorable gentleman did what he honestly believed to be right, and I do not quarrel with him upon that ground. I fancy, however, that if the Minister had been a free-trader he would not have stretched matters in that direction. I wish to say, further, that I do not agree with the granting of preference to local tenderers. I thought that the question of preference had been crystallized in the Customs Tariff Act. The whole question was debated for two years, and whatever preference was to be given should have been embodied in the statute in the shape of Customs duty. I earnestly hope that this question will be decided upon lines exactly opposite to those which are being adopted by some Ministers at present.

Mr. MAUGER.—They have not the pluck to do that.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—No preference should be given beyond that provided for in the statute.

Mr. MAUGER.—It is so provided for.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Recent decisions show the contrary. Ever since the Tariff has been in operation it appears to have

been the rule in the Post and Telegraph Department to give local tenderers the benefit of a duty of 30 per cent. upon goods which the statute says shall carry only 15 per cent. In my view a 15 per cent. preference, added to a 15 per cent. duty, is equivalent to a 30 per cent. duty.

Mr. MAUGER.—No. A 15 per cent. preference is equivalent to a duty of 15 per cent.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—A 15 per cent. preference, *plus* a duty of 15 per cent., amounts to 30 per cent. I have a very decided objection to any Ministry increasing the Customs Tariff of the country by mere administrative acts.

Mr. MAUGER.—Is not the preference equivalent to a duty of 15 per cent.?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I do not understand the honorable member. But whilst I make these criticisms of the position of honorable members upon the Ministerial side of the Chamber, I certainly do not see any justification for the statements which have been made by honorable members opposite. When I view the ragged protectionist regiment which occupies the Opposition corner benches, and which has allied itself with the Labour Party and pledged itself to the programme which has been outlined, I am quite content to remain where I am. Only the other evening the honorable and learned member for Indi referred to Ministerial supporters as “a sexless combination.” That was his way of rounding off a peroration. He expressed the hope that an end would soon be put to this “sexless combination.” I suppose that when he employed the word “sexless” he referred to the fiscal complexion of honorable members upon this side of the House. I think that I do him no injustice in assuming that. I say that if he wants to view a “sexless combination,” he had better look at home, and look as hard as he can in that direction. If he desires to gaze upon people who are fiscally sexless, he had better turn to his own side of the Chamber. Take the honorable member for Darling as an example. He has occupied a seat in this House for four years, and was a member of the New South Wales Parliament for many years previously, but I defy anybody to say whether he is a protectionist or a free-trader.

Mr. SPENCE.—He is here all right.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—He is absolutely sexless so far as the fiscal question is concerned.

Mr. SPENCE.—Wait until it comes up.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—When it was under discussion, the honorable member was most irritatingly impartial in his votes. He was a protectionist to-day and a free-trader to-morrow throughout the whole of the debates. I repeat that before levelling such a taunt the honorable and learned member for Indi had better look at home. I do not make these statements in derogation of honorable members opposite, because they have never made a fetish of the fiscal question. They say that they were returned as labour members, which is a straightforward declaration. At the same time, they must admit that, according to the dictum of the honorable and learned member for Indi, they are fiscally sexless, and if he wishes to find a party which has no virility and no distinctive traits on this question, he had better look at the other side of the House. The honorable member for Wide Bay said last evening that nobody had ever known him to proclaim himself a free-trader. Yet this is the combination with which this great fiscal apostle is anxious to ally himself, in the hope of securing more protection.

Mr. MAUGER.—We are protectionists upon this side of the House by two to one, and the position is just the reverse upon the other side.

Mr. LONSDALE.—Does the alliance intend to raise the fiscal question?

Mr. MAUGER.—As soon as ever we can.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I hope that the honorable member is speaking for the combination.

Mr. MAUGER.—We intend to appoint a Royal Commission to inquire into the operation of the Tariff, as soon as possible.

Mr. WEBSTER.—The honorable member is speaking for himself.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I thought he was. The other evening he said that the alliance had been formed upon a sound protectionist basis. I should like to hear the honorable member for Maranoa and others upon that point. I venture to say that they would sound a very different note indeed. What is the criticism which has been levelled against the Government by the leader of the Opposition? In the first place he referred to the postponement of the High Commissioner Bill. He said that that measure was desperately urgent, and that the sooner a High Commissioner was appointed the better it would be for Australia. I interjected that I did not believe that anything was spoiling in that regard. What I meant to convey was that action could be deferred whilst an effort was being

made to see that the people of Australia are not charged anything additional for the conduct of their affairs in London. I hold that opinion very strongly, and I will not vote for the appointment of a High Commissioner unless I can see some chance of saving the States the expenditure which would be involved. "But what," I ask, "is the policy of the combination upon this point?" They have a most definite declaration upon it. From it I learn that "the selection of the High Commissioner is to be subject to the prior consent of Parliament, the economizing of existing State agencies, and the full utilization of the Federal staff for the benefit of the States." How can these points be considered unless by conference with the States?

Mr. SPENCE.—Hear, hear!

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Then why do honorable members opposite object so fiercely to the proposal of the Government, which would give effect to the very letter of that arrangement?

Mr. SPENCE.—The Government propose to leave the decision of the matter entirely to the States.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—They propose no such thing. The Prime Minister distinctly stated that he would postpone the introduction of the Bill until he had consulted the States, with a view to ascertaining if a reduction could not be effected in their staffs.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—Suppose they do not consent.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Suppose that they do.

Mr. MAUGER.—Perhaps "yes," perhaps "no."

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—If the States act senselessly they will not consent, but if—as I believe they will—they act with an ordinary amount of prudence, they will give their most cordial consent to any proposal of the kind.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—What is the policy of the Ministerial combination, if they do not consent?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I have already told the honorable member my policy in regard to the matter. I am not prepared to increase the expenses of the people of Australia in London at the present time. I now turn to another item in the programme of the Opposition alliance, from which I learn that preferential trade is to be discussed by the joint parties at an early date. That is a very safe declaration.

There ought to be no trouble in regard to that matter. Personally, I am quite prepared to join the alliance to discuss it. If they will inform me when it is to be considered, I shall be happy to take a hand with them. There is another matter, which goes to the very crux of the political combination opposite. The honorable and learned member for Indi is tirelessly proclaiming that his only object in seeking an alliance is to depose the Prime Minister, with a view to securing more protection for the industries of Australia.

Mr. TUDOR.—A very laudable object.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Let us see what definite provision is made for it.

Legislation (including Tariff legislation) shown to be necessary: (1) To develop Australian resources; (2) to preserve, encourage, and benefit Australian industries, primary and secondary—

That is a grand object with which everyone is in agreement—

(3) To secure fair conditions of labour for all engaged in every form of industrial enterprise, and to advance their interests and well-being without distinction of class or social status—

That sounds very democratic, but it is also very indefinite. I do not know of any honorable member who is not prepared to subscribe to the item in the programme that I have just read, but the point is that the members of the alliance are not bound to anything. It is provided that when they are called upon to discuss that which will best advance the interests of the people, any member of the combination may—

Agree with the members of his own party to be bound by their joint determination, or

(b) Decide how far the particular circumstances prove necessity, or the extent to which the proposal should be carried.

Mr. REID.—"Yes-no."

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—That is to say, taking up the parable of honorable members opposite, that the honorable member for Flinders, to whom they are constantly alluding, I do not know with what justification, as the personification of conservatism—

Mr. TUDOR.—The honorable member does not know him.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Under the terms of the alliance the honorable member for Flinders and the honorable member for Kooyong would be at liberty to freely express their own individual views, and to vote according to those views and yet be members of the combination.

Mr. SPENCE.—We are the party of freedom.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The honorable member is quite right. As a member of the party he is bound only in regard to one object. That object was made unmistakably clear last night by the honorable and learned member for West Sydney, when he said, "We are combined together for the purpose of removing the right honorable gentleman."

Mr. REID.—A very laudable object.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The Opposition are solid on that question.

Mr. WEBSTER.—It is a very laudable object.

Mr. REID.—It would, if successful, create a vacancy.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Then the position is this: That the members of the Labour Party in the Federal Parliament, who, from its inception, have been declaiming against the system of the "ins and the outs," declaring that they would not remove any Government merely for the sake of removing it, desire to oust the Ministry solely because of a feeling of revenge towards one member of it, although that right honorable member's proposals are identical with their own.

Mr. THOMAS.—He said that he was in office to fight us.

Mr. REID.—We heard all about that last night.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Does the Labour Party shape its final course of action on the mere statement of an individual?

Mr. GROOM.—If it be a Ministerial declaration.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—If that be so, it seems that the members of the party have come down to the ruck of very ordinary politicians, and have lost those high political ideals with which they set out.

Mr. THOMAS.—We lost them after the honorable member left us.

Mr. SPENCE.—The Government will not carry out our programme; if they would it might help them.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Have they not been carrying it out? They have taken up the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill.

Mr. WEBSTER.—They have, and they have also taken up the provisions in regard to the railway servants and public servants of the States.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I shall have nothing to say later on in regard to that matter. I was glad to hear the admission made last night by the leader of the Opposition that, save in regard to the difference

between two amendments, the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill was his own measure in every particular. That clears our course to a considerable extent. Another matter to which the Opposition take exception is the attitude of the Government on the question of old-age pensions. It may happen that when all the preliminary work has been done in connexion with a reform of this kind, those who did it will be put out, and some one who never lifted a finger to assist the movement will be pitchforked into office and given all the credit attaching to the achievement of that reform. That has happened, and may occur again. The man who, for purely political purposes, jumped on the flood tide, now receives all the credit, while those who did the work and prepared the way for the reform are made to suffer for their actions.

Mr. THOMAS.—The Prime Minister said that he would not give us this reform for 200 years.

Mr. REID.—I never said anything of the sort.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—Another mistake on the part of the newspapers?

Mr. REID.—I was always in favour of old-age pensions, and was turned out of office for spending money in furtherance of the principle.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—There is only one other item in the programme of the alliance to which I desire to refer, and that is the paragraph providing for the appointment of a Tariff Commission. This is a troublesome question. It has already given rise to difficulties among members of the party, and they have now agreed to send the whole question of Tariff revision downstairs to be buried in the vaults of the House. Should it ever emerge from the vaults, after investigation by the Royal Commission, members of the alliance will be perfectly free to split into a thousand fragments in dealing with it. To put such a programme seriously before the intelligent electors of Australia is, to my mind, to perpetrate a fraud upon them. It is a sham—a part which, at all events, a great many honorable members of the Opposition were not expected to play.

Mr. THOMAS.—We never anticipated that the honorable member for Gippsland and the right honorable member for East Sydney would sit side by side on the Treasury benches.

Mr. REID.—We are not worried, and why should the honorable member worry about the matter.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I desire to refer to some remarks made last night by the Minister of External Affairs. The honorable and learned member has gone out of his way on two occasions to make a bitter personal attack upon myself, and I wish it to be understood that, what I am about to say to-night will be said in self-defence. The honorable and learned member's vituperative speech has been scattered over the whole of the electorate which I represent, and I desire to send a little statement after it. I have never done anything to provoke the honorable and learned member. So far as I am aware, I have never crossed swords with him; but he took care, two or three weeks ago, to make some bitter personal accusations against me, and repeated some more last night. Here is what the honorable and learned member said on 12th ult.—

The honorable member, with his wiles, and his turns, and his tricks, and his subterfuges, and his appeals for votes—

Mr. HIGGINS.—Who said that?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—This is what the honorable and learned member's late colleague, the honorable and learned member for West Sydney, said concerning my humble self.

Mr. HIGGINS.—It is impossible.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—He also said of me—

The honorable member has never kept a solitary pledge made by him during his life.

Mr. SPENCE.—I did not understand the honorable and learned member to be referring to the honorable and learned member for Parramatta when he made that remark.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The honorable member had better not begin to defend him. At a later stage he said—

At the same time, he will try to persuade those credulous and unhappy men in his district that he is still in favour of compulsory arbitration, and that he would give them preference. If he succeeds, he will achieve a great victory. If he stood alone and had not the advantages of a ticket and the press behind him, he would never do it.

There stands behind him a press, without whose aid he could never for a moment hope to come into Parliament again.

Mr. GROOM.—When was this said? Last night?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—No, previously, but this is the first opportunity I have had to reply to it.

Mr. POYNTON.—The honorable member did not say it last night.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I did not say that he did.

Mr. POYNTON.—But the honorable member has said that the honorable and learned member for West Sydney repeated it last night.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I say that he said some things last night that were equally bad. These will do for my purpose to-day. As to my being a creature of the press, I wish to say that honorable members in Melbourne know what a pet I am of the press of this city. I have had the good fortune over here to be broadly and squarely opposed by one newspaper, the *Age*; while the other newspaper, the *Argus*, is not for me at all. That is my position here; and I am bound to say this also—that much as the *Age* opposes me, it, on the whole, has treated me better than the *Argus*. Honorable members will judge from that how much of a pet I am of the press here. As to my own State, I merely wish to say that there is no honorable member in the Federal Parliament, nor a politician out of it, who has been treated with so much consideration and kindness by the press of Sydney, as the honorable and learned member for West Sydney has been. I challenge contradiction of that statement. No honorable member has been treated with anything like the consideration that he has been by the press of Sydney.

Mr. WEBSTER.—Therefore, he knows how valuable it is to the honorable member.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I confess that I do not know the value of it, as he does; and I have never taken the steps that he has taken to get the press at my back. I have never gone whining at election time into the editor's room to get him to support me, as the honorable and learned member has done. At the last election, the honorable and learned member went into the editor's room at the Sydney *Daily Telegraph* office, and asked to be given the support of that journal.

Mr. MAHON.—Was the honorable member there?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—No, I was not there. I say that I have never done that sort of thing yet.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—I dare say the honorable and learned member for West Sydney has never done it either.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—It is well known that he has done it. I want to say something more.

Mr. ROBINSON.—Did he not go into the office of the *Sydney Morning Herald* also?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—He tried to get the *Herald* to put him in the free-trade bunch, and when he found that he could not do it he went and got the support of the man whom he has so bitterly denounced, and asked the right honorable gentleman to help him.

Mr. REID.—And he rang me up on the telephone to tell me that they had not put him in the bunch.

Mr. MAHON.—Has not the Prime Minister any more private conversations to record?

Mr. REID.—After last night, that is a fair thing.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I want to say, Mr. Speaker, referring to the gibes of the honorable and learned member for West Sydney about a "ticket," that, however much I have been on the ticket of the Free-trade Party, the Free-trade Party have never paid any of my election expenses. He cannot say that.

Mr. McDONALD.—My "crowd" pay all mine, and those of nearly every other labour man in Queensland.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Did the honorable member ever get any one else to subscribe, apart from the labour people?

Mr. McDONALD.—No.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—That is the gravamen of my remarks. About this "ticket": I do not know which ticket the honorable and learned member for West Sydney referred to, but the honorable and learned member for Corio denounces the Prime Minister as being a sectarian Prime Minister. That is a nice thing for an honorable member to hurl across the Chamber.

Mr. TUDOR.—Does not the honorable member think it is true

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Do I think it is true? I am going to say this: that I know honorable members opposite who are just as anxious to get on the ticket referred to as any man can be. The honorable member who fulminated in that way last night was equally anxious to get on, and asked to be put in the Protestant bunch.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—What kind of politics is this, anyway?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I had that statement on the authority of a man whom I implicitly believe.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—It is more likely that the honorable member wrote to them, and asked them to leave the honorable and learned member for West Sydney out of their bunch.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—What? He wrote and begged of them to put him in it.

Mr. GROOM.—Wrote?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I ought not to say "wrote"; I understand he went. That is a statement made by a man whom I would as readily believe as I would believe any statement of the honorable member.

Mr. CARPENTER.—The honorable member will not tell who he is.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Let things develop a little further, and we will tell the honorable member who he is.

Mr. POYNTON.—Dill Mackay?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—No; not Dill Mackay. The honorable member was wrong that time. But the information is absolutely authentic; honorable members may take that from me.

Mr. POYNTON.—The honorable member has no right to make a statement of that kind unless he is prepared to give the proof of it to the House.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I admit that I have not. No one in this House has a monopoly of that kind of conduct but the honorable member who spoke last night. In the course of his speech he hardly said a single thing that was accurate.

Mr. POYNTON.—Did he say anything about the sectarian business?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—He jibed at me about a "ticket." That is quite enough for my purpose, and I have given my answer to it. He is the man who goes after "tickets." No man goes after them with the same vigour and fervency as he does.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—This is a scurvy kind of attack.

Mr. McCAY.—What about the six pot-ter's' statement last night?

Mr. BATCHELOR.—That was a denunciation of Government policy.

Mr. McCAY.—It was a dishonorable statement.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The honorable and learned member for West Sydney stated that but for this kind of thing I should never be returned to Parliament. I have only to say that my political life will stand investigation alongside his, or that of any other man on the Opposition side of the House. There are honorable members on this side of the House who know that I did not desire to enter political life at all. I only reluctantly entered it at the last moment. I did not even wish to enter the Federal Parliament. I hope I am not egotistical in saying that I sacrificed a great

deal in entering it, and would not have come except for the very earnest solicitations of the Prime Minister.

Mr. REID.—And probably the honorable member would have been in the New South Wales Ministry to-day if he had not come here.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The honorable and learned member for West Sydney went on to say that he wanted to know how it was possible for a man like the honorable member for Parramatta to be in the embraces of the honorable member for Koo-yong and the honorable member for Flinders? All I have to say, in reply to that, is that however much honorable members on this side may differ in political opinion—and I admit that there is a difference; a very decided difference, in political opinions, as between some of my honorable friends and myself—I can take their word where I should decline to take the word of the traducer of last night. At any rate, if they made a statement to me, I should be sure it was a fact. I could not say the same of the honorable and learned member. And the honorable and learned member said that I left the Labour Party for fiscal reasons, whereas he knew, or ought to have known, better than that when he spoke. He knew that there was not a tittle of truth in the whole statement, or he ought to have known, for he was one who was most persistent on the deputation which tried to induce our party to sign the pledge. I shall tell honorable members why I left the Labour Party. I never did leave the Labour Party inside the House; my fault in the eyes of honorable members opposite was that I stuck to the party inside the House. But the party outside the House bundled the whole party over.

Mr. WEBSTER.—And we regret that the honorable member left the party.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I never left the party in the House, and the only complaint was that I would not leave them and go with another party outside. And why would I not go with the party outside? It was because of a pledge which, in my opinion—and which honorable members themselves have admitted since—was not a fair and proper pledge to ask a man to sign. Honorable members who are strongest now in the present Labour Party were most bitter and unrelenting in opposition to the pledge we were asked to sign. I objected to the pledge because I wanted some consideration

given to my constituents as well as to myself. I did not believe in going into a caucus and being bound up by that caucus to action which might be in diametric opposition to the wishes and opinions of my constituents. "Oh, but," said the leader of the Opposition, "all we ask the honorable member to do in that case is to resign his seat and go to his constituents again." But does it end there? If it did end there the transaction would be very simple. But if a man dares to differ in opinion from those honorable members, they pursue him relentlessly ever afterwards. They do not allow for differences of opinion; they call a man who dares to differ from them in opinion—as I have been called in this Chamber—a "renegade," a "rat," and all that kind of thing. That is the freedom these honorable members allow a man to think for himself.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—That is not peculiar to any party.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—And yet the honorable and learned member says that it is a simple matter of leaving the party and going to one's constituents. If that ended the matter there would not be much objection. But it becomes not a matter of opinion, but a matter of which we have had only too much evidence in this debate from the lips of the ex-Minister of External Affairs—a matter of deep and abiding, bitter, personal rancour. What we wanted to do when the crisis took place was to make our platform broader instead of narrower. We wanted to merge the party into a democratic party—to get into our ranks many men in the House who wanted to join with us. But the Labour Party outside, while we inside wanted to make the platform a little broader—just as the Labour Party in this House are doing now, in some respects—insisted on its being made ten times narrower, and so the difference of opinion took place. It was not a matter of the fiscal question at all, and the honorable member knew that when he said so.

Mr. FISHER.—Is the honorable member referring to 1894?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Yes. The members of the deputation who had charge of the negotiations with the party outside included the honorable and learned member for West Sydney, the honorable member for Bland, and though I do not know that there were any more members of this House, there were five or six other Labour members. The favorite doctrine of the leader of the Opposition at that time, when

he came to discuss the matter inside, was that we should vote together on every occasion, if possible—that the exception should be when we did not vote together—so as to preserve an attitude of solidarity and soldier-like precision. Of course, he and his supporters have got away from that position long ago, and are themselves forming an alliance of their own; and I shall be very much surprised if that alliance is not repudiated by those outside. Now as to the attack on myself and others in connexion with the preference question. Some of the organizations in Sydney have trade records or newspapers which are run by the organizations, at the head of which, acting as secretaries, are the labour members in his House. Week by week those honorable members are “piling” us secretly, and we do not see what is said unless we happen to get hold of one of those trade newspapers. Now I want to send out something after the poison which the honorable and learned member has already sent out about this matter of preference. I say, gain, that we on this side have every reason to be obliged to the leader of the Opposition for his frank statement yesterday, that the only difference between the position of the Government and his own is the difference between the amendment of the honorable and learned member for Corinella and the amendment which the Labour party themselves submitted. The honorable and learned member for Corinella proposed that the matter should be decided by a mere majority, while the Opposition amendment is that there should be a substantial representation of those affected before preference should be given. The amendment of the honorable and learned member for Corinella was as follows:—

That the following words be added:—“And provided further that no such preference shall be directed to be given unless the application for such preference is, in the opinion of the Court, proved by a majority of those affected by the award who have interests in common with the applicants.”

And the amendment, of which notice was given by the present leader of the Opposition, was as follows:—

Omit the whole proviso, insert—

“The Court, before directing that preference shall be given to the members of an organization, shall be satisfied that the organization substantially represents the industry affected in point of numbers and competence of its members.”

The leader of the Opposition admits, in most unmistakable terms, that no Judge

would read his amendment as meaning any other than a majority requirement. Here is what the honorable member said, and I wish to have it recorded in *Hansard*—

The practice in nearly every case, in all the Arbitration Courts, has been to grant a preference only when the majority, reasonably ascertained, is in favour of such preference.

Mr. McCAY.—The impossible was achieved then.

Mr. SPENCE.—It means the majority of those working.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The honorable member for Darling is wrong. The quotation proceeds—

I am not so foolish as to anticipate that the practice laid down by the Arbitration Courts of New Zealand and New South Wales will be departed from by the Judge appointed to the Federal tribunal. Any one who imagines that the Judge in the Federal Court would lay down a new line of procedure—that he would grant preferences to unions which manifestly represented only a minority of those employed in the industry or the district in respect of which the preference was asked—cannot have paid any attention to the general procedure under legislation of this kind.

Mr. TUDOR.—The honorable member is afraid of that, and so he wants to “gag” the Judge.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I am not at all afraid.

Mr. TUDOR.—The honorable and learned member for Corinella was.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—What I have said proves up to the hilt the soundness of my position. I shall have the greatest pleasure in quoting the leader of the Opposition in the interpretation of our position. He said—

The Government do not desire that preferences shall be granted to minorities.

Nothing could be clearer or more emphatic than that. The *Hansard* report goes on—

Mr. GROOM.—The amendment contains the words “substantially in numbers.”

Mr. WATSON.—In numbers and competency—not numbers or competency. Both requirements are insisted on. The Court, if it followed the precedents which have been created in New South Wales and New Zealand, would be bound to interpret the words as implying a majority. In New Zealand it has been insisted that a majority, so far as that can be reasonably ascertained, shall be shown to be in favour of the granting of a preference before it can be given.

Mr. McCAY.—That is exactly what my amendment means.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Put the two amendments side by side before any impartial man. For the leader of the Opposition to say that the difference between the amendments makes the Bill worthless to

unionists is distinctly wrong, and the honorable member ought to know, if he does not, that what he says is so much dust thrown in the eyes of the unionists of the country—that it is not a fair statement of the position.

Mr. SPENCE.—The unionists take a different view.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I dare say they do, and the reason is, that they have only had the honorable member's version.

Mr. SPENCE.—No, they have not.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—They have had the version which the honorable member and other labour members have so industriously driven into them. They have not heard the other version of the matter yet. I shall take care that the opposite view is given to them also.

Mr. WEBSTER.—If they are similar why should the honorable member object to the first amendment?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The first amendment was that moved by the honorable and learned member for Corinella.

Mr. McCAY.—And approved of by a majority of the Committee.

Mr. WEBSTER.—That was not the first but the last amendment.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Now I come to the statement of the leader of the Opposition last night in justifying the Socialism of the Labour Party. My position in public life on this matter has always been the same. In common with honorable members who differ from me on this economic question, I have been striving, as I believed, and still believe, honestly to try to do something which shall be for the uplifting and elevation of the working classes. I have, therefore, never taken public exception to their economic theories, but I wish to say now that the more I look into this question of Socialism the more I am convinced that it could not be for the benefit of the workers in particular, and that it could not be for the benefit of the community as a whole.

Mr. FISHER.—Is the honorable member speaking of Socialism as a political science or as an abstract matter?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I am speaking of it as a political science—as a political system.

Mr. SPENCE.—Can the honorable member give us some definition of it?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I propose to do so if honorable members will wait. Unfortunately I cannot give honorable members any Australian definition of Socialism,

because we cannot get honorable members to bind themselves down to any accepted definition.

Mr. WILSON.—They are "Everything by turns, and nothing long."

Mr. MAHON.—What is the honorable member's leader's definition of it?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The honorable member for Kennedy is the only man I know of in the Labour Party who says, "We are Socialists, and we are going for Socialism all the time."

Mr. REID.—We respect the honorable member for it, too.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The leader of the Opposition confines himself to finesse upon this basic fact of the whole situation. This is what the honorable gentleman said last night. Referring to farmers and their requirements, he said that they asked for reduced grain freights. I should like to know if asking for a reduction of freights is Socialism. Farmers ask for a reduction of freights all over the world. They are asking for that every week in the Old Country, where the railways are not owned by the States.

Mr. WEBSTER.—Through Parliament?

Mr. POYNTON.—If the people as a whole have to meet the deficiency, it is Socialism.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I have yet to learn that this can be accounted Socialism.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—It depends on one's stand-point entirely.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I admit that.

Mr. SPENCE.—I thought that the honorable member was himself a Socialist.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I am very sorry that the honorable member should think so.

Mr. SPENCE.—I still think that the honorable member is a Socialist.

Mr. REID.—Let the honorable member try to induce the honorable member for Parramatta to share his money with him.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Then the honorable gentleman says that the farmers ask for wire netting to enclose their holdings in order to keep out vermin. Why do they do that? If the States cleared their own lands of vermin the farmers would never have to ask for wire netting from the States. It is because the farmers are afflicted with vermin, bred on the uncultivated lands owned by the States, that in sheer self-defence they ask the States to repair the damage due to their neglect.

Mr. McCAY.—They only ask for loans.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—If they asked for this assistance altogether as a gift it could not by any possibility be construed

to be Socialism. The leader of the Opposition further said that farmers ask for cold storage, starving stock rates, and agricultural colleges, and he claims that all this is Socialism.

Mr. SPENCE.—What else is it? It is done by the community.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I shall tell the honorable member what it is if he will but wait a moment. The leader of the Opposition also said that the farmers ask the State for a grant for shows, and that that is Socialism. I may tell the honorable gentleman what he does not tell the farmers of Victoria, and I hope I shall make very clear the position of those who profess to be Socialists. The leader of the Opposition, if he were honest with the farmers of Victoria and elsewhere would say, "We agree to give you these concessions; we believe in them. But remember that, while we are giving you wire netting to keep vermin off your land, it is only as a temporary expedient. What we aim at in the parliamentary arena is to try to acquire the lands to be owned by the State."

Mr. THOMAS.—Does not the single-taxer desire that?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I am putting the position fairly, I hope. The leader of the Opposition should also say to the farmers of Victoria and elsewhere, "While we will help you to export your produce, at the same time we are inaugurating a system and steadily pursuing it, as circumstances permit, which will acquire from you the ownership of your cows, and put them into the hands of the State." That, I think, is a fair statement of the Socialists' position.

Mr. REID.—Make the farmers milkers at so much a day.

Mr. MCCAY.—Surely a cow is one of the "means of production."

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Do honorable members opposite deny that that is the Socialists' position? I do not know that I could put it any more fairly than that.

Mr. McDONALD.—"All means of production, distribution, and exchange of wealth" will express it.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Here is the exposition of Socialism given in the German *Erfurt Programme*, given also in the *Fabian Essays*, and also by Mr. Webb.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—The honorable member has gone outside Tom Mann now.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I do not know whether these authorities will be considered good enough, but I confess that I cannot

find any more representative authorities on this question.

Mr. HIGGINS.—The honorable member's leader says that he is a Socialist.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—What has that to do with the point I am putting? I am not even saying that Socialism is wrong.

Mr. HIGGINS.—The right honorable gentleman will define it for the honorable member. Is it "Yes" or "No" this time?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Does the honorable and learned member address that question personally to me?

Mr. HIGGINS.—Yes.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The answer is "No." Is that plain enough?

Mr. HIGGINS.—The honorable member says "No," and his leader says "Yes."

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Socialism, according to the authorities to whom I have referred, is the gradual abolition of private property in, and private control of, the instruments and materials of production, land, distribution, trade, loan, capital, and public debts.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—And cows.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—My honorable friend will find that cows are included in that. The honorable member, therefore, need not jibe at cows. Therefore, I say that when the honorable member for Bland puts these things forward as the programme of Socialism he is putting forward what he knows very well to be an attenuated and tentative form of Socialism, and if he honestly told the farmers what the intentions of the socialistic party are, they would see that they are miles in advance of the statement which he made in his speech last night. The criticism of the Prime Minister was a right one. He told the honorable member for Bland that he did not represent the movement in favour of this collective ownership of the means of production, as it was crystallizing outside.

Mr. REID.—A co-operative Commonwealth!

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—My position is this: Decry it though we may, the desire for private gain leads, in my opinion, to private enterprise, and is at the present moment the chief incentive of our people to effort and progress in the industrial arena.

Mr. THOMAS.—Does the honorable member really believe that?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I do. I am afraid that if the strain were lifted off humanity we should lose a great deal of its embellishment, a great deal of its civilization.

Mr. THOMAS.—Then the honorable member knocks Christianity on the head.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The honorable member is very wide of the mark in saying that. In any case, he is not an authority on the subject.

Mr. THOMAS.—Neither is the honorable member.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I am merely humbly expressing my own opinion. It seems to me that if we removed the one we should remove the other also. My position differs from that of honorable members opposite in this: I want to apportion as fairly as I can the strain and the effort which go to build up the civilization of to-day, and the results which they accomplish. Honorable gentlemen opposite say, "Merge the individuals, and treat them in the mass." I, on the other hand, wish to preserve the individuality of the nations and of the people to the fullest extent. I admit readily that there are excrescences upon the individualistic system, which are like great warts or wens on the physical body, and my effort is to get rid of them, to purify the individuality of the people as applied to industrial pursuits in every way that I can. But I shall do nothing in the direction of endeavouring to destroy that individuality—to "crib, cabin, and confine it." That I believe would be the inevitable result of the socialistic doctrine. The honorable member for Barrier accuses me of throwing away Christianity. That is a nice thing for an honorable member to say in a House of Parliament. The other evening he said, during a discussion of this subject in a church in the suburbs, that as a system, Socialism has nothing to do with Christianity. But when I tell him that I am opposed to Socialism, he says that I am throwing away Christian principles.

Mr. THOMAS. — No, I did not. The honorable member said that the great motive power of the race was competition.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I said that the element of private gain was the great industrial motive power. I am speaking of the economic system pure and simple. The honorable member must not read into my remarks a meaning which I did not give them. I believe that it is possible to gradually superimpose the moral ideal upon our

purely economic systems, and I shall strive as earnestly for that as will my honorable friend. I do not see why there should necessarily be a divorcement between that great power which makes for righteousness, and that other great power by which we supply our human wants. I am earnestly with the honorable member, and will do my best for the uplifting of all who have to toil for their daily bread. It is because I believe that the socialistic system which has been preached from the hilltops would in the end lead to an intolerable tyranny with our present human nature, so that it would of itself break down, that I am not able to support it. It is a popular thing to paint dreams; but these Arcadian projects always tumble down before the logic of facts. There are certain laws sweeping through the universe which will take no account of expedients of this kind, and that nation and those people will live the longest and fare the best—

Mr. HIGGINS.—Who are most greedy!

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—No such thing. I have never said anything which leads to that conclusion.

Mr. HIGGINS.—The inference from the honorable member's remarks is that the only safety for humanity is in greed.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I have said quite the contrary. The sweep of natural laws is a fact to be reckoned with, and all your Parliaments cannot ultimately defeat and overthrow them. If we can work with them, if we can harness and guide them, so that they will move our way, we shall be following the path to industrial peace and permanent prosperity; but if we go in the teeth of them, and attempt to scotch them, we shall be courting disaster, disintegration, and decay.

Mr. HIGGINS (Northern Melbourne).—I do not feel at all at home in these debates; I hate them. I have never liked a debate upon a crisis, and I like this debate least of all. As a rule, I do not speak on these occasions, and I should not speak now, but for the fact that I feel it my duty to do so. I do not think that these discussions are made more agreeable by the perpetual dragging into this Parliament of New South Wales quarrels. I do not blame one party more than another; but if the representatives of New South Wales knew how heartily sick the representatives of the other States are of this perpetual dragging in of New South Wales squabbles of olden times, they would stop it.

Mr. WILKS.—The honorable and learned member should read that lecture to the honorable and learned member for Corio.

Mr. HIGGINS.—I have said that no one party is more to blame than another; but as an outsider I do not think that it adds to the dignity of our debates to have discussions between former leaders of parties in New South Wales as to who was right and who was wrong on some particular occasion. There is something which I feel bound to say at the beginning of my remarks, because I find that there has been some misconception. Personally, I am strongly and intensely in favour of an alliance. I feel that anything which will tend to bring the progressive parties of Australia together is something which I should support, and one of the best means I see for bringing together the progressive parties of Australia is an alliance of this sort. There must be differences between men who think for themselves. When there is a general body of sentiment in favour of legislating for the benefit of the people, those who believe in State interference should be ranged on one side, whilst those who are opposed to it should be arrayed on the other. After a good deal of thought, trouble, and worry, I have come to a conclusion diametrically opposite to that indicated by the honorable member for Parramatta. He is subject to that unfortunate, and, to my mind, miserable, feeling that the only hope for humanity is to be found in following the dictates of greed.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Nothing of the kind; I repudiate that entirely.

Mr. HIGGINS.—The honorable member apparently holds that the only way for humanity to be prosperous is to follow the lines of competition and to be submissive to the laws of greed. I stand amazed when I think that the best things which humanity has done have been accomplished, not under the impulse of greed, but under influences operating in the opposite direction. It was not in any spirit of competition that Isaac Newton made his discoveries; it was not in order to gain money that Faraday made his contributions to science, nor was it any such mean motive that impelled John Howard to do as he did. I believe that the honorable member started out on his political career with a desire to help the people, and that that is still his object; but he has unfortunately strayed into the wrong path. I think, with all respect to him, that owing to those associations to which I need not

refer, for fear that I should be called to order, he has diverged into a wrong course, and has adopted wrong principles. In justice to my late colleagues, and to the party who supported them so loyally, I feel impelled—without at all violating Cabinet secrets—to tell honorable members my experience of those with whom I was associated in office. The Prime Minister has several times alluded in the most pointed manner to the late Ministry as a caucus-tied Labour Administration. What he means by that, if he means anything, is that the Ministry as an Executive body, a Cabinet responsible to the country, deliberating for the benefit of the country, could not act freely without consulting the labour caucus. Now, if any one is in a position to say whether that is true or false, I think it is myself, because I was the only member of that Administration who was not a member of the caucus. I should have felt the position intolerable if I had been called upon to discuss with my colleagues matters in which I felt that they were not free agents.

Mr. WILKS.—They submitted matters to the caucus before they discussed them in Cabinet.

Mr. HIGGINS.—The honorable member is quite wrong. I do not intend to use words similar to those employed by the Prime Minister, but content myself by saying that the honorable member is absolutely wrong. As he knows, I cannot go further into detail, but I may say that there was never a case for discussion in which I did not feel that my colleagues were absolutely free agents—willing, ready, and able to listen to reason, and willing, ready, and able to be bound by it. Whatever may happen hereafter, I should be a coward and a poltroon if, having had that experience, I were not to say that the statements made and repeated, particularly on the platform, by the right honorable gentleman, are absolutely without foundation.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The honorable and learned member was very fortunate, because his colleagues always followed him.

Mr. HIGGINS.—The right honorable gentleman is quite wrong. I did not occupy a position similar to that which he filled in Western Australia, where the Parliament followed him abjectly for ten years, and no one dared to say him nay. My relations with the members of the Cabinet extended over only three or four months, and I can testify that there was perfect harmony, and complete independence and freedom of discussion amongst us. I think that this

debate will do good in one respect, if in no other. Although it seems to wander a great deal, and although from one point of view there is not very much discussion of principle, still, it is gradually forcing on public attention the nature of the labour pledge; and the more that is emphasized, the better. Those who will not read the pledge have assumed that a labour member is bound by any decision of the caucus. I am free to speak independently upon this subject, and I ask any fair-minded man whether the pledge means what has been urged against it.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Has the honorable and learned member signed the pledge?

Mr. HIGGINS.—I have already stated that I have not signed it, and it is because of that fact that I am the more free to speak regarding it.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—If the honorable and learned member has no objection to the pledge, why does he not sign it?

Mr. HIGGINS.—That is my business.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I admit that that is an answer.

Mr. HIGGINS.—I decline to attach to ultimate theories the same amount of importance that I do to matters that are within the range of present action. If I agree with every present purpose of a party I am ready to try to act with it. I do not mind if the members of that party happen to differ from me as to the ultimate goal to be attained. I believe that in practical politics it is ten times more important to see that one agrees with his comrades in their present proposals, rather than that he should assure himself that his ultimate ideas and theirs are upon all fours. The labour pledge, to which I have referred, reads as follows:—

I hereby pledge myself . . . if elected to do my utmost to carry out the principles embodied in the Federal Labour Platform, and on all questions affecting the platform to vote as a majority of the parliamentary party may decide at a duly-constituted caucus meeting.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Who is the judge as to what affects the labour platform?

Mr. HIGGINS.—The labour platform contains, for instance, a plank relating to the "maintenance of a White Australia." That is the first item that catches my eye. No man need sign the platform, of which that is a plank, unless he believes it is a proper thing; but if he signs it, the question of the machinery to be employed in order to effect the object is a mere matter of detail. So far as that plank is concerned,

all that a member of the party binds himself to do is to act, as the majority of the caucus may decide, in regard to all questions affecting the maintenance of a White Australia. It is a mere question as to how the object is to be best attained, and a man must be pig-headed if, on a question of machinery, he is not willing to submit his judgment to that of the majority of his comrades. That has to be done in the Army, and in business, and in every other walk of life.

Mr. PAGE.—The right honorable member for Swan had to do that in the Cabinet.

Mr. HIGGINS.—The advantage in the case of the Labour Party is that they have a written as distinct from an unwritten platform, and I think that honorable members will agree that they have been wise in adopting a written platform. So far as I have been able to watch the labour movement, it has been the only safeguard of the party. If they had not had a written platform, and had not compelled their selected candidates to sign it, they would have had a number of false friends, who would have edged round, and said, "We did not mean this or that," and who would have made all sorts of qualifications. As far as I can judge, the Labour Party internally is freer than is the party which is led by the Prime Minister. What do we find? Every one of the New South Wales representatives who came here to vote with the right honorable gentleman still votes with him, and when some of them attempted to speak upon the occasion of the recent crisis, they were not allowed to do so. They were pulled down by the tails of their coats. Upon the other hand, we find the honorable member for Perth differed from the late Administration upon the wisdom or otherwise of making the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill applicable to oversea shipping, and voted against the Government proposal. Upon the question of free-trade *versus* protection, the members of the Labour Party are at liberty to vote as they choose. Can the same be said of honorable members who, with the Prime Minister, come from New South Wales?

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—It can.

Mr. HIGGINS.—Can it be said of these honorable members who follow the honorable and learned member for Ballarat? They were pledged to fiscalism in that case—

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—Does the honorable and learned member mean to say

that, individually, those members always voted with their party?

Mr. HIGGINS.—No. I say that the only member from New South Wales who was kicking over the traces was brought into line by the framing of a motion which suited him. I refer to the honorable member for Dalley, who is now Government whip. He could not support the Prime Minister until a motion was framed for which he could vote.

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—How often did the "bridge-builders" frame motions?

Mr. HIGGINS.—I have nothing to do with bridge-builders. I say that, if there is a party which is bound so tightly that it cannot move without the permission of its leader, it is the band of twenty-two or twenty-three members who have come into the House with the Prime Minister, as the representatives of New South Wales.

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—Upon two occasions they saved the Barton Government from defeat on important questions.

Mr. HIGGINS.—I am not discussing the doings of the Barton Administration at the present time. The Prime Minister—and I say this with all respect to him—has done a great deal to embitter debate in this House, and in the country. I never knew a more skilful coiner of phrases than he is, and I never knew of any case in which epithets were so virulently coined, with a design that they should sting. I have heard him speak of a body of honorable men as "political puppets." I have heard him say to the members of a Ministry, which consisted chiefly of men who had been wage-earners, when their supporters were addressing the House—"Another day's pay!" That remark was withdrawn, it is true, but only when it was too late. The wasp had put in his sting.

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—Has the honorable and learned member never noticed what is said by honorable members opposite?

Mr. HIGGINS.—Nothing was so vulgar, mean, or contemptible as a taunt of that character, thrown across the floor of the House. That sort of thing will never be forgotten. Nothing in the way of retaliation by honorable members upon this side of the Chamber could equal it. I will mention another kind of expression which the Prime Minister thinks will sweeten discussion in this House. I invite honorable members to notice how he concludes his manifesto to the electors of New South Wales. I presume that he thinks he can say to them

what he would not say to the people of Australia. He declares—

I want to rescue Australian politics from the grasp of an arrogant minority which seeks to bend national power to selfish ends.

If that statement means anything at all, it means that the Labour Party is endeavouring to use the power of the Australian Government for the selfish ends of its members. If it does not mean that, the Prime Minister should speak more explicitly. When he describes these men as "selfish," I wish to know what becomes of the grand theory advanced by the last speaker that the only motive power of industry is selfishness. As far as I understand, if there be anything at the root of the Labour Party, it is a desire to inculcate unselfishness. They may be right or they may be wrong, but to say that these men, who are as honorable as the Prime Minister himself—although they have not the title of "right" before their names—are simply working for selfish ends, is a grotesque parody upon veracity.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—He did not mean it personally.

Mr. HIGGINS.—Then what does his statement mean? I have known clever twisters of phrases, but I have never met the equal of the Prime Minister in that respect.

An HONORABLE MEMBER.—He is a perfect wriggler.

Mr. HIGGINS.—The honorable member for Parramatta declared just now that it was characteristic of the Prime Minister to put the best construction upon everything that everybody else did. It was for that reason, I suppose, that he spoke of the members of the late Administration as working for "another day's pay," as being "political puppets"—which means that they can be pulled in any way the strings may be pulled—and as "an arrogant minority working for selfish ends." The Prime Minister, for the purposes of this debate, and of obtaining the vote of the most reactionary party in Australia, has accused the Labour Party and the late Government of being Socialists.

Mr. MAUGER.—What is that?

Mr. HIGGINS. — May I say that it scarcely lies in the mouth of the right honorable gentleman to abuse this thing called Socialism? I have never gone so far in my expressions in regard to Socialism as he has. What did he say recently?

My quarrel is not with the theory of Socialism.

Let honorable members reflect upon the meaning of those words. The Prime Minister acted as chairman of a meeting at the Athenæum Hall at which Mr. Max Hirsch delivered a lecture. In the course of his remarks the right honorable gentleman said—

He admitted that there were socialistic things which were among the best things in Australia to-day. Such were their post and telegraph offices and railways.

I suppose that the control of these Departments by the State will be admitted to be socialistic in character by all honorable members save the honorable member for Parramatta. The Prime Minister affirms that his quarrel is not with the theory of Socialism. That means that he is open to be convinced as to this or that method of improving the condition of the people by means of State initiative. The statement that he has no quarrel with the theory of Socialism was made in one of those speeches in which the right honorable member has sought so unfairly to reflect upon the Labour Party and its friends, and to gather round himself certain anti-progressive sympathies. I trust that he will be fixed to it. It is very hard to pin him down to anything, but at least let us fix him to that assertion. Very few of us have gone so far as he did in making it. The right honorable gentleman went on to say at this meeting that—

He was open to be convinced as to this or that method of improving the condition of the people by means of State initiative.

Let us compare the two statements—that he has no quarrel with the theory of Socialism and that he is open to conviction. Open to conviction by what or by whom? Does he mean that he is open to conviction by votes or by reason? If he means that he is open to conviction by the number of votes he can obtain, I have only to say that a person who can employ language of that sort is the most dangerous kind of politician that Australia could have. He went on to say, in answer to the question, "Why don't you join the Labour Party?" that—

He wanted to be satisfied, in each case, that the change proposed would be a good one.

I have never known even the most extreme member of the Labour Party—and I have watched their doings very closely for a long time—to go further than that. The right honorable gentleman is open to be convinced, but he desires to be convinced that in each case the change proposed would be a good one. Although in this speech he pro-

Mr. Higgins.

nounced so strongly in favour of Socialism, the whole tenor of his attack—and it was a bitter attack—on the Labour Party last night was that the members of it were socialistic. In which speech was he really giving us his mind? Is the right honorable gentleman a Doctor Jekyll and a Mr. Hyde? Has he two personalities, so that when speaking in the Athenæum he is socialistic, and when speaking in this Chamber, in an attack on the Labour Party, he is anti-socialistic? He says that Socialism means the—

Destruction of private enterprise, destruction of individual liberty.

He said himself that he approved of the Post and Telegraph Department being administered by the State, and also of the railways being administered by the State, and he admits that they are socialistic enterprises.

Mr. WILKS.—He also said that the Railway Commissioners were emblematic of individualism.

Mr. HIGGINS.—I am not going to mention everything that the right honorable gentleman has said. It is difficult to pin him down to anything in particular, but here we have a clear statement made by him.

Mr. WILKS.—He said that the railways should be conducted by Railway Commissioners on business lines.

Mr. HIGGINS.—I am not going to be diverted by the honorable member from the point with which I am dealing. The Prime Minister approves of the railways and the Post and Telegraph Department being administered by the State, and admits that they are socialistic enterprises. Notwithstanding this admission, he condemned Socialism as being destructive of private enterprise, and destructive of individual liberty. If he meant destructive of private enterprise, so far as private enterprise is injurious to the public, I should be socialistic; if he meant destructive of individual liberty, so far as individual liberty means anarchy or injury to the public interest I, too, should be socialistic. But what is the use of this mere phrasing? Not only is the leader of the Government socialistic in principle according to his own statement, but I have heard the Minister of Defence say, in this Chamber, "I am a collectivist, sir."

Mr. McCAY.—I know what the honorable and learned member is referring to, but he is not quite correct.

Mr. HIGGINS.—I am sure that the honorable and learned member will not contradict my statement.

Mr. McCAY.—It is not quite accurate.

Mr. HIGGINS.—I was sitting on the same bench as the honorable and learned member on the occasion in question, and was startled to hear him say, "I am a collectivist, sir." I have never known him publicly to renounce that principle. The main difference that I have been able to discover between the Prime Minister and the leader of the Opposition is that when the latter is beaten upon a proposal he continues to fight on upon the same lines to attain his object; but when the Prime Minister is beaten he takes up the proposals of the other side and fights for them. Let us take, for instance, the insertion of the provision in the oversea mail contracts that the steamers engaged in the service shall employ only white labour. Let us also take the matter of the six hatters and the fiscal issue. If there was anything which characterized the right honorable gentleman's utterances before the elections it was his aversion from protection, his hatred of the clause in the mail contracts providing for the employment of only white labour, and his hatred also of the prohibition against the introduction of contract labour into Australia. According to the *Argus* of 10th December last, he said that—

He was not going to have any fiscal peace until he had pulled down the present high duties.

He now whines for fiscal peace. Then, again, on 14th December last, he spoke against the provision for the employment of only white labour on mail steamers and against the way in which the six hatters had been treated. I particularly desire to support this motion, in order to relieve the right honorable gentleman from a very painful position. He is expected, as Minister of External Affairs, to carry out a law of which he disapproves. I do not think that it is fair to place him in such a position; his conscience is too tender to let him rightly administer that law. I listened to-day to the explanation which he made with a show of much indignation, and the sum and substance of it was, "I did not carry out the law with regard to the six potters; it was carried out by the late Minister of External Affairs." If he did not carry out the law he ought to have done, and he must do it. And it is because we do not trust the right honorable gentleman to act against his conscience

in this matter that we want to remove him from office. I was very careful to ask the right honorable gentleman on the 3rd September a question as to what he would do in a case like that of the six hatters, and he said explicitly—

If I have the power to alter the Act in a certain direction—

Of course he was referring to the contract provision—

I will do so the moment I discover the fact.

The point is this: Are we safe in allowing a man to administer the Immigration Restriction Act against his own conscience?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—He said last night that he was not against the law at all.

Mr. HIGGINS.—I say that he is against the section with regard to contract labour.

Mr. McLEAN.—Does the honorable and learned member think it is safe to trust a free-trader to administer protectionist doctrines in the Customs Department?

Mr. HIGGINS.—I shall leave that question to be answered by the honorable member, who put a similar question with regard to the present Minister of Trade and Customs. I say also that it is not right to allow a Ministry to hold office who deliberately permitted an ill-framed and ill-drafted clause to remain in a Bill when conducting the business of the House. I refer of course to clause 48 of the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill. The present Ministry will go down to posterity as "the short-lived clause 48 Ministry." The whole of their policy is a proviso to clause 48. They got into office by refusing to allow that clause to be recommitted so as to be amended. It is admitted by the honorable and learned member for Ballarat, who is nothing if he is not frank, that that proviso is ill-drafted and difficult of interpretation. That statement is contained in *Hansard* of the 12th August, page 4233. Although the honorable and learned member admitted that the clause was likely to lead to difficulties of interpretation, he would not allow it to be brought into Committee to be amended.

Mr. WATKINS.—The Prime Minister said the same.

Mr. HIGGINS.—That was the question upon which the recent crisis occurred. I cannot understand why any honorable member should have refused to allow the clause to be recommitted so as to improve it unless there was some other reason. The only reason for refusing to recommit the clause was in order to put out the Ministry.

Mr. WILKS.—The late Prime Minister said that the clause as proposed to be amended was exactly the same as the clause as it previously stood.

Mr. HIGGINS.—Yes, but the Committee were not bound to adopt the amendment tabled by the Government. That amendment might never have been moved. The point is that there was admittedly a faulty clause, which ought to have gone back into Committee so as to be amended. But honorable members opposite were afraid to do that, because—I say it with all respect—they knew that if that were done they could not get the vote of the honorable member for Dalley. Not only that, but the honorable member for Moira, who is a man of practical experience, and knows how these provisions would apply, say, amongst shearers and others, spoke with great thought and care upon the amendment of the present Minister of Defence. He said, as reported on page 2640 of *Hansard*, that he had looked into the amendment and thought it was unworkable.

Mr. KENNEDY. — I said that I had not looked into it.

Mr. HIGGINS.—No; with all respect, the honorable member said this:—

I have said that I have not studied the amendment proposed by the honorable and learned member for Corinella, but, from what I have heard of it, it would be open to objection, inasmuch as it would make it necessary to obtain the opinion of the majority of the workers in any particular industry.

So far as the matter was vital the honorable member perfectly understood the proposal. He understood that it would mean that it would be necessary to ascertain the opinion of the majority of the workers in any particular industry; but he said—

If people are compelled to go beyond that to find out the absolute number of workers in any particular industry that they may be able to prove to the Court that they have a majority of those employed in the industry behind them, their task would appear to be an almost impossible one.

That is just what we have said right through. It is because we felt that the task would be impossible, and that the proviso would render the Bill a sham, that we said that we would insist upon taking it back into Committee. The point with regard to Ministers—and it has been put in various forms—is that they have no common principle. We sometimes hear of a rope of sand. I cannot find even a rope of sand in the case of the honorable gentlemen upon the Treasury bench.

Mr. TUDOR.—They have no principles.

Mr. HIGGINS.—I will not say that they have no principles, but they have no distinctive principle. They have splendid principles—especially the Prime Minister—only their principles are upon opposite sides, and are exerted upon opposite occasions. There has been a great deal of talk with regard to fiscal peace. The honorable and learned member for Ballarat, in speaking to the electors as Prime Minister, put before them very distinctly the policy of fiscal peace and preferential trade for a White Australia. The Prime Minister complains that he is not allowed to get fiscal peace. What right has he to complain? He was against fiscal peace. He only begins to complain that he has not got fiscal peace when he finds that he is beaten. What happened, so far as I understand it, was this: That the honorable and learned member for Ballarat put before the people of Australia the policy of fiscal peace. The Prime Minister said, "Let us have no fiscal peace; let us fight." Therefore, unfortunately for the repose of this House, and for its chance of doing good work, we had to look to a revival of the Tariff question. A number of members were elected in New South Wales upon issues quite different from those which prevailed in the rest of Australia. The country being, rightly or wrongly, mainly protectionist, sent to Parliament a majority of protectionists. Then when the Prime Minister found that there was a danger of the Tariff being disturbed from the protectionist side he said, "Let us have fiscal peace."

Mr. McLEAN.—A great many of the fiscal peace advocates were free-traders.

Mr. HIGGINS.—That is not so in the case of Victoria, but in the case of New South Wales the vast bulk of the members elected were against fiscal peace, and for what is called free-trade, but what is really anti-protection. The position reminds me of nothing so much as of a little boy flicking a big boy with a whip. When the big boy asks for peace and does not get it, he takes the whip and uses it. Then the small boy begins to whine for peace. So far as I am concerned, I do not feel in any way bound to leave the Tariff as it stands. If I find that injury is being done to any industry by the Tariff, I feel perfectly free to act in the direction which shall seem best for that industry. I am decidedly in favour of fiscal peace; but the difficulty is that the other side would not give fiscal peace. The country had to send protectionists into this Parliament, and

that having been done, the House is in a most disordered state in this respect. So far as I am concerned, I am perfectly free. If a man will not accept a compromise, I am in no way bound by it. In conclusion, I may say that I do not like these crisis debates; but one of the great objects I have in voting for the motion is to get a dissolution.

Mr. WILKS.—Honorable members over there seem very "struck" on dissolutions.

Mr. HIGGINS.—I am afraid that the honorable member for Dalley will have to look forward to a very early and peaceful dissolution, so far as regards his politics. The three parties in this House are nearly even, and there is a most unstable equilibrium.

Mr. KING O'MALLEY.—There are five parties.

Mr. HIGGINS.—If this Parliament lasts much longer we shall have five or six parties. The honorable and learned member for Ballarat, in his speech made early this year, said that the system of three parties would not do; but I venture to say, with all kindness and respect, that if he had chosen to accept the position as it was, we could have got on very well. He could have continued to lead the Government, with the support of a consistent and powerful body in the Corner. The honorable and learned member will, I think, bear me out in the statement that I deprecated his making the question of the inclusion of the public servants in the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill a vital one. I may be wrong, but I think that from his point of view he was of opinion that the clause, if inserted, would be invalid. But if so, what harm could there be? Why should the clause not have been left in the Bill? At all events, the position is as we find it. The honorable and learned member has been in this Parliament the King-maker—King-maker Deakin. He was able to oust the late Government, and he is able to oust this Government by throwing his weight in the scale. There are no prophets so successful as those who can bring about the fulfilment of their own prophecies—those who arrange the inevitable; and if the honorable and learned member adopts the principle for the rest of this Parliament of always voting against the Government in a crisis, he can show that his prophecies are right. But although the honorable and learned member had not a majority of absolute followers from the

beginning of this Parliament, there were a number of men who would have assisted him in any reasonable progressive measures. For my part I feel that the honorable and learned member has the root in him—that he has good, progressive principles, and has always been a friend of progressive legislation. As one who has followed him on previous occasions, I should be only too happy to see him leading, as he ought to lead, a really progressive Ministry. I desire, so far as I can, to have parties rearranged into the progressive party and the retrogressive party—into the party who want to obtain good conditions of life for all—not merely for the workers—and the party who are at the present time timid with regard to State interference. The only thing now is for the electors to determine whom they will have. Let us get a good, healthy whiff from the country over this House of ours; we want fresh air in several respects, but in nothing so much as in our proceedings. What amazes me is that in the very first speech the present Prime Minister made after taking office, he admitted that a speedy dissolution was imperative—that the House could not be carried on without a dissolution. The only excuse for his taking office was that he could carry on the business of the country with this House; yet at the very first chance, when he met the House, he said that the business could not be carried on unless there was an appeal to the people.

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON.—That was under certain conditions.

Mr. WATSON.—Unless at the mercy of the Opposition, he could not carry on—that was the Prime Minister's statement.

Mr. HIGGINS.—Most honorable members, I think, have come to the conclusion that there must be a dissolution very soon, and the Prime Minister, in all fairness, ought to hand over the responsibilities of office before the dissolution takes place. The right honorable gentleman obtained office on the representation that he could carry on in the present House, and he has no right to get a dissolution and hold office, and "call the tune" to the country.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The late Government held office without a majority.

Mr. HIGGINS.—We had a majority on the issue on which we got in.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The late Government never had a majority.

Mr. HIGGINS.—We had a majority on the issue on which we got office. What

I say is that it is the duty of the present Prime Minister, who got office on the distinct representation that he was able to carry on in the present House, to put this House into the same position as it was in before he took the responsibilities of office, and let the new Ministry say whether or not there shall be a dissolution.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Who will be the new Ministry?

Mr. HIGGINS.—The right honorable member for Swan is, I think, hardly interjecting fairly. I have not the responsibility of saying who shall be the new Ministry; and the right honorable member, with his ten years' experience in Western Australia, ought to remember that it was not for him to say, nominally, who were to be the Ministry in that State. I only say that we should have a dissolution soon, so that the country may determine whether we are to have a sham Arbitration Bill or a real Arbitration Bill, and whether we are to have a sham White Australia or a real White Australia?

Mr. ROBINSON (Wannon).—I am as glad as is the honorable and learned member for Northern Melbourne that this motion has been tabled. I think it will do much to declare the position of parties, and clear the political atmosphere. I also agree with the late Prime Minister, the honorable member for Bland, that the issue which will be put before the electors is a clear-cut issue. If I may be permitted to give my statement of that issue, I will say that, on the political side, it is a question of free *versus* machine politics.

Mr. THOMAS.—I think we have heard that before.

Mr. ROBINSON.—No doubt; and when the honorable member has heard it a thousand times possibly he may understand it. On the industrial side, it will be a question of enterprise and progress *versus* a Co-operative Commonwealth or Socialism. The honorable and learned member for Northern Melbourne has told us that he believes the motion will result in a dissolution. I think it highly probable that it will, and I, personally, intend to act upon that assumption.

Mr. HIGGINS. — The honorable and learned member had better do so.

Mr. ROBINSON.—For the socialistic party with which the honorable and learned member for Northern Melbourne is now allied, I should say that no time could be better chosen for the attack which has been made. The members of that party know

full well that an election, late in November or early in December, means the disfranchisement of thousands of farmers in the State of Victoria and in the southern part of New South Wales.

Mr. FRAZER.—This is a second edition of the *Argus*.

Mr. ROBINSON.—I know from personal experience, gained in the last election, that many farmers and their wives were then unable to record their votes because they could not get away from their work at a time when, after passing through seven lean years, they had a good crop to garner. Honorable members who are acquainted with farming districts will know that that statement is correct, and that an election at that time of the year must involve the disfranchisement of many farmers. Nevertheless, I hope that the producers will respond to the call on them, and will do their duty and record their votes, even though it should mean, as I am sure it will, personal loss and inconvenience to them. The members of the late Government have formulated this attack upon the present Prime Minister and his Government, and, so far, the "ragged regiment" in the Opposition corner has not yet expressed its views. We are still waiting for an expression of the views of the corner party, which by interjection we have been told has formed an alliance with the Labour Party on a sound protectionist basis. I believe that before this debate concludes it will be seen that whatever alliance has been formed, it is not quite correct to say that it is on a sound protectionist basis. The honorable member for Bland made a gentle but rather feeble attack upon the present Ministry. He was followed by the honorable and learned member for West Sydney, in an attack which was as venomous and rancorous as the attack by his leader was weak and feeble. I am glad to know that the honorable and learned member for West Sydney did not go unpunished; that while he has made three bitter, malicious speeches in this House, directed mainly against the Prime Minister, from whom he has received many a favour, the honorable member for Parramatta dressed the honorable gentleman down to-day in a manner which I should think has been rarely equalled in any Parliament. After the exposure of the honorable and learned member's tactics and practices, and after the explanation of the Prime Minister to-day, I think there will be a great many members of this House who in future will require

proof by affidavit of any statement which the honorable and learned member may see fit to make. While I say this, I must admit that the late Government took office in a dignified and quiet manner. Nothing in their life became them so well as their assumption of office. They assumed office without any unnecessary boasting, and in a courteous and dignified fashion. But their manner of leaving office was very much the reverse. Although my acquaintance with politics has been remarkably short, I have had the privilege, if it can be called a privilege, of seeing four Governments go to their doom, but I have never yet seen a Government go out of office with so much squealing and howling as we have heard from the late Labour Government. The honorable and learned member for Ballarat, I think, summed up the position to a nicety when he declared that the late Ministers were like a lot of little boys who were hauled out of a tart-shop before they were quite full.

Mr. MAUGER. — The honorable and learned member did not say that.

Mr. ROBINSON.—I think that was a very happy expression, because a more undignified exhibition of puling and weeping over the loss of office I never witnessed, nor I think did any other honorable member. What is the principle upon which the late Government were defeated? We were told that it was upon a question of principle—the question of preference to unionists. The actual facts of the case must not be forgotten, and as we are told that a dissolution is impending, I trust I may be permitted to restate them. I was one of those who opposed preference to unionists in any shape or form. I did so because I believed then, as I believe now, that it is wicked and immoral to give the stronger a preference over the weaker, which is what the proposed provision for preference to unionists would do.

Mr. HUME COOK.—No.

Mr. ROBINSON.—Why did the honorable member for Bourke, who now interjects, change his vote on that question?

Mr. HUME COOK.—I did not change my vote.

Mr. ROBINSON.—The honorable member changed his vote. He voted, in the first instance, for the amendment moved by the honorable and learned member for Corinella. And he then went back upon it without a word of explanation.

Mr. HUME COOK.—I did not change my vote. Why does not the honorable and learned member correct that statement?

Mr. ROBINSON.—The statement is absolutely correct, and the honorable member knows it. The amendment then moved by the honorable and learned member for Corinella was intended to assure the country that preference should be granted only to organizations which comprised the majority employed in a particular trade.

Mr. HUME COOK.—I did not change my vote on that either.

Mr. ROBINSON.—That was a distinctly democratic proposal, because it provided for majority rule. It is a proposal which the present leader of the Opposition has practically indorsed, for, if honorable members will refer to the honorable gentleman's speeches upon the question, they will find on page 4046 of *Hansard*, that he is reported to have said—

The Government do not desire that preference shall be granted to minorities.

And on page 4047 he is reported to have said—

So far as I have been able to ascertain, the New South Wales Court has never granted preference to a union which did not appear to have a majority within the district to which it was to apply.

That shows how little attention the honorable gentleman could have paid to the doings of the New South Wales Arbitration Court, because nothing could be further from the facts. I have before me a series of letters which have appeared in the *Sydney Daily Telegraph*, forming a correspondence between certain writers, including Mr. George S. Beeby. Mr. George S. Beeby is a barrister of Sydney, who has been employed by the trade unions, and has appeared in more arbitration cases than all the other solicitors and barristers put together. He almost invariably acts for the trade unions in cases before the Arbitration Court, and in a letter he says —

On looking through the records as closely as time will permit, I find that in no case has preference been refused.

There is, therefore, not a single case on record in New South Wales in which it can be shown that preference has been refused. Four instances are referred to in the correspondence in which preference was given to distinct minorities in a trade. In the case of the Painters and Decorators Association it was shown that the total number of painters on the books of the Association

was 356, of which number 87 were unfinancial, leaving 269 financial unionists. The number of men in the trade, as stated by the president of the Painters Association was 1,200. That was the case in which one-fourth of the employés were given a preference over the majority engaged in the trade. Then there was the case which I have quoted in this House before, of the Saddlers' employés, where it was shown that there were forty financial members in the union out of a total of from 1,200 to 1,600 employed in the trade, and these forty were given preference over the great bulk of the employés in the trade.

Mr. REID.—That is the sort of democracy honorable members opposite are fighting for.

Mr. ROBINSON.—That is the sort of democracy they desire, and would like to see brought about. When the honorable member for Bland stated that the New South Wales Court only gave preference to a majority, it is clear, as the records of the Court show, that he was absolutely incorrect.

Mr. WATKINS.—The honorable and learned member would not trust the Court, then?

Mr. ROBINSON.—I desire that in the Bill itself we should direct the Judge to abide by majority rule. The honorable member is not prepared to abide by majority rule; he wishes for minority rule when it favours himself.

Mr. WATKINS.—Why do we not put that provision in every law?

Mr. ROBINSON.—The honorable member for Bland told us in his attack upon the Government that they have no policy for the future. He said that they had a policy prepared, to see them into recess, but that they have no policy for next year and for the future. I think we may spend a few minutes profitably in discussing the policy of the Labour Party for next year, and their socialistic proposals for next session. I think it will be of the greatest interest to the whole community, and particularly to that section of the community which earns its living on the soil. In the first place, the honorable member for Bland attacks the present Prime Minister because that right honorable gentleman adopts a conciliatory attitude towards the States. The honorable gentleman claims that the Federal Government should take up a definite attitude, and go through with their proposals, whether the States like them or not. For instance, on the question of the

appointment of a High Commissioner, the honorable gentleman says that the Federal Government should bring in their measure, appoint the High Commissioner straight away, and force the States Governments to retrench, whether it suits them to do so or not. The honorable gentleman did not propose to consult them in any shape or form. The honorable gentleman said that his Government would bring in a measure to provide for old-age pensions, and that he would not consult the States on that question.

Mr. WATSON.—I did not say that.

Mr. ROBINSON.—The honorable gentleman need not be in a hurry; I have his speech before me.

Mr. WATSON.—I did not say that we would not consult the States.

Mr. ROBINSON.—The honorable gentleman said that his Government intended to introduce a measure next session to provide for old-age pensions, whether the States liked it or not. He said that the Navigation Bill would be the first measure introduced next session by his Government, and that then an Old-Age Pensions Bill would be introduced, whether the States liked it or not.

Mr. WATSON.—That is right.

Mr. ROBINSON.—The first question with which we are confronted, in considering a provision for old-age pensions, is: Where is the money to come from? It cannot be got through the Customs, because, as has been stated over and over again, to raise £1,500,000—which I think would be necessary to provide for old-age pensions—£6,000,000 would have to be collected through the Customs.

Mr. TUDOR.—What about direct taxation?

Mr. ROBINSON.—I am coming to that. I shall not leave that matter untouched. I can assure the honorable member. The honorable members for Barrier and Yarra have advocated a Federal land tax. The honorable member for Yarra told us last night that he would levy a Federal land tax to provide the money for old-age pensions.

Mr. POYNTON.—The honorable and learned member is himself a single-taxer.

Mr. ROBINSON.—That is not correct.

Mr. TUDOR.—The honorable and learned member was at one time. Has he changed his coat?

Mr. ROBINSON.—If it will do honorable members opposite any good, I shall make a declaration here which I have made

elsewhere. Having been brought up, as some honorable members who know my circumstances are aware, in a rigid protectionist atmosphere, when I escaped from that atmosphere I naturally went to the other extreme. With years of discretion I have adopted what I believe to be a more reasonable and moderate course. I saw clearly that, under the Federal Constitution, the Customs must be the source of revenue for the Federation, and that direct taxation must be left to the States, and the Federal Government must not impinge upon them in that respect.

Mr. TUDOR.—I suppose the honorable and learned member would like to see that in the Constitution.

Mr. ROBINSON.—I think there is an implied bargain with the States that the Federal Government shall restrict itself to indirect taxation from Customs and Excise for Federal purposes. If ever there was any implied bargain in a contract, I think that bargain is implied in the Federal Constitution.

Mr. TUDOR.—Nothing of the kind.

Mr. ROBINSON.—There can be no doubt that honorable members opposite advocate Federal direct taxation. They desire that there should be a Federal land tax. If we look at the speeches of candidates of the Labour Party at the last election, we shall find direct and definite statements to that effect. For instance, Senator Findley, who was one of the four labour candidates for the Senate at the last election, said—

The time had gone by for playing with the land question. What they wanted was a Federal land tax.

Mr. Robert Solly, who was also a labour candidate for the Senate at the last election, and is now a member of the State Parliament of Victoria, said—

They wanted to tax the whole of the land in the State. The Federal elections were a class fight, and the Labour Party must win, and must dominate everything, because labour produced everything.

Those are clear and definite statements from two candidates selected by the labour organizations, and they show that it is a part of their policy to bring about Federal direct taxation. That is a plank in the policy of the Labour Party for the future. Will it serve to reconcile the producing interests with government by the Labour Party? In connexion with another proposal which has been foreshadowed we find the same desire to attack the States. It

is proposed in the first place to override their wishes in regard to the appointment of a High Commissioner. It is proposed by the Labour Party to take away one of their sources of revenue from direct taxation, and in connexion with the proposal for a monopoly of the tobacco industry exactly the same effect is intended. Honorable members must recollect that at the present time three-fourths of the revenue derived from Customs and Excise on tobacco is returnable to the States, whilst if the tobacco business is made a Federal monopoly, not one penny of revenue from this source will be returnable to the States. The members of the Labour Party, therefore, propose to take away an existing source of taxation which the States Governments have in respect of the direct taxation of land, and they also propose to take from the States Governments a great deal of the revenue which they at present receive from indirect taxation in the shape of Customs and Excise duties on tobacco. I should like to know whether the tobacco monopoly is the policy of the alliance on the other side. We were told that it was going to be considered in a few months. The honorable member for Bland told us that his Government would introduce a measure next session to take over the manufacture and sale of tobacco and make it a national monopoly. I ask the honorable and learned member for Indi, as I have asked him before, what is his attitude upon this question? What is the attitude of the "ragged regiment" upon it? Is the fragment of the Protectionist Party which is joined to the Labour Party going to swallow the proposal for a national monopoly in this or in any other trade? It is a matter upon which the people require and deserve enlightenment. There is a great deal more in it than the establishment of a national industry. It means a definite march forward on the road to Socialism. The leader of the Opposition has recently told us that the policy of his party was one step at a time. They are going to monopolize the wholesale trade first, and the retail trade afterwards, and thus gradually nationalize all industries. We therefore desire to know whether the seceding protectionists are in favour of the establishment of a Government monopoly in tobacco.

Mr. HUME COOK.—Is not irrigation a step on the road to agricultural Socialism?

Mr. ROBINSON.—I shall be able to show the honorable member, from an irrefutable source—the organizer paid by these

gentlemen to go round the country, Mr. Thomas Mann—that that is not so. If the Commonwealth is going to impose a land tax, and to obtain the profits arising from the nationalization of the tobacco industry, its expenditure will go up by leaps and bounds, and prodigality and extravagance will result. We know what happened in New South Wales after the imposition of the Federal Tariff. There a prodigal Government, which lived solely by the breath of the Labour Party, in two or three years wasted millions of pounds of public money. The coffers of the Treasury were filled by the duties returned by the Federation, and in addition money was recklessly borrowed and extravagantly spent. There was no remission of taxation; but the rate of borrowing which prevailed when the present Prime Minister was in office in that State was doubled or trebled, and the expenditure of the State went up by leaps and bounds. The Government then in power in New South Wales during its whole existence held office at the pleasure of the Labour Party, which could at any moment have stopped the borrowing. The members of the party in this Chamber prate about being opposed to borrowing; but when in New South Wales the Labour Party had power to stop it, no party could have been more regardless of the profligate expenditure of borrowed money.

Mr. WATSON.—The Labour Party in this Parliament is a different party from that in the New South Wales Parliament.

Mr. ROBINSON.—It is the same political party. Its existence is due to the same political organizations, and to the same wire-pulling.

Mr. WATSON.—The honorable member ought to know a little about wire-pulling.

Mr. ROBINSON.—I have seen some wire pulling on the other side. I saw some of it in connexion with one honorable and gallant member, who challenged me to mortal combat this afternoon. In regard to that matter, if I am allowed the privilege of the challenged party, and have the right to chose the weapons, I shall defend myself against him with a squirt. Were there no wires pulled in connexion with the honorable and learned member's vote upon the question of political unions? The majority of the late Government was reduced to one on that occasion.

Mr. WATSON.—No wires were pulled.

Mr. ROBINSON.—The Government needed all the wire-pulling that could pos-

sibly be indulged in then, and we saw Ministers of the Crown openly and flagrantly engaging in that occupation.

Mr. HUME COOK.—The honorable member does not know anything about it.

Mr. ROBINSON.—The honorable member ought to be the last to interject. In connexion with the debates upon the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill, he made a number of interjections, which showed he was thoroughly in sympathy with the amendment proposed by the present Minister of Defence; but at the last moment he cast his vote against it.

Mr. HUME COOK.—The honorable and learned member has made that statement before, but it is not correct.

Mr. ROBINSON.—It is correct.

Mr. HUME COOK.—The honorable and learned member cannot find any record of it in *Hansard*.

Mr. ROBINSON.—Another point on which the electors require to be enlightened is the banking policy of the late Government. At page 1284 of *Hansard*, Mr. Watson is reported to have said—

We intend to introduce during next session a Banking Bill, dealing particularly with the note issue, and containing, certainly, a section on the lines of the Canadian provision, that insists upon 40 per cent. of the cash reserves of the banks being held in Government notes.

That is a most important proposal, and one which we shall be entitled to discuss at the forthcoming election. It is also a subject upon which a great deal of light requires to be thrown. The proposal was that they should be empowered to go to the banks and take from their reserves £8,000,000 in sovereigns and bullion, and put down inconvertible and unrepresentable notes in their place. In the Senate last week, Senator de Largie declared that that was a proper proposal to make.

Mr. HUME COOK. — Has it ever been made anywhere else?

Mr. ROBINSON.—The honorable member is referring to the precedent of Canada, which has absolutely no application to our circumstances. If he took the trouble to read the statistics showing the amount of banking reserves held in Canada at that time, and the condition of Canadian banking, and considered the possibilities of the Canadian banks holding their gold reserves a few miles away in New York, he would understand that the conditions there and here are totally dissimilar.

Mr. WATKINS. — The banks gladly accepted the Government securities at the time of the banking crisis.

Mr. ROBINSON. — I wish honorable members to consider this position. At the time of the banking crisis in 1893, about £2,000,000 or £3,000,000 was drawn from the banks within a very short time. Many of us know what that meant. It involved the closing of many of the banks and financial institutions, and resulted in the forced realization of many securities, the selling up of many a farmer in the country districts, the bankruptcy of many a storekeeper in the towns, and ruin and disaster all round. Does the honorable member for Bourke suppose that £8,000,000 could be forcibly extracted from the coffers of the banks without bringing about disaster? Does he think that the banks would part with £8,000,000 of coin and take I.O.U.'s in exchange, without a run upon the banks resulting, and bringing disaster in its train? Does he imagine that the bank reserves are kept to look at. Can he not see that this large sum of money is kept in the coffers of the banks because it is absolutely essential for the purpose of carrying on banking and currency operations?

Mr. HUME COOK.—The banks were ready enough to accept the Government I.O.U.'s at the time of the crisis.

Mr. ROBINSON.—I am not aware that the Victorian banks received any assistance from the Government at that time.

Mr. WATSON.—They got assistance from the New South Wales banks, which had the Government's I.O.U.

Mr. ROBINSON.—Only to the extent that for a few months their notes were made inconvertible.

Mr. WATSON.—More than that. The honorable and learned member is quite wrong.

Mr. ROBINSON.—In Victoria the banks did not receive any support from the Government, beyond the fact that they were told that they could have a holiday extending over five days.

Mr. HIGGINS.—And they were glad to have it.

Mr. ROBINSON.—The honorable and learned member makes an interjection that is quite worthy of him, because it is so casuistical. The banks did not take advantage of the offer of the Government. The Union Bank, the Bank of Australasia, and the Bank of New South Wales did not want

the holiday. They kept their doors open throughout, and told the public that they could go on drawing till they were tired.

Mr. HIGGINS.—Six of the leading banks did take advantage of the holiday.

Mr. ROBINSON.—So far from the offer of the Government conferring any benefit upon the banks, it only increased the public distrust, and accentuated the run that was causing some institutions to totter.

Mr. WATSON.—The banks accepted Government assistance in New South Wales.

Mr. ROBINSON.—The assistance in that case took the form of making the bank notes inconvertible for a few months.

Mr. WATSON.—The Government did more than that. What about the Treasury notes?

Mr. ROBINSON.—Some Treasury notes were put out, and the issue of Treasury notes in the present case is to form the pretext for appropriating £8,000,000 of the bank reserves. The proposal involves a direct and unmitigated spoliation of the banks.

Mr. REID.—The banks already pay for the privilege of issuing notes.

Mr. ROBINSON.—Exactly; they pay a note tax that mops up from 90 per cent. to 95 per cent. of the profits arising from the issue.

Mr. HUME COOK.—That has never been proved.

Mr. ROBINSON.—It has been proved, and the fact could be demonstrated to the honorable member if he had the capacity to understand the statistics upon the question. When money could be obtained at 3 per cent., the banks were paying a note tax of 2 per cent., and, in addition, had to bear all the printing and other incidental expenses. It can be seen, therefore, that their margin of profit was a very small one. Now that money is a little dearer, their profit may be slightly higher. If it be desired to make the banks contribute a little more to the Treasury, the note tax could be increased by 1 per cent. or $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. That would be a straightforward method of dealing, but it would not be fair to go to the banks and demand from them money that belongs to the people of the Commonwealth. The States have a large number of loans to convert very shortly. Within the next six or seven years, loans, amounting to £20,000,000, will mature, and will have to be renewed. What prospect shall we have of a successful conversion of these loans in the markets of the old world if our financial institutions are made the subject of a policy of the kind proposed. Two or three of the

large banks have their head offices in London, and we could scarcely expect the financiers of the old world to permit us to renew our indebtedness if we deliberately robbed our banks of their reserves. The renewal of our loans would be practically impossible. The States securities would be depreciated in every shape and form, and the Treasurers would be confronted with enormous difficulties in their endeavours to arrange matters upon a sound footing.

Mr. POYNTON.—Who robbed the widows and orphans of Victoria?

Mr. ROBINSON.—Perhaps the honorable member knows; I do not.

Mr. POYNTON.—It was the financial institutions.

Mr. ROBINSON.—This, then, is the banking policy of the late Administration. I suppose we may gather, from the silence of the "ragged regiment," that they also are prepared to swallow the labour policy in regard to that matter, and to join in an attempt to take £8,000,000 in sovereigns or bullion from the coffers of the banks of the Commonwealth. Any such attempt must necessarily mean increased difficulty to the States Governments if they wish to convert their own loans, whilst on the other hand it must greatly hamper the efforts of the Federal Treasurer to consolidate and convert the States debts. A few days ago I asked a question which I desire to repeat on the present occasion, because it is most important to my constituency, and also to others. I desire to know what is the policy of the alliance in respect to the inclusion or otherwise of the farmers in the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill?

Mr. WATSON.—To which alliance does the honorable and learned member refer?

Mr. ROBINSON.—To that which is now endeavouring to dislodge the present Government. When I submitted my amendment in favour of exempting agriculturists from the operation of that Bill, the present leader of the Opposition, who was then Prime Minister, is reported in *Hansard*, page 1917, to have said—

The Government will oppose the amendment by every means within their power.

They did oppose it in a straightforward way by every means in their power, because they believed, and still believe, that the agricultural industry should be brought within the scope of that measure. They believe in regulating the hours, wages, and the conditions of employment upon farms,

just as they do in prescribing them for industries conducted in cities. On the other hand, I see a very wide difference between the huge aggregation of capital, and the employment of a large number of men under one roof in a city industry, and the farming industry, which in the vast majority of cases is a family industry. But there were two or three seceding protectionists who voted with us upon that occasion.

Mr. MAUGER.—"Seceding protectionists?"

Mr. ROBINSON.—Yes. Perhaps if I say seceders from the leader of the Protectionist Party, I shall meet the views of the purist for Melbourne Ports. There were four or five protectionists, or at the very most seven, who voted with us upon that particular amendment. Those honorable members, therefore, constitute only about one-fifth of the alliance party. Under such circumstances, what possible hope is there that the farmers of the Commonwealth will be exempted from the operation of the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill, should the alliance come into power? We know perfectly well that the honorable member for Bland is not likely to deviate one iota from the policy which he has previously laid down in this respect. I should like to know whether that is not so?

Mr. WATSON.—I shall be replying in a day or two, I suppose.

Mr. ROBINSON.—I should like to know the views of the honorable and learned member for Indi, who was good enough to pair in favour of my amendment—

Mr. WATSON.—The honorable and learned member should manufacture a policy for the Government, not for the Opposition.

Mr. ROBINSON.—I think that I am in a position to sum up for the benefit of the producers, the socialistic policy of the Opposition.

Mr. WATSON.—The producers are always asking for Socialism, so that they ought to be satisfied.

Mr. ROBINSON.—I think that policy may be summed up under four headings. The first is, a Federal land tax; the second, decreased States revenues as the result of the establishment of a Government tobacco monopoly; the third, bank spoliation; and the fourth, the inclusion of farmers within the scope of the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill. These headings, I think, fairly and accurately represent the policy of the Socialist

Partv, because I have already shown that their chosen representatives have advocated Federal land taxation, whilst we know from the honorable member for Bland himself that he is in favour of the establishment of a Government tobacco monopoly, of taking over £8,000,000 worth of reserves from the banks, and of bringing the farmers under the operation of the measure to which I have referred.

Mr. WATKINS.—Do not the farmers believe in a Government Bank?

Mr. ROBINSON.—I shall deal with that matter in a few moments. The programme of the present Administration, when contrasted with that of the Opposition, is good enough for me as a country representative. It is true that there may be points upon which I should prefer the Ministry to act differently, but I have no hesitation in supporting their policy, and I believe that the electors of every country constituency will record their votes in favour of it, as opposed to the policy of the Labour Party. Upon the political side, I enter my emphatic protest against caucus, or machine politics. I do not wish to repeat the two apt quotations which I made on a former occasion from speeches by the honorable member for Bourke and the honorable member for Melbourne Ports. All I desire to say is that one of those gentleman has declared the policy of the labour caucus to be "worthy of Tammany Hall, or Russia," whilst the other has described it as "a fraud." As was pointed out by one of them, the successful candidates of that body are practically nominated by twenty or thirty wire-pullers.

Mr. HUME COOK.—Who pulled the wires in the case of the Wannon election?

Mr. ROBINSON.—I do not know.

Mr. HUME COOK. — I know something about it.

Mr. ROBINSON.—I took it as the greatest compliment in my life when the former representative for Wannon personally waited upon me, and asked me to contest that election. I never felt so proud as when he came to my office and requested me to become a candidate.

Mr. MAUGER.—That was not the only wire which was pulled.

Mr. HUME COOK. — There were better wires than that. Will the honorable and learned member tell us about them?

Mr. ROBINSON.—Even Federal Ministers are not free agents in this House. Looking through that very interesting publication called the *Tocsin*, a copy of which

I endeavour to secure each week, I find a full statement of the labour pledge.

Mr. REID.—The *Tocsin*! Is that a poison for rabbits?

Mr. BATCHELOR.—It is Rough on Rats!

Mr. ROBINSON.—I find this clause in the labour pledge—

No member of the Federal Labour Party shall accept office in the Federal Government except with the consent of a duly constituted caucus meeting.

That is a proviso which, in my opinion, is directly subversive of Ministerial responsibility. It is directly subversive of the policy of responsible government, as we know it to exist in Great Britain and elsewhere, where the Prime Minister selects as his colleagues those who are best fitted to take office. The labour pledge provides that the members of the party shall not take office without the consent of the caucus, and therefore they are bound hand and foot in that respect.

Mr. CULPIN.—That is not correct.

Mr. HUME COOK.—Give us the Reform League pledge.

Mr. ROBINSON.—I have never signed a Reform League pledge, nor have I seen one. Like the honorable member for Bourke, I do not believe in pledges. That was the position which he took up at the last general election, but I do not know what will happen at the next. Judging by a statement that I saw in last week's issue of the *Tocsin*, he will have to be in favour of pledges. A well known member of the Western Australian Parliament, Mr. Walter James, who was in this Chamber a little time ago, appropriately described the Labour Party platform, by saying that it consisted of 25 per cent. of practical politics, and 75 per cent. of bird lime. The projected alliance is the bird lime which is going to snare the honorable member for Bourke, and one or two others on the Opposition side—

Mr. WEBSTER.—The Government platform consists of 95 per cent. of bird lime, and 5 per cent. of theory.

Mr. ROBINSON.—I must ask my honorable friend, who has been silent during the last few hours, to restrain himself. I think it will be found that the alliance is after all merely bird lime, and that those honorable members who think by resorting to this little game to secure themselves from the opposition of labour candidates will sooner or later be very rudely disturbed. An article which

appeared in the issue of the *Tocsin*—the selected organ, I believe, of the Political Labour Council of Victoria—of 19th May last, when there was a projected coalition between the Labour Party and some honorable members opposite, contained the following statement:—

Although the proffered terms—

Mr. HUME COOK.—That was to be an alliance with the whole Protectionist Party.

Mr. ROBINSON.—Well, I will say the whole party.

Mr. HUME COOK.—The honorable and learned member ought to be accurate.

Mr. ROBINSON.—In this article it was stated that—

Although the proffered terms of coalition can only be surmised, we may safely assume that one condition would be the withdrawal of all opposition to Liberal candidates at the next general election, the self evident effect of which would be to prevent an increase of Labour representation.

That was the surmise which the *Tocsin* formed as to the terms of the coalition projected in May last. There is a similar proviso in regard to freedom from opposition in the present alliance agreement. The article from which I have quoted went on to state with reference to the Watson Government that—

Their power to promote the nation's interest and advance the people's cause, would be ruinously discounted if associated with Ministers supported by members whose policy differed materially from, even if it did not directly conflict with, that unanimously indorsed by labourites.

In that case the *Tocsin* opposed the projected coalition or alliance, while in last week's issue of that newspaper, which I unfortunately forgot to bring with me this evening, it was stated in the most definite and unmistakable terms that no alliance was going to prevent the labour leagues, if it was so desired, from opposing those who joined with the party. I also saw a report of a recent meeting, at which the honorable member for Yarra was present, and at which a resolution was carried stating, in effect, that the alliance did not mean that those who joined with the Labour Party for this particular purpose would be protected from a labour attack at the next election.

Mr. KING O'MALLEY.—The honorable and learned member will see when the next elections come round.

Mr. MAUGER.—Surely the honorable and learned member is not worrying about us.

Mr. ROBINSON.—This is the bird lime, and those who are now allying themselves with the Labour Party will have to

enter the labour cage and be chained, or their political necks will be wrung without the slightest compunction.

Mr. MAUGER.—Why worry about us? The honorable and learned member should look after himself.

Mr. ROBINSON.—I am not worrying about the honorable member; I am merely showing what is the effect of machine politics. Machine politics must be detrimental in their effect, and I am sure that the honorable member for Melbourne Ports shares that view with me.

Mr. MAUGER.—Do not worry over us.

Mr. ROBINSON.—I object to the industrial part of the Labour Party's programme, because it is a policy of clear and distinct Socialism. In a would-be jocular strain, the honorable member for Bland and the honorable and learned member for Northern Melbourne have referred to the position of the farmer, saying that he and every one else who asks for Government interference in any shape or form is a Socialist. I propose to disprove that statement in the most conclusive fashion.

Mr. WATSON.—The honorable and learned member is modest as usual.

Mr. MAUGER.—He must think that he is in Court.

Mr. ROBINSON.—I have here a quotation from a book entitled *The Labour Movement in Both Hemispheres*. The author is Mr. Tom Mann, the accredited organizer of the Victorian Political Labour Council and of the Trades Hall.

Mr. KING O'MALLEY.—A mighty good man.

Mr. REID.—But the Labour Party do not like him to be quoted in this House. He is all right on the Yarra bank.

Mr. FRAZER.—We like to hear of him here better than the right honorable member likes to hear of Mr. Walpole.

Mr. REID.—I do not know him.

Mr. HUGHES.—It does not pay the right honorable gentleman sometimes to know him.

Mr. ROBINSON.—Let me show how clearly and convincingly Mr. Mann deals with this question. He says—

Let there be no mistake. I do not mean vague expressions of a desire to see the worker well cared for, or a willingness to municipalize gas, water, electricity, transit, &c., plus an occasional indorsement of State action in matters formerly confined to private enterprise. All this amounts to very little indeed unless such measures are used as so many steps towards the realization of the collectivist State. By a collectivist State I mean a State wherein there will be no room for any private receiver of rent, interest, or profit—

Mr. MAUGER.—Dr. Clifford says exactly the same thing.

Mr. ROBINSON.—The writer proceeds—

where the total work to be done will be rightly apportioned over the total number to do it; and, therefore, a State where all able-bodied persons will be called upon to do a share of work.

Mr. MAUGER. — Charles Kingsley says the same thing.

Mr. McLEAN.—No rent to be paid for 66 Bourke-street.

Mr. SPEAKER.—Order. I recognise that in a debate of this kind a little extra latitude must be allowed to honorable members. I have allowed that increased latitude throughout the debate, but it seems to me that since the honorable and learned member for Wannon has been addressing the Chair, and on one or two other occasions to-day, the liberty to interject has been abused. Honorable members interject again and again, and several have been interjecting at the one time, thus rendering it almost impossible for the honorable and learned member who has been addressing the Chair to give expression to his opinions. I ask honorable members in the first place to restrain themselves, and if for the moment they forget to do so, when I call the House to order, that immediate observance of the Standing Orders which is necessary must be rendered, otherwise I shall be driven to the very unpleasant duty of naming honorable members.

Mr. ROBINSON. — Mr. Tom Mann gives a quotation from the *Fabian Essays* to make his meaning absolutely clear, and it absolutely touches the point that we are now debating—

Although Socialism involves State control, State control does not imply Socialism—at least in any modern meaning of the term. It is not so much to the thing which the State does as to the end for which it does it that we must look before we can decide whether it is a Socialist State or not. Socialism is the common holding of the means of production and exchange, and the holding of them for the equal benefit of all.

“Equal benefit of all”—of the skilful and the unskilful, of the industrious and the slothful. In the *Tocsin* of the 4th February last, Mr. Tom Mann published a signed article, in which he said—

The fight will be for labour all over the State; the goal, a “co-operative Commonwealth,” i.e., a Socialist State. There must be no time wasted over those who “are as good as labour men,” and the labour man who is not a collectivist had better be well advised and hurry up and learn his lesson correctly, as in a short time there will be no room in the Victorian Labour Party for any one unable

to appreciate, indorse, and work for what is already known, and in every other country declared to be the workers’ hope, viz., Socialism, full fledged without equivocation, or deviation or minimizing from what has been clearly and definitely avowed by the more intelligent of the workers of the world any time this twenty years.

There is the doctrine of that party—a doctrine of straight-out Socialism, a Socialism which seeks to take over every industry in the Commonwealth, and to apportion the returns from those industries equally among all sections of the community.

Mr. TUDOR.—That doctrine was preached 1900 years ago.

Mr. KING O’MALLEY.—2,000 years ago.

Mr. SPEAKER.—I am sorry to have to name the honorable member for Darwin and the honorable member for Yarra, both having transgressed within a very few minutes the rule which I laid down just now. I hope that the breach of the rule will not be repeated.

Mr. ROBINSON.—That proves conclusively out of the mouths of the Socialists themselves that they know the difference between State control or State interference in various matters, and a socialistic State. The Socialists want to take over the whole of the industries of the Commonwealth of every shape and form and apportion the results from those industries equally between all sections of the people. How do they propose to attain that result? My esteemed leader quoted last night from the *Brisbane Worker*. It was a very effective quotation, but there was another portion of that same paper, which, I think, he might have quoted, and if he will pardon me, I will do so. It is this:—

In the political manifesto formulated by the general council of the A.L.F. in 1890 it is declared “That the present industrial system, commonly called the competitive system, is destructive, pernicious, and altogether evil, and must be replaced by a social system which will not leave it to the power of one man to take advantage of the necessities or disabilities of another, and which will provide for all workers opportunity to avail themselves of the bounties of nature, and to partake fully of the fruits of civilization, and to receive the full benefit of their share of the common toil.” That declaration still points the way to labour’s goal . . . The ballot is in our hands . . . Extend the functions of collective effort, State and municipal; narrow the domain of private enterprise and individual greed. By leaps and bounds, if possible, little by little, if it must be so, but somehow—all the time. Taking all we can for the people, and giving as little as we can—that is how the co-operative Commonwealth will finally be brought to pass.

Taking all and giving as little as possible—paying as little as possible for what a

man has justly acquired ! Then it goes on to say—and I would especially like to bring this passage under the notice of honorable members—

Unless, indeed, the robbers, made desperate by threatened dispossession, should provoke the sterner courses.

That is a threat of this party, that if those who are already in possession of wealth, by legal and moral means, should resort to other methods of resistance, repressive action is to be taken against them. Therefore I contend that there is between us a clear-cut issue, which an honorable member upon this side of the House can accept with a light heart. It is an issue which sets us against a socialistic State, established by spoliation in every shape and form, a direct attack by spoliation on the banks, a repression of State activities, with possibly an impoverishment of the States by taking away from them some of the sources of taxation which they now possess, and a bringing of the great producing interests—which have to face the competition of the world—under the hard and fast rule of an Arbitration Court. I say again that that issue is, to my mind, clear-cut, and it is an issue which I, for one, shall have no hesitation in facing. If we are to have an election, as has been promised, let us see that this question is put fully and clearly before the people. Let not my honorable friends on the Opposition benches flinch from their proposals. Let them not flinch from proposing a Federal land tax, from taking £8,000,000 of money from the banks, from bringing the farmers into the Arbitration Court, from depriving the States of the revenue from the tobacco trade. Those four proposals alone are good enough for us to work on, and when we see that these particular proposals are only steps in the direction of a co-operative Commonwealth, or socialistic State, I do not think we have anything to fear from our electors. On that matter, I should like to read a remark which was made by the honorable member for Bland. Honorable members will recollect that we had a May Day demonstration in Victoria, and that certain resolutions were passed. The movers and supporters of those resolutions went to the honorable member for Bland, while he was Prime Minister, and presented them to him in the usual way. He made one of his tactful speeches to this deputation, who desired that all the instruments of industry

should be owned and controlled by the whole of the people. He said—

We have ticked off certain definite proposals which we have recommended to the people, and each of these, being a step in advance of the last, is always carrying us forward, and clearing the way for still another step.

Clearing the way for yet another step—for that co-operative Commonwealth, that socialistic State, which these gentlemen advocated on May Day, and do advocate on the platform and in the press ! Therefore, the position which I must take up, as one who believes in individualism and enterprise, is clear. And I believe that Australia is one of the brightest examples of what individual effort can do—because without individual effort this country would never have been colonized at all, the pioneers would never have cleared the forests, the farms would never have been laid out, and the cities would never have been built. As one who believes in individual effort, I say that those who agree with me must be in diametrical opposition to the Socialist Party, and its programme, as outlined by its authorized leaders.

MR. HUGHES.—By way of personal explanation, I wish to say that I am informed that in the early part of to-day's sitting the Prime Minister made a personal explanation in reference to the statement which I made last evening in relation to six potters who were employed by a man in Sydney, and who were brought here in contravention of certain of the provisions of the Immigration Restriction Act. I have had an opportunity afforded me by the right honorable gentleman to peruse his remarks, and I notice that he says that he sent word of his intention to make this explanation to me. I can only say that I never received any word from him.

MR. REID.—I left word with two honorable members, who said they would try to find the honorable and learned member. He was not here.

MR. HUGHES.—What I intended to say last night, and what I think I did clearly say was this : I was quoting a statement made by the right honorable gentleman, at a public meeting, regarding the contract section of the Immigration Restriction Act, which, he said, allows a respectable working man from England to be kept on board ship a prisoner on reaching the shores of Australia. He declared that he would take that section out of the Act, if he had the power. I was pointing out that the right honorable

Mr. Robinson.

gentleman had an opportunity to do this, or something similar to this, immediately on his coming into office, and that as a matter of fact there was now, under this particular section, a prosecution ordered. The right honorable gentleman says that I deliberately made a different statement outside to the press. But if I did, it shows clearly enough that I wanted to be perfectly fair in the matter, because I at once gave all the information in my possession to the press, and it appeared concurrently with the remarks I made in the House.

Mr. REID.—There is a difference between the two statements. It would have been better to have had that information in the same document. *Hansard* is not the *Age*.

Mr. HUGHES.—The information I gave appeared to-day in a morning paper, side by side, I presume, with the right honorable gentleman's remarks. I say most emphatically that my statement was clear—the reference was unambiguous. Whether the right honorable gentleman gave instructions to prosecute or not is quite immaterial. The fact was that on the 18th August he came into power, and on the 21st September he said he had not seen the papers. All I have to say is that that is not my fault, but his; he had ample opportunity to see the papers, and to take any steps he pleased to alter or undo anything that had been done. We are to assume that he came into power to restore responsible government; but what the right honorable gentleman does now is to say that I did this, and that therefore he takes no responsibility. I think that under the circumstances, his explanation does not affect the situation at all, because he very well knows that, though he is endeavouring to show that it was I, and not he, who took action, he, as Minister for External Affairs, has now to take the whole responsibility. The whole of the responsibility is on the shoulders of the Government of the day. The right honorable gentleman knows very well that it is possible for him now to give instructions that would cause all this business under the section of the Act to cease. In the circumstances I am very much astonished at the right honorable gentleman taking exception to being saddled with responsibility for his action. He said most deliberately that if he had an opportunity he would take the section out of the Act, and that he would administer the Act in his own way. And now he practically continues the administration of his predecessors, whom he

denounced and declared to be dangerous to responsible government, and endeavours to crawl out of his responsibility by saying that he had not seen the papers.

Mr. REID.—I should like to say that I did not complain of the words the honorable and learned member has just quoted, but I complained of the following words which are in *Hansard*, and which he has corrected:—

The Prime Minister has declared himself against the policy of a White Australia. But I ask him what he is going to do, not in the matter of the six hatters, but in the matter of six potters, whom he is now prosecuting in Sydney.

I also wish to direct attention to the words—

... under the régime of the right honorable gentleman, instructions have been given to the Solicitor-General of New South Wales to file against the man who brought them here an information. . . .

That is referring to an order given by the honorable and learned member himself. Further—

Yet the right honorable gentleman now proposes to deport these six unfortunate potters—at any rate—

here is a slight recovery—

that could be done under this section—and to imprison the unfortunate man who brought them here—to paralyze his industry, and drive out our own flesh and blood.

The honorable and learned member's own action.

Mr. HUGHES.—Undoubtedly; an action which the right honorable gentleman indorses.

Mr. REID.—Then further, there are the words—

The right honorable gentleman is pledged on this question. "If I have an opportunity," he said, "I will strike this iniquitous section out of the Act," and the first thing he does, when he has the opportunity, is to give instructions for a prosecution under it.

That is not true.

Mr. HUGHES.—It is true.

Mr. REID.—What?

Mr. HUGHES.—Did not the right honorable gentleman indorse what I had done?

Mr. REID.—I shall leave the matter at that; the words are sufficient for the public.

... and the first thing he does, when he has the opportunity, is to give instructions for a prosecution under it.

I want to add the following, which the honorable and learned member is reported in *Hansard* to have said:—

The right honorable gentleman not only gives orders for a prosecution under the Act, but he

says, "I am now with men who believe in this Act, and I am not going to say one word against it any more."

Does the honorable and learned member see that he represents me as having given orders for a prosecution under the Act? The honorable and learned member knows what orders for a prosecution are. May I suggest that the honorable and learned member corrected the report in *Hansard*, in order to make it say that I prosecuted? I have the correction of the honorable and learned member. I could not see the proof until the honorable and learned member had corrected it; but as in type at first it read:—

But I ask him what he is going to do, not in the matter of the six hatters, but in the matter of six potters, against whom he is now levying an indictment in Sydney.

The honorable and learned member took out the words "against" and "levying an indictment," and put in the word "prosecuting."

Mr. SPEAKER.—I shall read standing order 60, which governs the matter of a personal explanation. It is as follows:—

A member who has spoken to a question may again be heard, to explain himself in regard to some material part of his speech which has been misquoted or misunderstood, but shall not introduce any new matter, or interrupt any member in possession of the chair, and no debatable matter shall be brought forward or debate arise upon such explanation.

It would be quite impossible for me, under that standing order, to allow a debate to arise on the question. Whether the remarks which the right honorable the Prime Minister has made are in the nature of a debate I am not quite sure; I am not certain they are not. But whether they are or not, I am certain that any further remarks, either by the honorable and learned member for West Sydney or any other honorable member, on the question would be in the nature of a debate, and therefore I cannot permit further remarks to be made.

Mr. WATSON.—May I point out, Mr. Speaker, that you very properly allowed the Prime Minister to explain a second time, and if the honorable and learned member for West Sydney desires to make any further explanation in regard to the statement just made by the Prime Minister it would be only proper to allow him to do so.

Mr. SPEAKER.—I am quite sure the Standing Orders would support me in permitting what is fair, but I point out that now each honorable member has had two

opportunities to make a statement. The honorable and learned member for West Sydney made a statement yesterday, and another this evening; and the Prime Minister made a statement shortly after half-past two o'clock, and has now added some words to that. So that if I prevent any further debate, as the standing order requires me to do at this present stage, I shall not have dealt unfairly with either honorable member.

Mr. HUGHES.—I only wish to make a reference to the statement by the Prime Minister that I altered the unrevised proof by striking out the words "levying an indictment" and inserting "prosecuting." I do not deny that I did so; but I ask the right honorable gentleman, as a lawyer, whether the alteration makes any real difference. I merely wish to say that in my opinion the alteration makes no difference—that the gravamen of the whole question is whether he is responsible for the prosecution or indictment or not. Under the circumstances I can say no more.

Mr. FOWLER (Perth).—I rise to take part in this debate with a feeling, which I dare say is shared by many honorable members, that our methods of government are not by any means an unqualified success. Apart altogether from the regrettable bitterness which is now being introduced into our parliamentary debates, for the first time in the history of the Commonwealth, I think the fact that we shall shortly have had three Governments displaced in the course of a few months is an achievement of which none of us are in the least degree proud. It seems to indicate that, after all, this system of party government is very short of an ideal one, and I believe that the people of the Commonwealth have reason to cast about for some definite improvement. I have given some consideration to this aspect of the question, and have come to the conclusion that reform is very urgently needed. The most practical and advantageous reform would be to adopt the system of electing our Ministries. I know that to suggest the adoption of such a system to the old parliamentary hands, is to have it pooh-poohed as impracticable, as leading to all sorts of intrigues, and as open to criticism in many other respects. But it is no new thing. It has been in operation in Switzerland for some considerable time, and I believe that it could with advantage be adopted in Australia. We adopt that system in the

selection of our Speaker, and I feel sure that, if we used it in connexion with the selection of our Ministers, we should obtain equally good results. In making Ministers responsible for administration, and the Parliament as a whole responsible for policy, we should be adopting a system which would lead to the expedition of public business, and would do away with a good many of the objectionable features of the present method of Government. In connexion with this debate, I find myself in a very unpleasant position. I have the conviction that what is regarded as a minor issue, is more important than the general question which we are debating, and, to my mind, the minor issue involves the progress of the movement to which I belong. In discussing this matter, I am in antagonism to the majority of the members of my party, which is at all times an unpleasant situation, and I feel the position very keenly, because on every other occasion I have been able to act harmoniously with the majority. It is only because the particular matter at issue between us appears to me to be so very important that I am obliged to deal with it to-night as incidental to the larger question which we are discussing. It is, of course, well enough known that I have taken up a definite attitude on the question as to whether the Labour Party should or should not enter into an alliance with some other party, and, as generally follows when one who is in the minority takes up such an attitude, all sorts of objectionable and despicable reasons have been assigned for my action. It has been said that I am a disappointed office-seeker, and that I am a free-trader first and a labour man afterwards; hence my attitude on this matter. So far as the first charge is concerned, I do not intend to traverse it. I am satisfied to leave a contemptible slander of that kind to be dealt with by members of this House, and especially by those who have been longest associated with me. Although an insinuation of that kind is sometimes very useful to close the mouth of a guilty person or of a coward, I am determined, in spite of it, to perform to-night a duty which I feel I owe to my electors and to the labour voters throughout the Commonwealth. I feel confident that every member of the party with which I have had the honour to be associated since the inception of Federation will give the lie to the charge that I am a free-trader first and a labour man afterwards. No member of that party has more anxiously endeavoured to place

the fiscal issue in its true relation to labour politics than I have, and I think that before I proceed much further I shall be able to show that I am still true to the position which I have hitherto occupied in relation to that much-vexed question which has caused so much trouble in the labour movement, and which we are now beginning to get past. I am glad to say that I do not stand alone in connexion with this particular matter. Protectionists and free-traders alike have united to do their best to oppose the so-called alliance. It has, therefore, nothing to do with the fiscal issue. A little while ago I felt obliged to enter my protest against the action of the party, and I shall read it now as an indication of the attitude which I took up, and also as giving the basis of my objections to the alliance:—

Melbourne, 10th September, 1904.

To the Hon. Secretary,
Federal Labour Party.

Dear Sir,

As I shall be unable to be present at the meeting on Wednesday, I desire to enter my protest in writing, against the alliance which has been entered into with a section of so-called Liberals.

A few weeks ago, our party carried unanimously a refusal to entertain an alliance of a similar kind. None of the majority of the Labour Party, who have since voted for the present alliance, have shown any justification for this remarkable change of front.

As one of the minority, I contend that no majority, however large, has any right or power to force upon a single dissident such a serious innovation, for which no authority exists either in the platform or in any resolutions of Conference.

In any case, such a new departure in policy should not have been made until the labour organizations and labour electors of the Commonwealth had been placed in possession of the proposals, and had been given reasonable time to consider them.

It has been a very general conviction, even outside labour ranks, that our movement contained within itself elements of popularity which, in conjunction with the democratic Federal Constitution, assured ultimate success. We have already arrived within easy reach of a straight out labour majority, and the movement should not at this juncture have been practically placed in the hands of a few outsiders, some of whom have been amongst the bitterest critics and traducers of labour men and labour methods.

Therefore, holding, as I do, that the action of the majority of the Federal Labour Party in entering into this alliance is hasty, unauthorized, and contrary to the interests of the labour movement, I entirely repudiate the said action, and refuse allegiance to the Liberal-Labour alliance, or any section of it as such.

Finally, as the affairs of labour, in connexion with Federal politics have reached a stage when further public silence would only facilitate the ruin of the movement, I propose to publish this protest, and also hold myself free to take any further action which the interests of the labour movement may require.

Mr. JOHNSON.—A proper and independent stand to take.

Mr. REID.—At any rate it throws a great deal of daylight upon the subject.

Mr. FOWLER.—I may be charged with playing into the hands of my political opponents. Necessarily I must abide by such a charge; but I feel sure that those who have the interests of the labour movement at heart will acquit me of any such intention, and will recognise with me the necessity for plain speaking at a serious crisis like the present.

Mr. JOHNSON.—Hear, hear. We can appreciate honesty on any side.

Mr. FOWLER.—I feel sure that in doing this I am performing a duty which I owe to the labour movement, and as I have already indicated, I intend to conscientiously carry out the policy which I have deliberately adopted, and by every means in my power prevent even the appearance of an alliance which, I am sure, is fraught with no good to the movement in which I am interested. As regards the charge that I am a free-trader first, and a labour man afterwards, I have yet another indication to show that the charge is false. The honorable and learned member for Indi has placed on the business paper a notice of motion proposing the appointment of a Commission to investigate the fiscal issue. I am willing to vote for that motion, and I go even further. I tell the honorable and learned member, the House, and the country, that if the investigations of the Commission show that any particular trade is not parasitical, that it is not living on others, and that the workers in it are being unduly exploited by outside competition, and particularly by cheap labour, I shall concede to it and to them the utmost protection required.

Mr. PAGE.—Will the Prime Minister in-dorse that?

Mr. REID.—I think that the honorable member for Perth will exercise his judgment wisely on the facts, and I, like him, shall look at the facts.

Mr. FOWLER.—I think that I have shown conclusively that the fiscal issue plays no part in my objection to the proposed alliance.

Mr. REID.—Has the honorable member pledged himself to a revision of the Tariff in a protectionist sense, before the Commission is appointed?

Mr. FOWLER.—Certainly not. I have pledged myself to a very definite line of

action, and I am prepared to carry out that pledge. I have mentioned the matter as proof of my *bona fides* in connexion with my objection to an alliance which appears to me to be contrary to both the policy and the principles of the labour movement, and especially of the Federal labour movement. I am willing enough to admit that in connexion with State politics, alliances of the kind suggested may be necessary, and even desirable. In some of the States the labour movement is confronted with what are at present insurmountable obstacles, and as the movement must progress, if it cannot get over the obstacles, it is perfectly legitimate and proper to go round them. If the members of a State Labour Party find others, like themselves, anxious to get round a particular obstacle which they cannot surmount, I think that they will be acting wisely in uniting their forces, so that each may arrive at their common goal, and, having got there, proceed on their several ways. But in Federal politics there is no need for any alliance of the kind. We have an absolutely democratic franchise, and a Constitution which, if not absolutely democratic, at least gives us two Houses which are thoroughly amenable to popular influence. With those conditions we have the entire basis of any action which a Labour Party ought to take. We are, under these circumstances, in a position to win our way rapidly, so long as we adhere strictly to our principles. I take it that even at the present time we are well within reach of that state of affairs which has been so anxiously hoped for and worked for—a straight-out labour majority in the Federal Parliament. It appears to me nothing short of fatuousness for the party to suddenly swerve at this particular juncture from the well defined policy, enunciated time and again by the leading members of the party in this House, and in another place, that there should be no alliance. It is to me incomprehensible that in view of those statements, which have been repeatedly made, and in view of the success which we all hope to attain within a very short space of time, we should join hands with a few gentlemen who, however amiable, are by no means going our way. So far as the motion is concerned I am quite at one with the honorable member for Bland, in my desire to fight Conservatism. I have always opposed Conservatism, and from the time I was able to form anything like an opinion upon political matters my mental trend has been in the direction of

Socialism. I am not afraid of the anti-socialistic agitation. On the very first platform I occupied, when I entered upon the Federal campaign, I avowed myself a Socialist, and I have never concealed the fact that I believe in Socialism. On the other hand, I have done all in my power to advance that movement, which, I believe, makes for the betterment and happiness of mankind in general.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—What is the honorable member's particular brand of Socialism?

Mr. FOWLER.—I can readily see that it is something different from that of the honorable member, which has been so much refined away that a microscope would have to be used to discover it. In Western Australia we are not afraid of Socialism. Even the right honorable member for Swan, who, in theory, is violently opposed to Socialism, is, like many other good men, better than his words, and has been a zealous worker in the cause, with the very happiest results to the State. Take, for instance, the Coolgardie waterworks scheme, which forms a notable instance of the success of Socialism, and redounds to the honour and credit of the right honorable gentleman. The success which has attended that undertaking has caused a later Premier of Western Australia to emulate the right honorable gentleman in giving the State still further instalments of Socialism. We now have State mining batteries and a State hotel, and I believe that it is intended to increase the number of hotels. Both the batteries and the hotel have been conducted with unqualified success.

Mr. REID.—That is a better kind of Socialism. I can understand that hotel—equal shares in the cellar.

Mr. FOWLER.—The Prime Minister was, I think, particularly unfortunate in the remark he made a few nights ago with regard to certain kinds of Socialism. He said that he believed in Socialism that was applied in a business-like way. There is no such thing as genuine Socialism that is not applied in that manner. No wild, chimerical proposition can easily be branded as a socialistic scheme. As a matter of fact, Socialism means the bringing down of a workable proposal to a definite business-like basis. We have advanced far beyond the region of Utopianism, and Socialism, if anything, is eminently practicable. If any so-called socialistic scheme could not succeed in a business-like fashion, I am certain that most believers in the principle would drop

it. Let me refer to a most striking instance of the application of the principle of Socialism, in connexion with municipal institutions. It is in the domain of municipal action that Socialism—at least in English-speaking communities—has achieved its greatest degree of success. I can remember that, when I was a young man in Glasgow, every now and then there was an outbreak of indignation in connexion with the way the tramway system was being conducted. The employes were worked for brutally long hours, they received shamefully low wages, the public were badly served, and apparently the only people who derived any benefit were the shareholders in the company. At last the Glasgow municipality took over the system. Within the first six months they reduced the working hours of the employes very considerably, and increased their pay; they reduced the fares by exactly one-half, and at the end of the six months they had several thousands of pounds to the good, which went into the public Treasury. From that day on to the present time, the system has been conferring greater advantages on the public, and has been contributing more largely to the municipal treasury. I think that at present a clear profit of £80,000 per annum is being made.

Mr. REID.—Does the manager of the trams receive no larger salary than the men who clean out the cars?

Mr. FOWLER.—That tramway system is managed upon business lines, and the right honorable gentleman has not acquired a knowledge of even the A B C of Socialism, if he pretends that the humblest worker and the business manager of a scheme of that kind receive the same remuneration.

Mr. WILKS.—It depends upon the brand of Socialism of which the honorable member is talking.

Mr. HUGHES.—The honorable member might as well talk about a particular brand of private enterprise.

Mr. FOWLER.—Socialistic schemes, in order to confer advantage on the community, must be worked on business lines and ability, and brains must be paid for; and for the right honorable gentleman to talk as he does about Socialism is to altogether mislead the people as to its meaning. I am surprised that he did not devote some attention to the well-worn topics of confiscation and free love. These matters are often hurled in the teeth of Socialists, and although they have been proved to be utterly inapplicable, I suppose that honorable members will continue to drag them forth for some time to

come. I have indicated my belief in Socialism. I believe that the labour movement is essentially socialistic, and that it has no meaning if Socialism is not its basis. I welcome the new line of cleavage which is dividing political parties in the Commonwealth. We have, on the one side, those who call themselves individualists, but who are in reality Socialists of a kind—Socialists who believe only in that Socialism that will operate to their own particular benefit, or the advantage of the class to which they belong. The Socialism of those connected with the Labour Party must be applied all round for the common benefit. That is the form of Socialism which I indorse, and for which I believe the labour movement stands. It is because I see this new line of cleavage between the so-called individualists upon the one hand, and the socialists on the other, that I deplore exceedingly the position which has been taken up by a majority of members of the Labour Party. It seems to me that in a very short time the trend of events would have driven into our ranks those who believe with us politically, and would have compelled those who do not believe with us to have joined the ranks of the opposite side. That is a consummation for which I have wished and fought in my own way. It seems to me that a magnificent opportunity has been missed, or almost missed, by the leaders of the labour movement by neglecting to adopt the attitude of welcoming to the ranks of the Labour Party those who are willing to join us, and of saying to those who refuse to do so, "If you are not with us, you must be against us." The door of admission to the labour movement is still wide open, so that anybody who cares to do so may enter. For us to leave our entrenchments, to advance into the open, and to welcome those who will not come to us, leaving our distinctive weapons behind us, is to take a step which I venture to believe is very dangerous to the movement indeed. One inevitable result of the suggested alliance will be to make the Labour Party moderate. I believe that I have been branded in some of the newspapers as a moderate labour member, and with being almost conservative in instincts. But I repudiate emphatically any suggestion that "moderation" ought to be the watchword of the labour movement. When the leaders of that movement are praised for their moderation, the friends of labour will regard them with suspicion. I say, therefore, that those who are charged to a large

extent with the responsibility of formulating a policy for the labour movement ought to be very careful indeed when they find themselves commended for their moderation. The labour movement is undoubtedly upon its trial at the present time. Those who ask us to be moderate will never give us a vote. Are those who believe in us as a party which will do honest work for the benefit of the masses likely to praise us for our moderation, when that moderation means leaving them in the slough in which they are wallowing at the present time? Is it not a fact that the great enemy which we have to fight is lack of faith in the *bona fides* of the labour movement on the part of the masses of the community? Is not the trouble which we frequently experience with our own people a more or less indefinite suspicion that we are merely self-seekers—that we only desire to develop the Labour Party for our own good. If we in our moderation do nothing which will be of any particular advantage to those who send us here, I claim that that suspicion will be justified, and a very short shrift will be given to the labour movement by a majority of the community. We are told by way of justification for this alliance that the Labour Party remains unchanged, that its principles are unaltered, and that there has been no departure from the old position. So far as the distinctive planks of the labour platform are concerned, I say that the hatchet of the trimmer is very much in evidence indeed. I contend that in this respect no parliamentary party has a right to allow any of the planks of the platform which has been formulated by the various organizations in congress to be whittled away in the least degree. They have been carefully considered, they are essentially workable, and when we find significant modifications introduced into them as the basis of this alliance, what can we conclude but that those charged with responsibility have to some extent forgotten the duty which they owe to the electors who sent them here? During the course of a recent speech one honorable member objected that the Government were solid on the Trade Marks Bill. I am very much afraid that this alleged alliance is not even solid upon that measure. I feel sure that there are some members of the alliance who will not be able to see eye for eye with members of the Labour Party upon the very important proposal submitted by Senator Pearce in another place in reference to registering a trade union brand. Similarly, in regard

to other matters, very radical alterations indeed have been made. One of the distinctive planks of the labour platform, which I believe every member of the party regards as very important, and one that has the enthusiastic support of every man who votes for a labour representative, is that of old-age pensions. It stands in our platform in that form—"old-age pensions"—no more, no less. Those words are all-sufficient—definite enough for anybody. What is the position when we come to consider the basis of the alliance? There I find that the old-age pensions proposal has something tacked on to it of a very significant character indeed. In the alliance programme it reads—

Old-age pensions on a basis fair and equitable to the several States and to individuals.

I ask any member of the Labour Party what that means. Is there a single member of the party who can explain that addition to the plank as it originally stood?

Mr. FRAZER.—The honorable member does not desire a scheme for old-age pensions upon an inequitable basis?

Mr. FOWLER.—We did not propose to establish an old-age pension scheme upon an inequitable basis, but I say that when qualifying words are introduced in a particular way we must endeavour to discover the reason for their introduction. That reason does not exist within the ranks of the labour movement. It will probably be found to arise from the fear in the minds of our alleged allies that additional taxation will require to be levied to give effect to a proposal of that kind. As a result, it will probably be found to supply an easy hole through which any member of the alliance can crawl who is charged with attempting to saddle a certain portion of the community with taxation which he thinks it ought not to bear. That is the only meaning of it. It has really no meaning whatever to any member of the Labour Party; it has no relevance to any action that we have taken or have proposed to take, and it certainly does not stand in the agreement at the instance of any member of the party. I have no doubt that the honorable and learned member for Indi can give us some explanation of this clause, and I challenge him to indicate to us what is his particular proposal in regard to old-age pensions.

Mr. KING O'MALLEY.—He is sound.

Mr. FOWLER.—The alteration was not made at the instance of any member of the

Labour Party, so that it must have been made at the instigation of our allies; and as the honorable and learned member has taken a leading part in the formulation of these proposals, I take it that it is his duty to intimate to members of the Labour Party, and to labour electors generally, what is meant by this very interesting development of the three words, "old-age pensions," that comprise a plank in the fighting platform of the Federal Labour Party. I come to another distinctive plank of the platform, and that is the "nationalization of monopolies." It is a peculiarly socialistic proposal, which, while receiving some support outside our ranks, is essentially a labour proposition. The honorable member for Boothby has placed on the notice-paper a notice of motion which reads as follows:—

That, in the opinion of this House, a Royal Commission should be at once appointed to inquire into and report upon—

- (1) The present position of the tobacco trade in relation to the production, manufacture, and distribution of tobacco.
- (2) The extent to which it is controlled by a monopolistic combination.
- (3) The best method of regulating that trade, whether by nationalization, or by anti-trust legislation, or otherwise.

It is to be nationalized, if Parliament decides that it is expedient to do so; but the honorable member suggests the regulation of the trade as a possible development of the work of the Royal Commission. A little while ago, in another place, Senator Pearce proposed, and succeeded in carrying, the following motion:—

1. That in the opinion of this Senate, in order to provide the necessary money for the payment of old-age pensions, and for other purposes, the Commonwealth Government should undertake the manufacture and sale of tobacco, cigars, and cigarettes.

2. That the foregoing resolution be referred to the House of Representatives, with a message requesting their concurrence therein.

3. That a Select Committee, consisting of six members of the Senate and the mover, be appointed, with power to sit and confer with a similar number of members of the House of Representatives, to inquire into and report on the best method of carrying the foregoing resolution into effect.

That resolution contains no suggestion that the trade should be regulated. It is a frank proposal that it shall be nationalized, and it was carried in another place. In these circumstances, an honorable member of the Labour Party who comes down to this House with such a motion, as that of which notice has been given by the honorable member for Boothby, takes a distinctively retrogressive step, and

one which is not in conformity with our present platform. Then, with regard to the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill, I wish to know how far our allies will assist us to put back some of the essential features of the measure that were accidentally omitted while the Labour Government was in power.

Mr. KENNEDY.—The honorable member found out on the recommittal of clause 62 how far they would go.

Mr. FOWLER.—But I wish to know what assistance we are going to receive in this direction from our allies.

Mr. McCAY.—The alliance programme will show the honorable member.

Mr. FOWLER.—These are three important matters upon which I desire some information, but in regard to which no particulars have as yet been supplied. I take it that the labour electors throughout the Commonwealth are entitled to have this information, and in the long run it will either have to be supplied to them in a satisfactory form, or they will treat the alliance in a very unceremonious way. The fact of the matter is, that if the Labour Party, with the assistance of its allies, gains possession of the Treasury bench, we shall be able to hope for only the mildest milk-and-water legislation, such as almost any party could give the country.

Mr. LONSDALE.—But the Labour Party will obtain protection.

Mr. FOWLER.—I have already indicated the position that I shall take up on the fiscal issue, and I do not think it is necessary for me to deal with that interjection. I hold that the labour electors will not gain from this alliance anything that could not be obtained practically from almost any other section of the House. The labour movement was brought into existence, and continues to exist, because it goes further than mere Liberalism has yet suggested in remedying those social and economic evils under which the workers suffer at the present time.

Mr. ISAACS.—The Labour Party will not get from their allies the declared war against labour that has been announced by the other side.

Mr. FOWLER.—Perhaps not, but even a declared war from straight-out opponents is better for the labour movement than is assistance from those who will not enter our ranks, but carefully remain aloof, as if they would be contaminated by association with us.

Mr. ISAACS.—That is not the general opinion of the Labour Party.

Mr. ROBINSON.—It is a very sensible one.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—It is the general opinion of labour supporters outside.

Mr. SPEAKER.—Order!

Mr. FOWLER.—There is another aspect of this agreement to which I take very strong exception. I refer to the promise of immunity from opposition which the Labour Party has given our so-called allies. No parliamentary party, or section of a parliamentary party, has any right to commit labour organizations to a pledge of that kind. I feel sure that the labour organizations will resent it.

Mr. MAUGER.—Most of them have agreed to it.

Mr. FOWLER.—Most of them have not done so, and I feel sure that as soon as they realize the situation, they will protest, even more strongly than they have done. The labour organization, as I have already indicated, is open to any one who chooses to enter it, to secure the benefit of it, to get the enthusiastic assistance of those who support us in the work which we have at heart. But we have gentlemen coming along now, who refuse to enter the movement, who will stand at the next election—or who are expecting that they will stand at the next election—on a liberal platform, but who will gain as many advantages from labour organizations as if they were right within the ranks. I say at once that, if they are expecting any material assistance from the labour organizations on that basis, their expectations are doomed to failure. Our organizations exist for the furtherance of the labour movement, for the increasing of our members within our own ranks, and not for the creation of an outside party, which will only lead to confusion, and will ultimately seriously damage the prospects of the movement. We have always regarded those gentlemen who profess themselves labour men in all respects, except that they decline to take the pledge, as the most dangerous enemies to our movement that we have. We have justification for that attitude in view of the significant denunciations of the labour movement and labour principles when their own particular political interests required them to take that course. But they are no friends who would assist us only in fair weather conditions. We want men who will stick to us when the storm is raging. Who will give us their assistance through difficult and critical situations. And we have found

from experience that we cannot depend on any to do that for us, unless they are regularly constituted members of our ranks. I hope it will be understood that, in making those remarks in connexion with our alleged allies, I make no criticism of a good deal of the excellent work they have done. I recognise that, in many respects, their opinions are identical with my own. But the weighty factor in the situation is, as I have already indicated, the fact that they still remain outside the labour movement, and that undoubtedly they have denounced labour methods, labour principles, and labour men in a way that, I think, ought to entitle us to expect some expressions of regret with regard to those statements before they profess to be our friends. We have the honorable member for Melbourne Ports, who is reported in the *Melbourne Age* as denouncing the Political Labour Council as "not only a failure; it is an absolute fraud."

Mr. MAUGER.—Not the Council. Nothing of the kind.

Mr. FOWLER.—I am surprised that anything which appears in the *Age* should be repudiated by the honorable member.

Mr. MAUGER.—I denounced the political methods.

Mr. FOWLER.—I shall be glad to hear the honorable member's correction as to what he did say, because a charge of that kind is one that ought to stand in the way of any one who professes to come and join us in this form of alliance. Then, again, we have the honorable member for Bourke referring to the Labour Party in this way—

To have the Labour Party in power would be as bad as letting loose the animals in the Zoological Gardens.

That kind of criticism ought, I think, in common decency, to be repudiated and regretted by those friends of ours who are now so anxious to assist us. I say that in the absence of any repudiation, we must regard them as still holding those criticisms as justified; and if they still hold them, I do not see how it is possible for an alliance of any kind to be patched up on any basis. I am quite sure that so far as this alliance is concerned, the Labour Party will not take it in earnest, except to repudiate it in the most emphatic way possible. I think there is both safety and wisdom in numbers, that in this respect the instincts of the vast majority of the labour electors will lead them right,

and that no temporary aberration on the part of any portion of the party will have any influence upon their actions. If I thought that this alliance was likely to be as successful as some of those who have sought it thought it would be, I am not sure that I should not have taken the extreme step of voting against any action that would place the allies on the benches opposite.

Mr. WATKINS.—I am not sure that the honorable member ought not to vote that way now.

Mr. FOWLER.—That is a matter that I have the deciding of for myself. So far as I am concerned, I feel so strongly on this matter that if the labour organizations and the labour electors had not appeared to be sufficiently seized of the importance of the crisis, I should have voted to give them a further opportunity to be acquainted with the circumstances before they were committed irrevocably to the actions of the so-called alliance. But, sir, I believe that a very unpleasant step of that kind on my part is not necessary. I believe that this alliance is a mere pretence and no more—that is has never had any sound basis. The electors are likely to deal with the alliance, if there should be an election, in a way that I am certain will make it impossible for it to exist in the next Parliament. It is not to my mind an arrangement of which any labour man has any reason to be proud. I have exceedingly regretted the alliance, and have opposed it, and will continue to oppose it. In doing that, I believe that I am fulfilling a duty I owe to the electors who sent me here, and to the labour electors of the Commonwealth generally. As I have already said, I am entirely opposed to the coalition which sits on the Treasury bench. I shall vote in support of the motion submitted by the leader of the Opposition, because I have no desire to see the present Government in power any longer than I can help. I am certain that if the labour organizations, and labour electors are true to their own best interests, the result of the election will be a straight-out labour majority in possession of the Treasury bench giving the labour electors of the Commonwealth and the people generally that kind of legislation for which they are hungering, and which they have every reason to expect from this democratic Parliament.

Mr. LONSDALE (New England).—I had no intention to speak this evening, but the opportunity has come to me, and I

must take advantage of it. I realize that the honorable member for Perth at any rate, has given the true history, and true view of the alliance on the other side. I am quite certain that the labour representatives themselves cannot believe that there is absolutely any bond of union between themselves and the party with which they have formed an alliance. One party is trying to make use of the other, and both are acting with the same desires, and from the same motives. Whenever there comes an election it will be shown that men outside connected with the Labour Party will not tolerate the kind of union that has apparently been entered into within this House.

Mr. DAVID THOMSON.—The electors will indorse the union right enough; do not make any mistake!

Mr. LONSDALE.—I am sure labour men outside will not indorse the union.

Mr. BAMFORD.—The honorable member will regret that, I have no doubt.

Mr. LONSDALE.—I shall take my own course, and let other parties take theirs. The idea of the liberal-protectionists, as they call themselves, going to the country to raise a fiscal agitation is absolutely absurd; and in their hearts they know that to be so. They know that it is only a game they are playing, and that there is no possibility of the Labour Party standing by them in their efforts to re-open the Tariff question.

Mr. POYNTON.—The honorable member will not help the protectionists, at any rate.

Mr. LONSDALE.—I shall not help any coalition to raise the fiscal question. So far as I am concerned, I shall stand by the policy I have always advocated.

Mr. POYNTON.—What is that—land taxation?

Mr. LONSDALE.—I shall stand by the policy of land taxation, but not in the way in which the honorable member would like. I have been, and I am still, a land-taxer, but I have no desire to pile on a land tax without giving some concessions in return. Nobody has ever found me advocating an increase in the burdens of the men on the land; my desire is to decrease those burdens by changing the system of taxation from that at present adopted. As to old-age pensions being provided from a land tax, I am not likely to give an idea of that kind any support, because that would simply mean an increased burden.

Mr. FISHER.—Then the honorable member does not believe in old-age pensions?

Mr. LONSDALE.—I do, but not in that form. I read with regret the reports of the speech delivered by the honorable and learned member for West Sydney last night, in which he made charges against the Prime Minister. When I first read the speech I thought there might be some truth in the charges, but to-night we have the honorable and learned member admitting that they are without foundation. It will be admitted by everybody that the honorable and learned member directly pointed to the Prime Minister as being the originator of the prosecution in connexion with the six potters. The words of the honorable and learned member were—

Six potters were brought all the way from England and landed in this country. Although they are here, citizens of our own flesh and blood, bone of our bone, sinew of our sinew, under the régime of the right honorable gentleman, instructions have been given to the Solicitor-General of New South Wales to file against the man who brought them here an information under the section of the Act which did not permit of the six hatters coming in.

There we have a distinct statement that the Prime Minister gave instructions for this information to be filed, though it is well known that it was the honorable and learned member for West Sydney who, as Minister of External Affairs, took that action. Is that honorable or fair? Is that the kind of fighting we should have in this Parliament? If we do fight each other, let the fight be about principles, and let our weapon be truth, not falsehood. The honorable and learned member went on to say that the Prime Minister proposed to deport the six unfortunate potters, though he well knew that no proposal of the kind was ever made by the right honorable gentleman. That is a statement the honorable and learned member cannot back out of, because we have it here in the report of his speech, as corrected by himself. That is the kind of fighting we have had right through on the part of the honorable and learned member for West Sydney, and it certainly cannot be described as honorable. In dealing with this matter, one may be excused for getting rather warm when we remember that the honorable and learned member has received many kindnesses from, and been supported time after time by, the present head of the Government.

Mr. FISHER.—We shall have to find a little Parliament in which the New South Wales representatives may be by themselves.

Mr. LONSDALE.—We do not want a separate Parliament for the New South Wales representatives; all we want is fair play. The honorable and learned member for West Sydney, after making his speech in the House last night, went outside and made a different or modified statement to the Melbourne press; but that was after his original remarks had been telegraphed throughout the States. If the honorable and learned member has any conscience he will realize that he has deliberately done the Prime Minister a wrong. Another reference to the Prime Minister has been introduced in the course of the debate. I do not know why these matters should be brought up, but the Opposition corner is responsible for the one to which I am about to refer. There is no doubt that these references are made for the express purpose of, as far as possible, discrediting the Prime Minister in Victoria and the other States.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK. — It was the gentle Crouch.

Mr. LONSDALE.—Those who know the honorable and learned member for Corio, and have seen his conduct, pay little attention to him.

Mr. FRAZER.—What has the honorable member against the honorable and learned member for Corio?

Mr. LONSDALE.—I do not want to say anything in that direction, but every one must have noticed the honorable and learned member make a speech one night, and the next night make a speech exactly opposite—saying he is going to vote in one direction, and the next night voting directly opposite. We have seen that here repeatedly; and everybody who does that kind of thing must be a little bit soft, I think. The charge has been made repeatedly against the present Prime Minister of maladministration of the finances of New South Wales. I was a member of the State Parliament of New South Wales when the alleged maladministration is supposed to have taken place. The Treasurer of the Dibbs Government, in his last financial statement, previous to the defeat in the country of the Government of which he was a member, made use of these words—I make this quotation, because I wish it to be perfectly clear how this difficulty arose—

So far as can now be ascertained, the deficiency is about £1,200,000, and I propose to ask authority to issue Treasury Bills to cover this deficiency.

The whole of this trouble arose out of that deficiency. The statement of the honorable

member for Grafton, the Treasurer of the Dibbs Government at that time, must be taken as being correct.

Mr. ISAACS.—Are we really concerned in that matter?

Mr. LONSDALE.—The honorable and learned member for Indi is not concerned in the matter. He is concerned to let the lie go forth, and let the Prime Minister suffer under this imputation. That is what the honorable and learned member is concerned about. Honorable members opposite do not desire that this matter should be spoken of. It should never have been referred to here, and we should never have had anything to do with it, if a member of the honorable and learned gentleman's little party had not brought it up. Now, the honorable and learned member does not desire that the Prime Minister shall be defended. That is the kind of conduct we have from the honorable and learned gentleman. We are not concerned about this matter, I admit, but we are concerned to defend an innocent man, to disclose the truth, and to brand a lie as a lie. In a speech, which I made in the New South Wales Parliament, in dealing with this matter, I made the quotation which I have just now made, and I then said—

“That statement is either true or untrue. If it is true, then the deficiency which the present Colonial Treasurer brings forward exists.”

That was a reference to the deficiency which the present Prime Minister brought forward, and I claimed that if the statement of the Treasurer in the previous Administration was correct, then that deficiency existed, because that honorable gentleman had said so. I went on to say—

If the statement is not true, what must we think of the honorable member for Grafton, who takes a course to establish a book deficiency. . . . When this deficiency was originated, the members of the Opposition party joined issue with the honorable gentleman and pointed out that no such deficiency existed.

When the Bill dealing with the matter was under discussion, the honorable gentleman, who had admitted the deficiency, came down to the House and stated that no such deficiency existed. I then said—

Now we have the same gentleman standing here and saying that no such deficiency existed. Are we to believe the statement they made during this financial debate, or are we to believe the statement they made on previous occasions. I ask them to say which of the two statements is true.

I there referred to the gentlemen who had been quoted as having accused the present Prime Minister of doing this wrong. First of all, they said that the

deficiency did exist, and then when the present Prime Minister brought it forward they said that it did not exist, although one would imagine that if there had been a deficiency of £1,200,000 it should not have been difficult to discover it somewhere. These gentlemen were opposed to the present Prime Minister, and when he proposed to do exactly what they had proposed to do themselves—issue Treasury bills to cover the deficiency—they said that the deficiency did not exist, and the whole of the charges against the present Prime Minister arose out of that. What did the right honorable gentleman do? He carried the Bill through the House, and I believe that the present honorable member for Bland, and other members of the Labour Party in the State Parliament, supported him in doing so. We have had some quotations made from the report of the Committee appointed to inquire into this matter; but if honorable members will read the report, they will find that the members of the Committee admit that the present Prime Minister carried on the accounts in conformity with the programme of Parliament.

Mr. WILKS.—In conformity with the law.

Mr. LONSDALE.—In conformity with the law which the State Parliament, the Labour Party assisting, passed with its eyes wide open. The members of with its eyes wide open. The members of the Committee admit that, and whatever may be the conclusions to which they came, honorable members will at once realize that if anything wrong was done, it was the New South Wales Parliament, and not the right honorable member for East Sydney, that was guilty. I may explain that the deficiency to which I have referred, and which was covered by the Treasury bills authorized to be issued, arose from payments for works made in the previous years. The present Prime Minister altered the system of keeping the accounts, so that it should not be possible, in years to come, for the same thing to occur again. He desired that the revenue actually received during the year, should be taken as the revenue for that year, and that the amount actually spent should be considered the actual expenditure for the year. He decided that the public accounts should be kept upon that system, and that in the case of every work not carried out, the amount voted for it should be written off at the close of the financial year, and should be re-voted when necessary. On 30th June, 1895, at the

close of the first half-year during which the present Prime Minister was in office, the accounts showed a deficiency of £186,000.

Mr. FISHER.—The Consolidated Revenue Account?

Mr. LONSDALE.—Yes, for the half-year under the old system. The first full year under the cash system was from 1st July, 1895, to 30th June, 1896, and at the close of that year, the New South Wales Auditor-General certified that there was a surplus of £349,000. Before dealing with a new matter, I should like to say that as it is half-past ten o'clock, the Prime Minister might consent to an adjournment of the debate, as I shall not have finished what I desire to say for some time.

Debate adjourned.

Motion (by Mr. REID) proposed—

That the resumption of the debate be an order of the day for to-morrow.

Mr. THOMAS.—If the honorable member for New England will not be too long—

Mr. SPEAKER.—Order. I have before called the attention of honorable members to the standing order which requires that there should be silence when Mr. Speaker is putting a question. Honorable members will see the importance of observing the standing order, because they may give votes under a misapprehension, unless when a question is put from the Chair they are enabled to hear it distinctly.

Question resolved in the affirmative.

ADJOURNMENT.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

Mr. REID (East Sydney—Minister of External Affairs).—I move—

That the House do now adjourn.

I should like to point out that in the ordinary course of business, certain private business on the paper would to-morrow be taken until 6.30 p.m. I think that it is the general wish of honorable members, in the present state of affairs, that the debate on the motion of the honorable member for Bland should be continued without interruption. I desire to mention that I propose to make the necessary motion, when the House meets to-morrow, to enable the House to take that course. Of course, it can only be done with concurrence.

Question resolved in the affirmative.

House adjourned at 10.30 p.m.

House of Representatives.

Thursday, 22 September, 1904.

Mr. SPEAKER took the chair at 2.30 p.m., and read prayers.

POSTPONEMENT OF BUSINESS.

Motion (by Mr. REID) agreed to—

That questions and general business be postponed until after the conclusion of the debate upon the motion of want of confidence in the Government.

PRINTING COMMITTEE.

Report (No. 6) presented by Mr. FOWLER, read by the Clerk, and agreed to.

PERSONAL EXPLANATIONS.

Mr. MAHON (Coolgardie).—Yesterday, while the honorable and learned member for Corio was speaking, the Postmaster-General, in reply to an interjection, suggested that I had not the courage, when occupying the office which he now fills, to deal with certain tenders giving preference to local manufacturers over foreign competitors. I do not think that it was right for him to charge me with want of courage in the matter.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—The honorable member ought to relate what led up to my remark.

Mr. MAHON.—I have said that the Postmaster-General made the suggestion in reply to an interjection.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—An interjection made by the honorable member himself.

Mr. MAHON.—Yes. Surely the Postmaster-General does not expect me to repeat every detail of the proceedings. I do not wish to occupy the time of the House unduly. I find also a very sarcastic reference to me in the policy speech of the Prime Minister.

Mr. REID.—Surely sarcastic references should not be the subject of personal explanations.

Mr. MAHON.—Perhaps the right honorable gentleman will allow me to make my explanation. I do not wish to refer either to him or to the Postmaster-General unnecessarily. This precious pair of political hypocrites may be left to the vengeance of their betrayed and outraged constituents.

Mr. SPEAKER.—I ask the honorable member to withdraw the expression "political hypocrites."

Mr. REID.—Regular Fenian language that.

Mr. PAGE.—Is the Prime Minister in order in calling the honorable member for Coolgardie a Fenian?

Mr. REID.—I said that his language was Fenian language.

Mr. SPEAKER.—If the right honorable gentleman used that expression, I ask him to withdraw it.

Mr. REID.—Certainly.

Mr. MAHON.—I desire to apologise if I have said anything unparliamentary; but I sat so long behind the right honorable gentleman when he was on this side of the Chamber that perhaps I am to some extent imitating the bad example which he then set.

Mr. REID.—The honorable member's head is sore all the time. He should never have taken office. It has been too much for him.

Mr. MAHON.—I do not feel sore. I hope that the right honorable gentleman will feel his coming doom as little as I felt mine. However, I should like to proceed with my personal explanation. The Postmaster-General charged me with want of courage in connexion with the matter to which he referred. He, a professing free-trader, has, since he took office, given, in addition to the Tariff protection, as much as 15 per cent. preference to local manufacturers; but in charging me with want of courage in the matter he was evidently in ignorance of a question which I answered in this House as far back as the 13th July. On that date I was asked by the honorable member for Bourke—

Whether fresh tenders are to be called for the supply of telegraph insulators?

Whether, other things being equal, or nearly equal, the Postmaster-General will be prepared to give a preference to the Australian-made insulator?

If he will also be prepared to give a preference under similar conditions to Australian made insulator fittings?

The Department prepared a reply giving an affirmative answer to all three questions; but when the paper came into my possession, I changed the answers, and I replied to No. 1 "Yes," while in reply to Nos. 2 and 3 I said—

The quality and price being equal, I should be prepared to give preference to any article produced in Australia.

Mr. REID.—That is a shady sort of preference. There is not much in that.

Mr. MAHON.—The present Postmaster-General has stated that he is willing to give local manufacturers preference to the extent of 15 per cent. in addition to the Tariff protection.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—He only says that he did so in certain instances. He does not say that he is going to do so.

Mr. MAHON.—He has done so. He has given them 15 per cent. preference in addition to the protection which they obtain from the Tariff, which he has pronounced to be a robbery of the people.

Mr. SPEAKER.—Is the honorable member now making a personal explanation?

Mr. MAHON.—I am attempting to unravel the tangle in which these honorable gentlemen have sought to place my action. I would point out further that, when I declined to deal with those tenders, the Government were on the point of going out of office, and I had no opportunity to bring the matter before the Cabinet. Speaking from memory, when I refused to accept tenders giving a preference to local manufacturers, the matter had not been considered by the Cabinet, and there had been no opportunity to place it before my colleagues. In giving the answer which I did, I acted entirely upon my own initiative, and I think, as I said in the beginning, that the charge of want of courage is not merely unfounded, but comes with very bad grace from a gentleman like the Postmaster-General.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH (Macquarie).—Mr. Speaker—

Mr. SPEAKER.—Does the honorable member propose to discuss the personal explanation just made by the honorable member for Coolgardie?

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I wish to make a personal explanation.

Mr. SPEAKER.—It is quite impossible for me to allow debates to take place upon personal explanations. If I permitted a personal explanation made by one honorable member to be replied to by another, there would be nothing to prevent every member of the House from entering into a debate under the cover of a personal explanation. The honorable member for Macquarie has not yet spoken to the motion of want of confidence, and it will be competent for him when he does so to deal with the matter to which reference has been made by the honorable member for Coolgardie. I do not

think that I should allow him to discuss the personal explanation made by the honorable member for Coolgardie. If he wishes to explain anything in regard to which he has been misunderstood, without discussing the personal explanation just made, the House will be pleased to hear him; but I cannot allow anything in the shape of a discussion of the personal explanation made by the honorable member for Coolgardie.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—In regard to the explanation which I think it right to offer, I may state that my honorable friend, in making his explanation just now, omitted to say what led up to and gave reason for my interjection. He interjected something to enable an honorable member who was speaking from that side of the House to cast a reflection upon me, and I then interjected that he had not the courage to give a decision on this very important matter.

Mr. THOMAS.—What decision has the honorable member given?

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I will tell the honorable member presently. This matter came under my notice when I entered office, as a legacy left me by the honorable member for Coolgardie. I have not the papers before me, but I think that they were submitted to him on the 6th August, with a recommendation that he should accept certain tenders. The honorable member, not when the motion of censure debate was on, but on the 8th August—

Mr. GROOM.—To what motion of censure debate does the Postmaster-General refer?

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I mean the debate on the clause in the Arbitration Bill which the Watson Government took as a censure debate. On the 8th August the honorable member for Coolgardie did not deal with the whole of the tenders, but made a minute to the effect that tenders where no preference is involved, "are approved," leaving the more important matter undealt with.

Mr. MAHON.—Yes; for Cabinet consideration.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—The honorable member did not say for Cabinet consideration.

Mr. MAHON.—It is not necessary to put down everything. I say it now.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—It is no doubt very convenient to say it now. The honorable gentleman said just now that the reason why the matter was delayed was because a question affecting the fate of the Government was before Parliament. But the action to which I refer was taken on the

8th August; before that matter was before the House.

Mr. WATSON.—That was why he did not bring it before the Cabinet.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Why should he bring a matter like that before the Cabinet?

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I did not submit the matter for the approval of the Cabinet in the way suggested by the honorable member for Bland.

Mr. MAHON.—It was brought before the Barton Cabinet.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—The honorable member has made his explanation. When this matter was submitted to me, I referred the papers back for information as to the practice of the Department at the time that the tenders were invited, and I received a report from my Under-Secretary to the effect that the practice of the Department, under the administration of Senator Drake and the honorable member for Denison, was to give a preference not exceeding 15 per cent.

Mr. PAGE.—But they are both protectionists.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—This decision was communicated by order to the various Deputy Postmasters-General on the 22nd August, 1903.

Mr. THOMAS.—It was a bad thing to do. The honorable member should have done better.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I am not going into that now. When the matter was submitted to me, I wrote this minute—

The practice in force under Ministerial decisions at the time of calling for tenders to be followed.

Mr. KING O'MALLEY.—Hear, hear! The honorable member did the right thing.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I merely carried out the Ministerial decision which was in force at the time when tenders were invited, which had been communicated to the various Deputy Postmasters-General on the 22nd August, 1903, and, I understand, made known to some of the contractors. The honorable member for Bourke, when I was referring to this matter, showed that he had learned all about it, either from the late Postmaster-General or from some one else, because he interjected, "Was not the decision of the Postmaster-General to be considered private and confidential?" The honorable member must have seen the papers, or known all about the matter at the time the decision was given.

Mr. SPEAKER.—It appears to me that these remarks are not of the nature of a

personal explanation, but that the honorable member is debating the question. I ask him not to continue his present line of argument.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—I have nothing more to say.

Mr. HIGGINS (Northern Melbourne).—I must crave the indulgence of the House to make a personal explanation of a very different character. In a speech which I delivered yesterday I stated that I was strongly in favour of the alliance between the Liberal and the Labour Parties. In the report of that speech, which appears in the *Argus* this morning, I find that I am credited with having stated the very opposite at a meeting which was held in the Fitzroy Town Hall at the end of August last. That newspaper says that I warned the Labour Party against "entangling alliances," and placed those words between inverted commas in order to make it appear that they were an accurate extract from my speech. I have merely to say that I did not warn the Labour Party against alliances of any sort. I did not use the expression "entangling alliances." I actually encouraged that party to form an alliance, and in the very fair report of my utterances which appeared in the same newspaper upon the following morning, I am represented as having done so. The exact words of that report are as follow:—

In conclusion, he said an honorable alliance of the Labour Party or any other party would no doubt be suitable, but he warned that party never to allow itself to be incorporated in any other.

In such an extreme case I feel justified in occupying the time of the House to make this explanation.

Mr. JOHNSON (Lang).—I also desire to make a brief personal explanation. In referring to the position of members of the Labour Party during the course of my speech yesterday afternoon, I stated that no matter how ardently they might believe either in free-trade or protection, if a majority of the caucus decided against them, they must bow to the will of that majority. At the time I made that statement I was under the impression that it was perfectly correct. Subsequently, however, the honorable and learned member for Northern Melbourne read a copy of the labour pledge, from which it appears that I was mistaken. As I have no wish to say what is untrue, or intentionally to misstate facts, I avail myself of this early opportunity of making the correction.

WANT OF CONFIDENCE MOTION.

Debate resumed from 21st September (*vide* page 4822), on motion by Mr. WATSON—

That the present Administration does not possess the confidence of this House.

Mr. LONSDALE (New England).—When I closed my remarks last evening, I had decided not to deal further with the financial matters to which I had directed attention. I wish, however, to recapitulate the position which I then took up in regard to the Prime Minister's financial administration in New South Wales. As honorable members are aware, a charge of maladministration has been levelled against the right honorable gentleman by those newspapers which are opposed to the present coalition Government, and has been repeated in this House. Briefly, I wish to state that, prior to his assumption of the office of Treasurer in New South Wales, Sir John See had declared in his financial statement that there was a deficiency of £1,200,000, which he intended to cover by the issue of Treasury-bills. Shortly afterwards the Dibbs Government went to the country and was defeated, and in consequence of that defeat the present Prime Minister came into power. In his Budget speech the right honorable gentleman also reported that there was a deficiency of £1,200,000, which he intended—like his predecessors—to cover by the issue of Treasury-bills. That operation was carried out by the present Prime Minister, and as a result these charges of maladministration have been made. Formerly it was possible to deceive Parliament and the country as to the actual financial position. The right honorable gentleman, however, initiated a cash system of keeping the public accounts; but, of course, the amounts which had been voted for works in previous years had to be paid. In order that his cash system should receive a fair start, the right honorable gentleman resolved to cover all the payments for previous years by the issue of Treasury-bills. Effect was given to that proposal by the New South Wales Parliament, the members of which knew perfectly well what they were doing. Out of that operation, which was supported by the Labour Party, these charges of maladministration have originated, notwithstanding that everything was done openly and above board. Instead of the right honorable gentleman's administration having been a failure, it

was exactly the reverse. As a matter of fact he reduced the taxation of New South Wales by £800,000, and succeeded in carrying on the government of the country without creating a deficiency such as had been the case in previous years. If we look at the revenue derived during his tenure of office we shall see that it was lower than that which had been collected in New South Wales for many years. After the right honorable gentleman vacated office, New South Wales collected a much larger revenue through the Customs, owing to the increased duties imposed by this Parliament. Last year the Government of that State received £2,000,000 more than was collected when the present Prime Minister held office there, and yet it was unable to carry on without a deficit. The right honorable gentleman also very considerably reduced the loan expenditure of New South Wales, which, however, since his retirement from State politics, has again increased. If there is any man to whom New South Wales should feel grateful for having reduced its expenditure and conducted all its operations upon an economical scale, it is the Prime Minister.

Mr. FISHER.—What has Tasmania done that the honorable member should threaten it in this way?

Mr. LONSDALE.—I do not think that I have said anything about Tasmania; if so, I apologise to that State. I was referring to the charges which have been levelled against the Prime Minister. The honorable member for Wide Bay may be a little facetious if he chooses, but that will not prevent me from saying what I desire to say.

Mr. FRAZER.—Does the honorable member think that it is possible to get away from old political squabbles in New South Wales?

Mr. LONSDALE.—It is only honorable members opposite who wish to revive those squabbles. Certain charges have been made against the Prime Minister, and I have a perfect right to make clear the character of his administration whilst occupying Ministerial office in New South Wales. Those charges have been made merely for the purpose of damaging the Government.

Mr. FRAZER.—Does not the honorable member think that the Prime Minister is capable of defending himself?

Mr. LONSDALE.—I know all the circumstances of the case, and I should be recreant to every principle of honour if I allowed charges of maladministration to be made for which there is not the slightest

justification. I have no desire to labour this question. I merely wish to put honorable members in possession of accurate information so that if these charges are repeated it must be with a full knowledge of the facts.

Mr. THOMAS.—Is the honorable member a financial expert?

Mr. LONSDALE.—I am as good a financial expert as is the honorable member, and I hope that he will cease his insane ejaculations. Concerning the explanation which has been made by the honorable member for Coolgardie, I desire to say that I have every sympathy with the position taken up by him. As a free-trader I insist that no preference should be given to any manufacturer. No administrative act should be in the direction of altering the policy of the country. That should be altered by Parliament alone. The position taken up by the honorable member for Coolgardie is the correct one, and I am fair enough to commend him for it. During the course of this debate the statement has been made that the policy of the present Government is a colourless one. From what we have been told it appears that honorable members opposite are the men to save the country. They are going to uplift the masses, better their conditions, and give them larger opportunities for improving themselves. But when we come to analyse their proposals we find that these claims cannot be sustained. They declare that the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill in its present form is a fraud, and should not have been passed by this House. Yet they were prepared to forward that measure to the Senate despite all its alleged blemishes. They were ready to transmit it to the other Chamber without making it what they wished that it should be. What is the difference between the Bill in its present form and that in which honorable members opposite desired it? They were anxious that clause 48 should provide that if any union substantially represented those engaged in a particular industry it should be competent for the President of the Arbitration Court to grant a preference to unionists, whereas the Bill provides that such a preference shall be extended only when a union contains a majority of the workers engaged in the industry directly concerned. The distinction really lies between what constituted a "majority" and "substantial representation."

Mr. POYNTON.—That is not the clause at all.

Mr. LONSDALE.—I may not have quoted the exact provision in the clause, but what I have stated constitutes the sole difference between us. I claim that that difference is a very slight one. The honorable member for Bland admitted that the Court would expect a substantial representation to include a majority, and if that be so, there was no difference in the Bill as sent up to the Senate by the present Ministerial party, and as it would have been sent up by the party which has recently retired from office.

Mr. POYNTON.—If that is so, why did honorable members opposite vote against the proposal of the late Ministry?

Mr. LONSDALE.—Simply because we determined that the reference to a majority should remain in the Bill. In order that the Court might not have any difference of opinion or difficulty in the matter, we proposed to declare in the Bill that there must be a majority in order to secure preference. I say that we were justified in determining that the provision should remain in that form. We are told that honorable members opposite now represent a Liberal Protectionist Alliance. I do not know how they define "Liberalism"; but it sounds strange to me to call men "Liberals" who are prepared to put restrictions upon people in every direction. If honorable members opposite, instead of calling themselves "Liberal Protectionists," were to call themselves "Liberal Restrictionists," I could understand it.

Mr. WATSON.—That is one for some honorable members on the Government side.

Mr. LONSDALE.—I do not care whom it hits; I stand here in support of the principles I have advocated. If I support the present Ministerial party, it is because I think there is less danger to what I believe to be right to be expected from this side than from honorable members opposite, and because I think we are more likely to get good legislation in the interests of the whole of the people from this side, than from honorable members opposite. I am here to defend my own personal views, and I shall not allow any one to control me in that direction. I should not be surprised if honorable members opposite called themselves "Liberal Restrictionists," although I cannot understand how a "restrictionist" can in any circumstances be called a "Liberal." The terms are opposed to each other. I believe in giving men freedom.

Mr. WATSON.—Is factory legislation restriction?

Mr. LONSDALE.—Yes, it is, to some extent.

Mr. WATSON.—We know that the Liberals in England were in favour of that.

Mr. LONSDALE.—I believe in giving every man the fullest freedom compatible with the freedom of every other man. I refuse to be a party to restricting a man in doing what does no injury to other men. I believe in giving every man the fullest individual freedom it is possible to give him. The nation to which we belong has been developed by following those lines. The honorable member for Perth, in speaking last night referred to Socialism as being the best thing for the community. If I understand the honorable member aright, what he believes in is that public utilities shall be controlled by the public.

Mr. FOWLER.—Hear, hear; that is Socialism.

Mr. LONSDALE.—If that is all the honorable member's Socialism amounts to, I am prepared to go so far with him. I am a Socialist to that extent. I wish to make my position perfectly clear. I believe in public utilities being controlled by the public. And I believe that as strongly as does any honorable member of this House. But I do not believe in the tobacco industry being controlled by the public.

Mr. WATSON.—The honorable member is not a smoker.

Mr. LONSDALE.—At all events, I am not a Socialist of that brand. I believe in the Melbourne trams belonging to the Melbourne people, if honorable members please. But the honorable member for Bland, speaking at Wagga, and also in this House, I will not say misrepresented, but did not put this matter quite correctly.

Mr. WATSON.—I believe I put it quite correctly. I saw the honorable member's letter, and it was absolutely incorrect.

Mr. LONSDALE.—I propose to put the case as I have it. In order to show the difference between public control and Socialism, the honorable member made the statement that the fare on the Melbourne trams was 3d., whilst the fare on the Sydney trams was 1d. That was correct so far as it went, but it was still a misrepresentation of the facts, because if you pay a fare of 3d. at one end of a line here in Melbourne, you can go right through for that fare.

Mr. SPEAKER.—I ask the honorable member whether he believes that the subject of fares upon the Melbourne tramways has anything to do with the motion?

Mr. LONSDALE.—I may point out that the late Prime Minister, as a proof that Socialism was better than private enterprise, gave this illustration of the tram systems in Sydney and Melbourne. I believe that the honorable member did not state the illustration correctly. If he was in order in making the statement to which I refer, I am surely in order in making a reply to it.

Mr. SPEAKER.—Does the honorable member propose to connect the matter with the question under discussion?

Mr. LONSDALE.—I propose to connect my remarks on the subject with the motion under discussion, in the way I have stated. I desire to show that the illustration, as stated by the ex-Prime Minister, was not correct. If you pay a 3d. fare at the Spencer-street station, it will run you through to the terminus of a line, and if you desire it, you can get a transfer which will carry you beyond the terminus.

Mr. TUDOR.—You cannot get those transfers free.

Mr. LONSDALE.—If you pay 3d. you can get a transfer.

Mr. TUDOR.—The honorable member is wrong.

Mr. LONSDALE.—I know that you can get a transfer, because I have made inquiries.

Mr. TUDOR.—I am sure the honorable member is wrong.

Mr. LONSDALE.—The honorable member can speak in reply. I have made inquiries on the subject, and though I cannot speak from actual experience, as I have not received a transfer, I am told that transfers are given. I know that, entering a tram at Spencer-street, you can go to the end of your journey for 3d., whilst on the Sydney trams you pay for one section, on any road, 1d. Again, under the Melbourne system, you can buy six tickets for 1s., which will take you right through the journey on each line.

Mr. TUDOR.—No.

Mr. LONSDALE.—It will take you from the Spencer-street station to the end of the Fitzroy terminus.

Mr. FOWLER.—No.

Mr. LONSDALE.—I have travelled the journey with a ticket.

Mr. FOWLER.—The honorable member has "had" the company.

Mr. LONSDALE.—It is half-an-hour's ride. You can also get eight tickets for is., which will carry you within the city.

Mr. WATSON.—That is only for a mile.

Mr. LONSDALE.—It does not matter what the distance is; I am simply showing that the honorable member's contention is not borne out by facts. It should be remembered also that at the end of twelve years from now the Melbourne Tramway Company must hand over the whole of the property with the exception of the cars and carriages.

Mr. WATSON.—But the road was built for them. They did not have to pay for the road.

Mr. LONSDALE.—I do not know what they paid for. The business is done in the way in which I have stated, and that does not bear out the illustration, as the ex-Prime Minister stated it. I tell honorable members at once that I am not in favour of public utilities being controlled by private enterprise. I have held, and advocated these views for years. I suppose that there are but very few men to be found in the States who do not hold the view that public utilities should be controlled by the public. But there is a vast difference between the opinion of those holding that view and the opinion of men who advocate that all implements, materials, and methods of production shall be controlled by the people.

Mr. THOMAS.—It is only a question of time.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—The honorable member would be called a wild, raging Socialist in Adelaide at the present time.

Mr. LONSDALE.—The honorable member for Perth pointed out that under the system of Socialism in which he believes, there would be differences in the reward of labour; that in the case of a public tramway system, for instance, the manager would get a larger payment than a gripman. The honorable member admitted that there would be these gradations of payment, but I do not know how he squares his views with those of the honorable member for Barrier, who does not believe in wages at all. When I was speaking the other night, the honorable member interjected that what we wanted was to get rid of the wage system; and I suppose the honorable member's idea is that we should all receive a dole from some Government office. The Socialism being taught to people outside is a Socialism which is going to improve the position of

every man, and give him greater advantages than he enjoys at present. It is strange that we should not have this Socialism in connexion with our railways. In the past, we got rid of State control, because it was found that it was not in the interests of the public to carry on the railway systems in that way.

Mr. WATSON.—When did we get rid of State control of the railways?

Mr. LONSDALE.—We got rid of State control by putting them under Commissioners.

Mr. WATSON.—That is still State control.

Mr. LONSDALE.—I understand that; I know just what I am talking about; and I know that the Labour Party would like to get rid of the Commissioners.

Mr. WATSON.—No, they would not; that is a misstatement.

Mr. LONSDALE.—They would like to get control of the whole thing, so that they might crowd the service as it was crowded in the past.

Mr. WATSON.—Who supported the Public Service Act?

Mr. LONSDALE.—I know that it is the desire of the men at the head of the Labour Party to get rid of the Railway Commissioners.

Mr. WATSON.—That is not true; I say that it is incorrect.

Mr. LONSDALE.—It is true.

Mr. SPEAKER.—Order. I must ask the honorable member for Bland to withdraw that statement.

Mr. WATSON.—I withdraw any apparent reflection upon the honorable member's personal veracity. But I must be allowed to say that the honorable member's statement is absolutely incorrect.

AN HONORABLE MEMBER.—The honorable member knows it.

Mr. LONSDALE.—I do not know it.

Mr. WATSON.—Then it is time the honorable member did.

Mr. LONSDALE.—While I was a member of the State Parliament of New South Wales, the Labour Party time after time attacked the Railways Commissioners, and tried covert influence with Ministers. If that is not trying to get rid of the Railways Commissioners, what is? What is the good of Railways Commissioners, if you exert upon the Ministers behind them all the force of political power, in order to secure anything that is desired? That is only another way of getting rid of them. That is

what has been done time after time, and the honorable member for Bland knows it.

Mr. WATSON.—I know nothing of the sort.

Mr. LONSDALE.—The very fact that we have had to put all these institutions under Commissioners shows distinctly that they cannot be controlled where political influence is allowed to come in.

Mr. WATSON.—Hear, hear; I am with the honorable member in that.

Mr. KELLY.—If honorable members opposite are satisfied with the Railways Commissioners, why did they propose to put the Commissioners' employes under the Arbitration Court?

Mr. WATSON.—Because the Commissioners, in the same way as every one else, should be subject to the law.

Mr. LONSDALE.—The members of a railway league in my district, wrote to me, asking me to vote for the inclusion of railway servants in the Arbitration Bill; but I wrote back and told them that I should do nothing of the kind. In their own interests, as well as in the interests of the State, I refused to be a party to putting them under the control of the Federal Arbitration Court. That is the attitude which I have taken up on that matter. Honorable members on the other side say that they are going to help the masses; but what are they going to do? They are going to have a national tobacco monopoly. They are going to give better conditions to the poor of Melbourne and all the States by a national tobacco monopoly. Will any honorable member on the other side tell me what this national tobacco monopoly is going to do for the poor people of the State? Is it going to increase their wages?

Mr. FOWLER.—It will put £600,000 per annum into the public purse.

Mr. LONSDALE.—It will do nothing of the kind, unless we increase the price of tobacco.

Mr. FOWLER.—No; we shall lower it.

Mr. LONSDALE.—The late Prime Minister told us that the people would not get a cheaper smoke as a result of the nationalization of the industry. They were not to have even that advantage, because tobacco would continue to be sold at the same prices.

Mr. WATSON.—I said it would make no difference in that respect.

Mr. LONSDALE.—This proposal for a national tobacco monopoly is only a farce. Though honorable members opposite stand

upon platforms outside and speak of these things as in the interests of the people, they know that they will have but little effect upon the condition of the masses.

Mr. FOWLER.—If the honorable member will but ask the retail tobacconists, he will find that the monopoly in force is a very real thing at the present time.

Mr. LONSDALE.—That may be, but if the industry is put under State control the conditions will be very much worse than they are to-day.

Mr. FRAZER.—It will be under Commonwealth control.

Mr. LONSDALE.—It is the control of the nation to which I refer. The members of the Labour Party object to borrowing money, but they wish to have a forced loan from the banks. Like myself, I suppose they would like to get it on the cheap. They do not object to a loan, but they object to paying interest upon it, and they propose, in accordance with their Socialistic ideas, to take gold from the banks and give them paper in place of it. They will have to be a little smart to do that, because the gold would not be left long in the banks of Australia if they got an inkling that that was going to be carried out. We should find that it would soon be making its way over to New Zealand.

Mr. HIGGINS.—Why New Zealand?

Mr. WATSON.—The honorable member knows a lot about it when he talks like that.

Mr. LONSDALE.—So far as the note issue in Canada is concerned, the position is altogether different. When they carried this kind of legislation, they had a larger note issue in Canada than we have in Australia, and so far as token money is concerned, it was very scarce. Honorable members will also find that in Canada the banks issue the larger notes, and the Government issue the smaller notes. I do not think that we should be able to force small notes upon people here to take the place of our token money.

Mr. WILKS.—Is the alliance in favour of that proposal?

Mr. LONSDALE.—I do not know; but I feel that no good would result from the adoption of it. The community would not be helped by any system of enforced loans. What little benefit we should derive from its adoption would be represented in the saving of a certain amount of interest; but if the State took up the whole note issue the note tax would be lost, so that the Com-

monwealth would not gain any material advantage. The alliance opposite has been formed on a very peculiar basis. One party to it has been actuated by a desire, we are told, to secure a greater measure of protection, and I have extracted from the alliance programme all that bears upon that question. The programme provides for—

Legislation (including Tariff legislation) shown to be necessary :—

- (1) To develop Australian resources.
- (2) To preserve, encourage, and benefit Australian industries, primary and secondary.
- (3) To secure fair conditions of labour for all engaged in every form of industrial enterprise, and to advance their interests and well-being without distinction of class or social status.

That looks very well on paper; but these proposals are not in themselves sufficient for the combination. They have had to introduce three additional paragraphs, setting forth that—

As to any regulation arising under this paragraph only any member of either party may, as to any specific proposal—

- (a) Agree with the members of his own party to be bound by their joint determination; or—
- (b) Decide for himself how far the particular circumstances prove necessity, or the extent to which the proposal should be carried.

In other words, any member of the alliance may either agree to be bound by the decision of his party, or exercise his own individual opinion, and vote as he pleases with regard to Tariff legislation. That is practically the meaning of this proposal, and yet it has been placed before the protectionists of Victoria as an indication that if this alliance comes into power they will secure a revival of protection. The whole thing is a farce.

Mr. MAUGER.—Why should the honorable member grumble about it?

Mr. LONSDALE.—I am simply showing that these proposals are mere humbug. The two paragraphs which I have just read are marked “a” and “b,” and if we assume that those letters stand for “asinine humbug” we fairly estimate their value. The members of the alliance have not for one moment anticipated that anything in the shape of a protectionist revival will result from the combination.

Mr. MAUGER.—Why should the honorable member object to that?

Mr. LONSDALE.—I wish the public to know the real facts of the position. They are not always told the truth in regard to

these matters, and it is time that it was put before them. We are told that increased protection is needed by Victorian industries, which have been protected almost for ages. Notwithstanding that they had had a large measure of protection for many years, the moment a slight reduction in the Tariff was made they cried out that they could not exist.

Mr. MAUGER.—Does the honorable member call a reduction of 100 per cent. a slight one?

Mr. LONSDALE.—A reduction of a duty of 25 per cent. to 12½ per cent. is a very fair one. I am in favour of the appointment of a Tariff Commission, but it must be based on fair lines. It should be fairly representative of both the protectionist and free-trade party.

Mr. HUME COOK.—We have no objection to that.

Mr. LONSDALE.—Those who are agitating for the appointment of a Tariff Commission will find, if it be appointed, that its investigations will not bear out their assertion. They will show a different state of things from that which the protectionists opposite suggest. I am informed that the Denton Hat Mills Company, of Melbourne, has refused orders, on the ground that they have already booked so far ahead that they would not be able to carry them out.

Mr. MAUGER.—That is not correct. I was at the mills this morning, and I know that business there is very dull.

Mr. LONSDALE.—If the honorable member challenges my statement, I shall submit to him letters received in Sydney that bear out my assertion. I can place my hands on documentary proof of my statement. I have been promised those letters, which show that the Denton Hat Mills Company has refused orders, on the ground that it could not carry them out. We are told that a Victorian nail factory is being ruined, but, in July last, it had its record output.

Mr. HUME COOK.—For barbed wire.

Mr. LONSDALE.—The factory had a record output in that month.

Mr. HUME COOK.—But not in nails.

Mr. LONSDALE.—It was the factory's record output in respect of manufactured goods, but I cannot say whether it related to nails.

Mr. MAUGER.—The honorable member has not made any inquiries.

Mr. LONSDALE.—We are also told that the glass bottle works in this State need greater protection, but I know that they have been doing well.

Mr. MAUGER.—Have they?

Mr. HUME COOK.—Two nail factories have been closed since the passing of the Tariff.

Mr. LONSDALE.—In 1903 Victoria's export of manufactured goods was £1,000,000 in excess of that which she exported in 1900. That increase took place under the Federal Tariff.

Mr. MAUGER.—But what did she import?

Mr. LONSDALE. — Facts like these prove that the assertions of the Protectionist Party about the state of trade are utterly absurd.

Mr. HUME COOK.—The increase to which the honorable member refers was not in manufactures.

Mr. LONSDALE.—It was in goods of Victorian manufacture. I saw a statement in the press recently setting forth that this increase had occurred, and on inquiry at the office of the Government Statist I learned that it was correct.

Mr. MAUGER.—In what newspaper was this statement published?

Mr. LONSDALE. — In a commercial journal. I do not put such statements before the House without first making inquiries, and it was for this reason that I went to the Government Statist's office. I wished to verify the report.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK. — Did not Senator Trenwith say much the same thing?

Mr. LONSDALE.—I do not know what he said.

Mr. MAUGER.—We have lost a very large proportion of Victorian trade.

Mr. LONSDALE.—I am dealing only with the attempt to bring about a protectionist revival. If a Tariff Commission be appointed, I am satisfied that its investigations will prove that local manufacturers have been benefited, rather than injured by the Federal Tariff.

Mr. MAUGER.—There are hundreds of men out of work in Victoria.

Mr. LONSDALE.—There were hundreds of men out of work in this State, even when the protectionist Tariff was at its highest.

Mr. MAUGER.—But they were not following the trades to which I refer.

Mr. LONSDALE.—Protection has been a curse to Victoria. I am here, not to play any game, but to tell the truth. If the workmen of this State would only open their eyes they would see that protection has been a curse, rather than a bene-

fit to Victoria, and that they have been fooled by the men who call themselves their leaders.

Mr. WATSON.—Is the honorable member speaking for the Ministry?

Mr. LONSDALE.—I am not.

Mr. SPEAKER.—I desire to call the attention of the honorable member to the fact that he is turning round, and addressing the galleries, and that he ought to address himself to the Chair.

Mr. LONSDALE.—I was addressing honorable members in the Opposition corner, who feel so keenly on this question.

Mr. SPEAKER.—The honorable member will please address the Chair.

Mr. LONSDALE.—I wish to impress upon these honorable members the truths that I am uttering. I desire them to look back at the position of Victoria at a time when the protectionist Tariff of this State was at its highest—to see for themselves how the working men have suffered under that policy, and to exercise their intelligence in determining where the real trouble lies. Instead of seeking to bring about a protectionist revival, which would be only a greater curse to Victoria than it has ever had, they should support a policy that will improve the condition of the people.

Mr. POYNTON.—The honorable member should address these remarks to the Minister of Trade and Customs.

Mr. LONSDALE.—I have nothing to do with the Minister. I am a supporter of the Government, but am opposed to any revival of protection. If the Minister of Trade and Customs attempts to revive that policy he will find in me a bitter opponent. We are promised a Federal system of old-age pensions. Honorable members opposite sneer at the proposal of the Ministry to confer with the States Governments in regard to this question. But we know that without the co-operation of the States such a system is impossible.

Mr. MAUGER.—Nonsense.

Mr. LONSDALE.—We know full well that it is impossible for us to provide for a Federal system of old-age pensions by means of a tax on land values. When honorable members opposite tell the people that it can be provided for by a tax on land values they know that they are talking of something which is really impossible. The only way in which it is possible to secure Federal old-age pensions is by the Commonwealth Government conferring, as they propose to do, with the Governments of the States, and inducing them to agree—

Mr. POYNTON.—To a Federal land tax.

Mr. LONSDALE.—No; but to make provision for the payment of old-age pensions out of the Customs revenue. If a Federal system cost £1,500,000 per annum, it would be necessary, under our Constitution, to raise £6,000,000 in order to pay for it, so that we must make some arrangement with the States to utilize Customs revenue in that direction. If the Labour Party are so strongly in favour of old-age pensions, how is it that the Queensland Labour Government has not introduced the system there?

Mr. FRAZER.—They will do so.

Mr. McCAY.—Their programme does not include such a proposal.

Mr. LONSDALE.—Why does not the Labour Government in Western Australia do the same thing? I am opposed to the position taken up by the Labour Party, but I do not wish it to be understood for one moment that I am hostile to the cause of labour. Labour has my deepest sympathy, and I am prepared to assist in passing any legislation in its interests. But to attempt by means of a Conciliation and Arbitration Act to help the masses, is just as useless as it is to seek to quench a fire by spitting on it. No good would result from the passing of such a measure. How is it possible to keep up the standard of wages in a falling market? I have been opposed to conciliation and arbitration legislation, because at best it can be only a palliative. It cannot prevent the recurrence of such disputes and difficulties as have arisen in the past. I shall certainly do all I can in opposition to the passing of any restrictive legislation. I believe in developing the freedom of every individual, and in giving every man the fullest opportunity to use the powers with which he is endowed. By working in that direction alone shall we secure the salvation of the people. We cannot hope to help them by restricting the use of individual power. We have seen the Conciliation and Arbitration Act of New South Wales working in such a way that, as the result of the section dealing with the limitation of apprentices, many lads have been prevented from obtaining work, and have been sent out into the streets. Instead of giving every man the fullest opportunity to do the best he can for himself, it is having the opposite effect. I am not one of those who believe that every worker should be paid the same wage. All men differ. Their capacity varies, and each man ought to receive only that which he himself earns. I feel

that no man, whether engaged in manufacturing or other pursuits, should by law receive any special privilege over the rest of the people. If our States were to adopt a different system—if we were to make use of our unoccupied lands, under an intelligent land policy—the trouble and difficulty which exist to-day in the Commonwealth would soon disappear, and instead of the poverty and misery which we see about us, we should have happy homes and much brighter conditions. But these attempts to establish a tobacco monopoly, and other proposals of that nature, to help the community, are silly and absurd, and so far as I am concerned will receive no assistance.

Mr. HUGHES.—The honorable member for Parramatta yesterday made a number of statements which may be left to look after themselves; but there is one thing that he said which I shall take this opportunity to correct. He said—or is reported to have said—I am now quoting from the *Age* of to-day—

He knew that Mr. Hughes had gone to the Orange Association and asked to be put on the Orange bunch.

I wish to say that that is not correct; that I have never, either at the last election, or any other election, gone to the officials, or to any person connected however remotely with the Orange institution or the Protestant Defence Association, or any religious body in New South Wales, or in Australia—

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Or any one connected with them?

Mr. HUGHES.—Or any one connected with them, and asked them to put me in the bunch, or asked to be included as a nominee of theirs. I have asked to be taken out of their list, and that is the only communication I have ever made to them. I have always endeavoured to deprecate the introduction of sectarianism into politics; I have never been indebted in any way to such institutions for my return; and I hope that I shall not be so indebted in the future.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I desire to make a personal explanation in view of what has just fallen from the honorable and learned member for West Sydney. I wish to say, in reference to some remarks that were made yesterday, that I did not speak without having what I believed to be full warranty for my statement. I have proof here which satisfies me, and which, I believe, justified

me in the statement which I made. Here is a wire signed by Mr. Packer, the editor of the *Watchman*, in Sydney. He says—

Hughes called on me at office—

that is definite enough—

during last Federal campaign in great concern. Said Roman ticket being used for all it was worth for Warren against himself, and asked me to do what I could through *Watchman*, and privately, to stir up Protestant vote. He also gave me some tit-bits to use against Warren in paragraphs. Never asked to have name withdrawn from list. Said, left it to my judgment whether I would withdraw it or not, though he hoped to get some Roman votes unless they became alarmed.

There is justification for the statement I made yesterday.

Mr. HUGHES.—I desire again—

Mr. SPEAKER.—Order! It is not for me to determine finally—it is for the House to do that—but it does appear to me that the express prohibition of debate upon any personal explanation, precludes explanation after explanation being made, first of all, by way of attack, and then by way of reply. If the honorable and learned member desires to explain any matter, which will not lead to a further explanation in the way of debate, I shall be pleased to hear him. But I will ask him not to say anything in the nature of debate.

Mr. HUGHES.—There is not one word of truth in what the honorable member for Parramatta has read. What I asked of Packer on the only occasion when I called on him was to be good enough to take me out of their list.

Mr. WATSON. — The honorable and learned member told me that months ago.

Mr. HUGHES.—But he said that he had put my name there with a view of doing me a good turn. I had known him as a member of the *Daily Telegraph* staff, on which he was a reporter. I told him that was the reverse of what he was doing, and asked him to be good enough to publish a letter of mine to that effect. He said, "I will simply knock the name out, and there will be an end of it."

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—My statement can be further corroborated.

Mr. FRAZER (Kalgoorlie). — We can now, I presume, get back to the subject under discussion. I have gathered from the remarks of the honorable member for New England that the Ministerialists at the present time have a serious objection to raise against the methods of the Opposition, whom they accuse of having resorted to unfair tactics. Coming as it does from

the lips of those who have lately been engaged in actions which have won for them the unenviable distinction of being called "a gang of political sand-baggers," I think that if the honorable member was speaking on behalf of honorable members opposite his remarks might be described as similar to "Satan sermonizing on sin." I wish for a few moments to contrast the position of the members of the Opposition and the attitude they have adopted in this Parliament with those that have been adopted by those who are sitting on the Ministerial side of the House. The leader of the Opposition in expressing his dissatisfaction with the present Administration, did not resort to the methods that were adopted by the present Prime Minister when he was seeking office. The leader of the Opposition has come down with a definite want of confidence motion, and has given every honorable member an opportunity to express his opinions clearly, distinctly, and fully, so that there may be no doubt about the position in which we all stand. But what was the course adopted by the Prime Minister? He came to the House in March, when the Deakin Government was in office, and said that they were in a minority, and were depending for their political existence on the votes of those who were then sitting on the corner benches. There was a serious difference of opinion with regard to the inclusion in the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill of the public servants. The honorable and learned member for Ballarat was aware that the party to which I belong were pledged to the inclusion of those persons. Being defeated upon that question, he relinquished office. At that time the present Prime Minister voted with the Deakin Government. But from statements, which were made by him to the press, we were led to believe that he was very glad that the honorable and learned member for Ballarat had retired from office. Certainly, a number of his present supporters voted against the Deakin Government. When asked why he did not get his supporters to save the Deakin Government, the Prime Minister stated, in justification, that he did not wish to coerce the votes of those who believed in the inclusion of the public servants in the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill. No one would ask him to do that. But what about the conduct of those gentlemen who have been proclaimed as wreckers? What, for instance, about the honorable member for New England, the honorable member for Lang, and the honorable member for Wil-

mot? What influence did he use upon those members of his party?

Mr. KELLY.—The present Prime Minister used no influence in that direction.

Mr. FRAZER.—Absolutely none! But there is reason to believe that the right honorable member was very well pleased at the defeat of the Deakin Administration. The Watson Government then assumed the responsibilities of office. At that time there was a serious difference of opinion between honorable members opposite. The honorable and learned member for Ballarat, leading one section of the Opposition, said that it was necessary that a majority should be secured. That was satisfactory. No one could find fault with his position. But the Prime Minister, speaking subsequently, said that if it were a question of majority rule, the Labour Party had as much right to sit upon the Government benches as had the Deakin Government during the previous three years. It is fair to assume from that remark that the right honorable gentleman was anticipating a time when he might be sitting upon the Ministerial benches without having a majority. Subsequently the honorable and learned member for Ballarat stated that one thing which must be considered in the matter of an agreement between two parties was that the members of those parties must not be found flying at each other's throats at the next election. We heard quite a different expression of opinion from the right honorable member for East Sydney. He stated that to make compacts with another party when an election was imminent was legitimate, but that a compact made now as to what was to happen at the next election merited the strongest condemnation. Consequently, the actions of the honorable and learned member for Ballarat at that time, in the opinion of the right honorable gentleman at the head of the Government, merited the strongest condemnation. Now, it is necessary to deal for a brief time with a few of the opinions which members of the two groups on the Government side of the House have held concerning one another at different periods during their political career. I do not wish to go back to ancient history, or to deal with what the Prime Minister did or said ten years ago in the New South Wales Parliament. I am prepared to content myself with his actions since he has been a member of this Parliament. Speaking at the Town Hall, Melbourne, on 30th October, concerning the Deakin

Administration, the right honorable gentleman used these words—

The Government introduced the Electoral Bill in the Senate, with a provision for minority representation. That was the main provision of the measure. The Senate knocked it out. Then the Senate put in a provision against plumping. The other House removed it, and the changes were running between the two Houses, in which several Ministers voted in several ways during the several stages of the Bill. Mr. Deakin said last night that that Bill gave manhood and womanhood suffrage to Australia. I say that this Government, to serve its political interests, robbed hundreds and thousands of electors of their just rights

I wonder how honorable members opposite like to have those matters brought under their notice at this particular time, when they are clasping one another to their bosoms, and think neither can do any wrong. The right honorable gentleman went on to say—

This nefarious act in the interests of one political party may be committed in the interests of another.

Mr. WILKS.—Why re-open those old sores?

Mr. FRAZER.—This is a sore which immediately concerns the present position in Parliament, and does not concern the position of certain gentlemen in New South Wales about ten years ago. With the honorable and learned member for Northern Melbourne, I am heartily sick of hearing about those old squabbles in New South Wales. Any stranger coming into the galleries of this House would believe that the Commonwealth consisted of New South Wales, and New South Wales only.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Why did the honorable member not make a protest when the subject was raised?

Mr. FRAZER.—I am making my protest now when I am in order, but the honorable member in interjecting is out of order. The speech, from which I am quoting, proceeded—

Let us, while we stand on the brink of the momentous developments of this Australian nation, try to keep it from the political corruption we see in other great democracies. My strongest charge against this Government is that they have broken their duty to the people, and broken the laws of the country for a selfish motive, and they have defiled and debased the ballot-box of Australia.

I wonder how the head of the present Government, who, with his equal in all things, occupies the front Ministerial benches, feels now when he finds himself a partner with those who took a prominent part in debasing and defiling the ballot-box of Australia?

A similar question might be asked as to the right honorable and learned member for Balaclava. I wonder if that gentleman feels at peace with the head of the Government, by whom he was slandered on the public platform, and who has ridden on his back into prominence in this Parliament. We find, however, that, despite those serious differences of opinion—I am safe, I think, in thus referring to the position—the present Government, and their supporters have agreed on one point, viz., that the Labour Party of this country must be checked and “downed.” One of the first reasons which honorable members opposite advance for their present stand is that we on this side obtain our political positions by the assistance of a machine which they intend to remove. I should like for a moment to refer to this so-called political machine, which honorable members on the other side take a particular delight in denouncing. The mode in which all honorable members on this side enter this Chamber may not be altogether the same, but is very nearly the same in all portions of Australia. Before a man is permitted to be a candidate under our flag he must be a member of a trade union or a labour league; and in that matter there are no restrictions. There is no member in this House who, if he desires to join the leagues, may not do so. There is no clique; the party is not reserved for a few, but is open to all who desire to enter. When it is agreed that a labour man shall be nominated for a certain constituency, the candidate must possess the goodwill of a majority of those who know him best, and he must subscribe to the platform. But what is the course adopted by the Free-trade Party? As an illustration, I might point to my interjecting friend the honorable member for Wentworth. If he had not had the good grace of the honorable and learned member for East Sydney, and had not been placed on the free-trade ticket, what chance would he have had of being a member of this Parliament? If the honorable member had not had behind him the influence of the great Sydney newspapers—

Mr. KELLY.—I never met the honorable and learned member for East Sydney before I announced myself as a candidate.

Mr. FRAZER.—That is a vastly different matter. What chance would the honorable member have had had his name not appeared on the free-trade ticket? As to our candidates have to submit them-

selves to the goodwill of those who know them best. On the other side, the particular gentleman who is at the head of the free-trade organization obtains the assistance of the great daily newspapers, in Sydney, for instance, for certain candidates, with the result that these gentlemen are entirely at his mercy. As an illustration of the method adopted by the Labour Party, I may take the case of Senator de Largie in Western Australia. That gentleman was nominated by the Labour Party for the Senate, and a plebiscite was taken of trade unionists and members of labour organizations generally in Western Australia, with the result that at the preliminary poll Senator de Largie was selected as the candidate by about 8,500 votes. I ask the right honorable member for Swan, who selected the protectionist candidates for the Senate in Western Australia?

Mr. KING O'MALLEY.—The right honorable member himself.

Mr. FRAZER.—The protectionist candidates were selected by the right honorable member for Swan and Dr. Hackett, the head of the *West Australian* newspaper.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Dr. Hackett had nothing to do with the selection.

Mr. FRAZER.—Did the right honorable member not select the candidates, if Dr. Hackett did not do so?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I supported the candidates.

Mr. FRAZER.—On the one hand, we see that 8,500 electors, who knew Senator de Largie intimately, selected him as their candidate, while, on the other hand, candidates were selected by one man, and foisted on the electors.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I did not select the candidates.

Mr. FRAZER.—We find that the democracy of Western Australia on that occasion, by an immense majority, returned labour senators at the head of the poll. It is said that the Labour Party are class representatives; but I do not think that a more striking exhibition of class representation could be witnessed than that afforded us by the honorable and learned member for Wannon last night. From start to finish the one question in that honorable and learned member's mind was—“How is this going to affect the farmer? How are my constituents going to get on?”

Mr. KELLY.—Is it not his duty to consider his constituents?

Mr. FRAZER.—Yes, but not at the expense of other portions of the Commonwealth, not when it means an injustice to thousands of others who do not happen to live in the constituency of Wannon. As to the Arbitration Bill and the inclusion of agricultural labourers, who are the class advocates in this Chamber? The object of the Labour Party is to make that Bill apply to the industries of the country as a whole, and we are met with the cry, "Oh, save the poor farmer and the poor fruit-grower!" The other day we had from the Minister of Trade and Customs a statement that the policy of the Labour Party is to tax the producer off the land. Am I correctly representing what the Minister said?

Mr. McLEAN.—The honorable member is quite right.

Mr. FRAZER.—If the Minister of Trade and Customs seriously entertains that opinion he is suffering from an unpardonable lack of knowledge as to the intentions of honorable members on this side. The policy that the party with which I am associated intend to adopt is one of the utmost consideration for the men who are producing wealth from the soil. The man we want to tax is he who is not producing, but is keeping the land locked up from those who want to produce. A few months ago it was stated in the *Tocsin*, and the statement has not been disputed, because it is indisputable, that there are 2,560,000 acres of the most fertile land in Victoria which are locked up by great landlords, and which support only 7869 persons. That is the sort of thing we desire to stop. We desire that those men shall be compelled to hand the land over to those who, under present conditions, are forced to go elsewhere in order to settle.

Mr. KENNEDY.—Does the honorable member propose that the land shall be paid for?

Mr. FRAZER.—Of course; our policy is not a policy of confiscation in regard to land or any other property. But when the welfare of the people is being seriously jeopardized owing to the fact that a few men have millions of acres locked up, it is time for State interference, in order to make them part with that land, whether they like to do so or not.

Mr. KELLY.—How is the money to be raised for the purchase?

Mr. FRAZER.—I shall tell the honorable member about the financial proposals presently.

Mr. KENNEDY.—The present Minister of Trade and Customs was the first, as a State

Minister, to encourage settlement on a large scale in Victoria.

Mr. FRAZER.—Then it is a wonder that the honorable gentleman, at that time, allowed his gaze to miss this awful exhibition of a few people holding millions of acres of fertile land locked up.

Mr. McLEAN.—The State Government, of which I was the head, resumed and distributed amongst the people nearly all the estates that have been resumed for settlement in Victoria.

Mr. FRAZER.—If that be so, and I have no reason to doubt the honorable gentleman's word, I can only say that he was on the right track, and that it is a pity he was not allowed to stay in the State Parliament and continue the good work. I should like to lay before honorable members the opinions which were expressed by the present head of the Government in regard to the farmers at a particular time. The right honorable gentleman, at Warragul and Kyneton, delivered brilliant addresses and aroused his audiences to a high pitch of enthusiasm. It would appear that of late his one mission in life is to remove any ill-feeling which may have existed between the residents of Victoria and the residents of New South Wales, and to that end he is going to clasp the farmers to his bosom. At the present juncture, it is interesting to note—and I should like his understudy in the House to listen to this—what he said in the Melbourne Town Hall in December, 1899. On that occasion he said—

That door which was open in the mother colony always was going to be open in all Australia.

How does that suit the Minister of Trade and Customs?

With all these barriers down, the stock fatteners and wheat farmers would feel the cold southerly wind of a world's competition.

Mr. KENNEDY.—The right honorable gentleman is of the same opinion still.

Mr. FRAZER.—If that be so, the right honorable gentleman is disguising or keeping that opinion in the background. When addressing them of late, he has not promised them "cold, southerly winds," but the warmth of his own bosom. Honorable members opposite denounce the political machine as a serious evil, when it is used by our party; but they intend to bring into existence another machine. I do not say that the members of the Ministry are sending organizers around, but their supporters, and also the merchants, and members of the Employers' Federation—those who are responsible for sweating young

girls in Melbourne, by paying them 2s. 6d. per week, and then deducting 2½d. for insurance—are organizing leagues throughout Victoria and the other States. They intend to go to extremes in their endeavour to defeat the Labour Party at the next election; and, peculiarly enough, they are calling in the assistance of the ladies. At the Masonic Hall, Collins-street, Melbourne, the other night, at a fully-packed meeting ready to cheer the Prime Minister when he cracked some of his familiar jokes, that gentleman when he had delivered his vigorous denunciation of the Labour Party, said:—"In this hall, there must be no society distinctions. The 'missus' must grasp to her bosom the 'Mary' that works the gridiron." To the women of the Commonwealth he looked to save the country from the extremes of labour legislation. But if the right honorable gentleman had so much consideration for the interests of the females of this country, if he was so anxious that they should exercise the franchise, and should make their influence felt upon the policy of the Commonwealth, how it is that, during the five years that he was in office in New South Wales, he refused to give the women of that State the right to vote?

Mr. KENNEDY.—Is not the fact equally a reflection upon the party by which he was kept in power?

Mr. FRAZER.—The right honorable member for Swan, who is another of those who are foremost now in addressing meetings of females, was at the head of a Ministry for ten years without giving them a vote. I believe that the honorable member for Gippsland stands in a similar position.

Mr. McLEAN.—I advocated woman's suffrage before the honorable member was born.

Mr. MALONEY.—Yet the honorable member left me in want of a seconder when I first proposed it.

Mr. FRAZER.—The honorable member for Gippsland may have stated on the hustings his belief in woman's franchise, but, although he was Premier of Victoria for a considerable time, he did not introduce a Bill to give effect to that belief.

Mr. McLEAN.—It was one of the principal planks in our platform.

Mr. FRAZER.—Then the honorable gentleman ought to have placed it upon the statute-book. It has been in the platform of the Labour Party as long as I remember, and if it had not been continually advocated by that party, the ladies of Aus-

tralia would never have obtained the right to vote. When honorable members opposite are addressing meetings of ladies, their auditors know that it is the Labour Party whom they have to thank for their right to vote, and I believe that their gratitude will cause them not to forget us when the time to vote comes. Another statement of the Prime Minister of which notice must be taken, because of the high position which he occupies, though it may be only temporarily, was that the Labour Party wish for the creation of an Arbitration Court in order to starve the wives and children of non-unionists. That is one of the greatest misrepresentations of our desires that has been put before the people of Australia.

Mr. WEBSTER.—It is a slander.

Mr. FRAZER.—Yes. Our experience of existing arbitration legislation has enabled us to gauge pretty accurately what is required to make a Commonwealth arbitration measure successful. Arbitration Acts are in force in two of the States, but it has been found in Western Australia that a provision giving preference to unionists is necessary, and the Government of that State propose to amend the Act by the insertion of such a provision. We have always maintained that for the successful administration of an Arbitration Act, and to secure the industrial peace of Australia, it is necessary that those who are banded together in organizations should have some interest in supporting that legislation; that some return should be made to them for their action in foregoing the right to strike when dissatisfied with their conditions, and for undertaking the expense of conducting cases before the Arbitration Courts. We say that those who belong to unions should be placed in as good a position as those who are not members of unions, who are put to no expense, who do not give evidence before the Arbitration Courts, and yet who benefit by all their awards. To speak of "preference to unionists" is a misnomer. What we desire should be termed "security to unionists." It is the bitter experience of unionists in all parts of Australia that those who have taken a prominent part in conducting the affairs of unions, either by appearing before Courts of Arbitration, or in other ways, have often afterwards found that their positions have been filled by others, although they had hitherto done their work with entire satisfaction to their employers. We know that blackballing exists in connexion with the employers' unions of Australia,

and it is therefore necessary that there should be some legislation which will give security to those who are responsible for the conduct of the affairs of the Labour organizations. It is a slander to say that we wish to starve the wives and children of non-unionists. On the contrary, the Labour Party has, from its inception to the present time, consistently tried to bring about better conditions for the people of Australia. Our reputation, however, is such that we need not fear such slanders. Incidentally, I would point out that during the present debate we have had the expression of the views of only one-half of the head of the Government. Apparently, the Ministry are reserving themselves for a final rush before the division bell rings; but probably the result will be like what is happening to the Japanese at Port Arthur, that when they make it, they will suffer very severely. The final objection of the Prime Minister to the Labour Party is that we are a pack of extremists. Honorable members opposite refer to themselves as a combination of moderates, and I am very pleased to obtain from their own lips a name by which I may refer to them. They are certainly very moderate in their attendance in this Chamber at the present time. I should like to know how far their moderation will carry them. Is the moderation of the honorable member for Gippsland the same thing as that of the honorable member for Kooyong, of the honorable member for New England, and of the honorable member for Lang? Are the other members of the party prepared to go as far as the Prime Minister wishes to go, and to remove from the Immigration Restriction Act the provision relating to contract labour, and from the Post and Telegraph Act the provision relating to the employment of black labour on mail boats? I think that their moderation is likely to carry them backwards in more senses than one. Not only will they be retrogressive in their legislation, but their policy will carry them back to this side of the Chamber with which they are more familiar. The Prime Minister was elected as a free-trader, but he declared, when speaking on the Address-in-Reply, that, so far as the fiscal situation was concerned, there was an armed truce. How long is that armed truce to last? Will it continue as long as the present coalition remains in office? Is it not rather a truce for the burial of the dead? Has not the right honorable member now got rid of the obstacle which

for so long prevented him from obtaining office? There is nothing very contentious in the programme of the Government. Their chief plank is to get into recess as soon as possible.

Mr. KENNEDY. — Does the honorable member blame them?

Mr. FRAZER.—No; because it is their only hope of remaining in office. I would blame honorable members on this side, however, if they did not take the first opportunity to toss them out of office. Although honorable members opposite differ on many things; but they are in absolute agreement upon the first plank of their platform.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—And the honorable member's party are in agreement upon a second plank—that the Ministry shall not get into recess.

Mr. FRAZER.—Quite so. To show why they should not get into recess, I will refer to a few remarks which we have heard from them on other occasions, and to the methods which they adopted for obtaining office. Both the Prime Minister and his better-half declared that it would be unconstitutional to bring the public servants of the States and of the Commonwealth under the Arbitration Bill. If it were not unconstitutional, they declared that it was inexpedient—that it would cause considerable dissatisfaction amongst the States, and that it involved a very serious encroachment upon State rights. Indeed, the honorable and learned member for Ballarat affirmed that it was the first step towards wrecking the Federation. But the present Government, since their advent to office, practically say, "We are quite prepared to ignore the inclusion of the public servants of the States within the scope of the Bill, and to disregard the injury which will be done to State rights if we can only get into recess."

Mr. KENNEDY.—Could honorable members go back upon their votes?

Mr. FRAZER.—The Government could have declared, as did the honorable member for Bland, that they were prepared to adopt the Bill in a certain form, and that if the House declined to allow them to do so, they would relinquish office. Instead of taking up that attitude, they stand convicted of having passed a measure with which they absolutely disagree.

Mr. KENNEDY.—No.

Mr. FRAZER.—I maintain that that is so. Let me briefly traverse a few of the items which are contained in what the

Government have been pleased to dub a "policy." The first matter to which I shall direct attention is the Kalgoorlie to Port Augusta Railway Survey Bill. As a representative of Western Australia, I am not ungrateful to honorable members opposite for the votes which they cast in favour of obtaining the latest possible data, so that we may justify that great national project. But when we find the Ministry filling their so-called programme with non-contentious measures, it is only right that we should criticise their action. I now wish to refer to a telegram which appears in the *Argus* this morning, and which was despatched to Western Australia by the right honorable member for Swan.

Mr. FOWLER.—I think that an important debate of this kind demands a better attendance of honorable members in the Chamber. [*Quorum formed.*]

Mr. FRAZER.—In the *Argus* of to-day I find the following telegram, which is headed "Trans-Australian Railway":—

KALGOORLIE, Wednesday.—The secretary of the roads board sent a telegraphic message of congratulation to Sir John Forrest last Saturday, in the terms of the resolution passed at the meeting of the board, held on the previous evening, as to the Trans-Australian Railway Survey Bill. Yesterday Sir John despatched the following reply from Melbourne:—"Very gratified at your earnest message. Owing to the Labour Party precipitating a no-confidence motion, which would have been just as effective in a week's time, the Bill is postponed indefinitely. Regret senseless tactics just when success was assured."

According to the dictum of the right honorable member for Swan everything with which he does not agree is "senseless." Upon the question of the construction of the Trans-Continental Railway I venture to say that no honorable member doubts the loyalty of the whole of the representatives of Western Australia, and nobody will seriously cavil at their earnestness in endeavouring to secure a majority in favour of that undertaking. But when I find the right honorable member for Swan urging that the Labour Party have precipitated a crisis which imperils the passage of the Bill relating to the survey of that line, it is only right that I should call attention to his own attitude upon that measure. As is well known the last three Administrations have placed that Bill in the very forefront of their programmes. Had the honorable member for Bland not been hurled from office in a most uncereceremonious and undignified manner by the present Ministerial supporters, it is practically certain that that

measure would have been passed by this House immediately the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill had been disposed of. I need scarcely remind honorable members that the right honorable member for Swan voted against the Watson Administration. He did not pay any attention to the Kalgoorlie to Port Augusta Railway Survey Bill when the honorable and learned member for Corinella submitted his memorable amendment. No. There was to be a re-shuffle of the political cards, and the passage of that measure was not so urgent then. When the right honorable member blames the Labour Party for delaying the passage of that Bill, I would remind him that only four out of the twenty-two honorable members who opposed the motion having reference to the survey of the proposed route, are members of the Labour Party.

Mr. TUDOR.—How many members of the Ministerial Party opposed it?

Mr. FRAZER.—I did not carefully analyze the figures.

Mr. TUDOR.—About ten.

Mr. FRAZER.—As is well known, it is customary for the Senate to adjourn immediately notice of a no-confidence motion is given in this House. Consequently, even if the Kalgoorlie to Port Augusta Railway Survey Bill had been passed by this Chamber its passage would have been delayed elsewhere by the motion which is now under consideration. I think I have shown conclusively that there is no justification whatever for the charge which has been made against the Labour Party by the right honorable member for Swan, and which is calculated to create in the minds of a small minority in Western Australia, the impression that we desire to shelve that Bill. Regarding the other items in the Government programme, the Prime Minister has declared his intention to proceed with the Papua Bill, which contains no contentious matter; but he proposes to defer the introduction of the High Commissioner Bill, until the various States Governments have been consulted. I say that, in view of the charges which have been levelled against the Commonwealth in London, the appointment of a High Commissioner who is familiar with our legislation, and in sympathy with the aspirations of the Australian people, is absolutely urgent. The expenditure which his appointment would involve is infinitesimal, as compared with the good which would result to this country. I admit that it is advisable after the Central Office has been established

to make every provision for effecting economies in the States Departments. The policy of the Government, however, is, to continue to allow our legislation to be misunderstood by people abroad. In regard to the Manufactures Encouragement Bill, the Government propose to pursue the good old policy of regarding nothing in it as vital.

Mr. KENNEDY.—Did the Watson Government make it vital?

Mr. FRAZER.—No, because it was not included in the platform upon which we were elected. It is a very significant circumstance that, in making his declaration of policy, the Prime Minister entirely forgot to mention the matter of old-age pensions. The desire to alleviate the sufferings of our aged poor was of such vital concern to him that he completely overlooked the question. From a second instalment of the Ministerial policy, delivered at a subsequent sitting, we learned that he proposes to consult the States Governments in regard to it. I admit that it is desirable that the Commonwealth should work amicably with the States, but when the Prime Minister proposes to make the comfort of the declining years of the aged poor dependent upon the decision of the States Governments, I must cross swords with him. A vast majority of honorable members are pledged to old-age pensions, and must accept responsibility for imposing any extra taxation which the carrying out of such a scheme may render necessary. So far as the electors represented by the Labour Party are concerned, we are prepared to pledge them to that additional taxation, in order to bring about an improvement in the condition of our aged poor. I, for one, will never sanction the welfare of these persons being intrusted, say, to the decision of the Premier of Victoria—to give a specific instance.

Mr. KENNEDY.—What does the alliance say upon that question?

Mr. FRAZER.—It says that it will introduce a measure providing for old-age pensions, as soon as possible.

Mr. MCCAY.—The alliance does not say that, but it might mean it.

Mr. FRAZER.—I beg the Minister's pardon. The alliance programme contains the following plank:—"Old-age pensions, on a basis fair and equitable to the States." Do honorable members opposite anticipate that we are prepared to enact legislation which is not fair and equitable? Do they imagine that we are willing to sanction a scheme which will starve one man and feed

another? The difference between the programme of the alliance and that of honorable members opposite is, that whilst we are determined to place upon the statute-book a measure providing for the payment of old-age pensions, they wish to shelve the question.

Mr. GROOM.—They will promise it.

Mr. FRAZER.—They would promise anything to enable them to get into recess. We have been urged by some honorable members to state our objections to the present Administration and the present Prime Minister.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Hear, hear.

Mr. FRAZER.—I think that if the right honorable member for Swan had been here he would not have urged that upon me. I have stated my reasons as emphatically as I know how. The reason I do not like the present Prime Minister of Australia is because I do not trust him politically.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—What is the difference between politically and privately; if the honorable member does not trust a man politically I suppose he would not trust him privately?

AN HONORABLE MEMBER.—The right honorable member for Swan would not trust the Prime Minister politically a little time ago.

Mr. FRAZER.—I should not like to say that I think the Prime Minister would try to steal anything from my pocket. I certainly do not wish to convey that impression to any one, but I do say that, politically, in the administration of the public departments, and in a position of responsibility for the preparation of legislation for the welfare of the people of the country I have no trust whatever in the right honorable gentleman. There are specific reasons why we can have no trust in him. The right honorable gentleman has said, "When I get into a position to do so I shall remove from the Immigration Restriction Act that obnoxious clause which prevents the introduction of contract labour to Australia."

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Is it not much better that a man should say straightforwardly what he will do?

Mr. FRAZER.—Quite so. It is infinitely better that a man should say what he proposes to do when he gets into a position of power, but in the case of the Prime Minister we find that, instead of endeavouring to do what he has pledged himself to do, he is careful to say nothing about it at the present time.

Mr. McCAY.—The Prime Minister said that it was not the policy of the present Ministry to do that.

Mr. FRAZER. — Are we to understand that the right honorable gentleman has withdrawn the pledge he gave to the people in that connexion?

Mr. KENNEDY. — The right honorable gentleman has not got the numbers; that is the trouble.

Mr. FRAZER.—No, and the right honorable gentleman does not propose to go on with that or any other contentious matter until he knows that he has the numbers behind him. That is a fine manly and open programme. The right honorable gentleman, at the close of his political career in Australia, says, "I have adopted a policy which will get me into recess, and which will give me the numbers behind me, and until I have them I shall not make any attempt to interfere with existing legislation."

Sir JOHN FORREST.—You cannot go at a thing like a bull at a gate. That would never do.

Mr. FRAZER. — The Prime Minister stated publicly that he would remove the section of the Immigrants Restriction Act, to which I have referred, when he was in a position to do so. If he is ever to be in such a position, surely now, when he is at the head of the Federal Government should be the time? If he is not prepared to endeavour to remove that section of the Immigration Restriction Act and the section of the Post and Telegraph Act prohibiting the employment of lascars on mail boats subsidized by the Commonwealth, the right honorable gentleman, having betrayed the pledges he has given to the people of the country, is not a fit person to be administering its legislation.

Mr. KENNEDY.—The right honorable gentleman said that the electors at the last election did not give him the numbers to carry out his own desire.

Mr. FRAZER. — If the honorable gentleman is beaten on one occasion, does he turn his back upon proposals of which he has previously expressed approval, and offer to fight no more, or does he fight on?

Mr. SPENCE.—It depends upon the tactics of the time.

Mr. FRAZER.—At the present time it depends upon whether a recess is in view. Dealing with the tobacco monopoly, the right honorable gentleman has stated that a proposal has been introduced by the Labour Party, which would have the effect

of taking that industry out of the control of private enterprise, and placing it in the hands of the Commonwealth Government, and he is against such a proposal. I regret very sincerely that a notice of motion on the business-paper, of business yet to come before the House, prevents me from going as exhaustively as I intended into the question of the tobacco monopoly, and its effects on the people of the Commonwealth. I must, however, say in connexion with that matter, that I hope to have the privilege a little later on of proving to the members of this House that the net profit which is likely to come into the hands of the people of the State, as the result of nationalizing this one monopoly, is estimated on the most reliable figures which it is possible to obtain at the present time at no less than £673,454 per annum.

Mr. KENNEDY.—Is that allowing for Excise?

Mr. FRAZER.—That is allowing for everything in connexion with the payment of Excise, and the manufacture and preparation of the tobacco, cigars, and cigarettes consumed in the Commonwealth. I candidly confess that I leave the discussion of this subject to-day with very considerable regret. This amount of £673,454 added to the £600,000, or about that sum, at present returned as surplus revenue to the States, would amount to the tidy sum of about £1,300,000. On the statistics supplied by Mr. Coghlan, the most reliable it is possible to secure at the present time, such a sum would go far to make up the amount which would be required for a Commonwealth scheme of old-age pensions. The Labour Party expect very considerable assistance from this source in finding the money necessary to give effect to that most laudable proposal. In connexion with the constitution of the Cabinet, a matter in connexion with which I could exert no influence when it was formed, I remind honorable members that I expressed by way of interjection my opinion that in the formation of the Ministry the right honorable member for East Sydney was up to his old games, and would probably do what would amount almost to an insult to the people of Australia. I do not wish to be misunderstood in this matter. I say that in the appointment of the honorable member for Gippsland as a member of the Cabinet, and by the announcement that he was a good protectionist, and was being appointed to preside over the Customs administration, there was

almost an admission on the part of the Prime Minister that he did not think the citizens of Australia would trust him if he placed a free-trader in that position. We had from the honorable member for Parramatta last night the statement that he does not think that a protectionist should have been placed in the position. That would make it appear that that honorable member also believes that the people of Australia would be justified in coming to the conclusion to which I have referred. I have just a word to say with regard to the right honorable member for Swan. From a Western Australian point of view, another serious question arises in connexion with the formation of the present Ministry. I am again placed in a most unfortunate position, because, as is usual when an honorable member desires to say anything to the right honorable member for East Sydney, he happens to be out of the Chamber. That appears to be a chronic complaint.

Mr. PAGE.—The right honorable gentleman was always accusing Sir Edmund Barton of the same thing when he was Prime Minister.

Mr. FRAZER.—In forming his Cabinet the Prime Minister stated that he proposed to select its members irrespective of the States from which they came, and to select only the most competent men for the vacant positions. In doing so, the right honorable gentleman has established a precedent which is not likely to develop a patriotic sentiment in all portions of Australia. But, if we accept the right honorable gentleman's statement, and consider the Cabinet he has formed, it does not pay a very high compliment to the right honorable member for Swan. It is a most remarkable thing that that right honorable gentleman should have been left out of the present Ministerial combination. I cannot read the thoughts of the right honorable member for East Sydney, and I am, therefore, unable to say why he has not included a representative of Western Australia in his Cabinet; but if its members were selected on the ground of ability, knowledge of the various public Departments, and a strong hand to administer, the right honorable member for Swan has not much for which to thank the present Prime Minister.

Mr. McDONALD.—Especially when the right honorable gentleman has dropped the High Commissioner Bill.

Mr. FRAZER.—Western Australia is cut off from representation in the present Cabinet. Though there is a prospect of communication in the future which will bring us closer together, we are now in that State far from the stir of eastern life. The Prime Minister has treated us as though we were at a great distance, and as though he had not much to expect from our State. Not only has the right honorable gentleman left us without a representative in this Government, but when he was delivering his addresses to the people of Australia, he forgot all about us, and it was only after he had written his letter that it occurred to him to mention us in the postscript. The right honorable gentleman said that Western Australia had no representative in the Cabinet, but he asked the people of that State to accept him as their representative. I expect that the Prime Minister intended that to be regarded as a joke. Politically, he has been a joker all his life. When he went over to Western Australia at the beginning of last year, to be present at the opening of the Coolgardie water scheme, he made a number of speeches in that State, and these were followed by the result that every man who stood upon his ticket after he had been over to the State to assist the party went down with a sickening thud. I say that we have but little to thank the right honorable gentleman for. Politically, I distrust him, and I think Western Australia distrusts him. We have not been well treated in the formation of his Cabinet. The vast majority of the representatives of that State are on this side of the House, and so far as I am concerned I shall take advantage of every opportunity and every legitimate political means to have the right honorable gentleman removed from his present office, and to secure the removal from positions of power and responsibility in this country of other Ministers who are, I believe, the enemies of progress.

Sir JOHN FORREST (Swan).—There seems a probability of the debate being a very prolonged one, and there is apparently a disinclination on the part of some honorable members to rush into the fray; but I see no reason to delay my remarks on the subject. I have been struck by the fact that this motion has been submitted by the honorable member for Bland, in whose Ministry the House practically expressed its want of confidence a few days ago. I do not know what may be said by other honorable members as to the constitutional position,

but it seems to me that an honorable member whose Ministry has been defeated, either on a direct motion of want of confidence or on a division which it was well known involved the fate of the Government, has no right a few days later to move a motion of want of confidence in the succeeding Administration. The House practically said a few days ago that it had no confidence in the Ministry of which the present leader of the Opposition was the head.

Mr. PAGE.—It has never said so.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—It has practically said so. Every one knew that if the late Government were defeated on the motion relating to the recommitment of clause 48 it would retire from office.

Mr. BAMFORD.—What about the honorable and learned member for Bendigo?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I do not know anything about his position, and if I did, I should not discuss it; but I know that the division in question was followed by the retirement of the late Ministry. The members of a Ministry which has been defeated and has resigned, should not immediately come back to the same House with the same *personnel*, and ask for a renewal of its confidence.

Mr. McDONALD.—I have seen it done.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Perhaps in some State Parliament, but, in my opinion, it ought not to be done.

Mr. PAGE.—What about the dissolution of the Queensland Parliament which took place a little while ago?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—A dissolution is a very different matter.

Mr. PAGE.—But the same Ministry came back.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—They had not resigned, and the other side could not form a Government. Honorable members know very well that the resignation of a Ministry is never accepted by a Governor until another has been formed, or practically formed. I hold certain views on this aspect of the question; but honorable members are, of course, free to differ from me. I repeat that an honorable member whose Government has been defeated, and has resigned, is not the right man to move a want of confidence motion in the succeeding Government a few days later.

Mr. FISHER.—Will the right honorable member quote an authority for his assertion?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I do not know of any case in which a different course has

been pursued, except, perhaps in one of the States Parliaments of Australia, where they create precedents for themselves.

Mr. THOMAS.—It has been done in South Australia.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—An honorable member who adopts such a course flouts the House, unless he gives a full and satisfactory reason for his exceptional action. The House has said that it has no confidence in the late Ministry.

Mr. WATKINS.—The right honorable member has never had any experience in this connexion; he never had any opposition in Western Australia.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The speech delivered by the leader of the Opposition, in support of the motion, showed that his heart was not in his task. It lacked that fire which usually characterizes his utterances, and, as a matter of fact, he did not place before us any good ground for refusing to give the Government a trial in the same way as his Ministry was given a four months' trial to prove its worth.

Mr. HUME COOK.—But the right honorable member would not have given the late Government a week's trial.

An HONORABLE MEMBER.—Or a day's trial.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I should not have given them a week's trial if I had had my own way, but that was due to only one reason; that, in my opinion, they had not a majority in this House. During the course of this debate we have heard a great deal of the ancient political history of New South Wales. I agree with the honorable and learned member for Northern Melbourne that it is time that we set aside such matters, and confined our attention to that which has taken place in this Parliament. We should deal with that which has been said and done here, and refrain from basing our arguments on something which has been done or said years ago by some honorable member in one of the States Parliaments. I rejoice that honorable members of what is called the Labour Party—and as I have already defined the meaning of the term, I need not do so again—are in Opposition. I prefer to see them there, or in possession of the Treasury benches, rather than directing the Government from the cross-benches.

Mr. PAGE.—Can the right honorable member give us one instance in which we directed the Government of which he was a member?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Yes; the great pressure which was exerted resulted in section 16 of the Postal Act being inserted in the Bill, and the previous action of the Government in the Senate being reversed. The Labour Party, as members of the Opposition, have now a responsibility which they never felt while they sat on the cross benches. They are no longer a power in the back-ground, felt, but not seen. The party have now a burden to carry. It rests upon them either to introduce measures for the welfare and advancement of the Commonwealth, or to oppose them, and to take the full responsibility for their actions. My remarks might not be so *apropos* if the party were a small one, but as it is as large as, if not larger than, any other party in the House, it must be recognised that it now has a responsibility which, except when the Labour Government held office, was not apparently cast upon it. We shall now have their physic direct from their own hands. We shall not have to take physic from a third party, as has been the custom, not only in this Parliament, but in all the States Parliaments of Australia, in which there is a Labour Party. Hitherto they have not been so numerically strong as they are, but they have occupied the position of a third party, with the balance of power, and have wielded that enormous power that all third parties similarly situated exercise in the administration of the affairs of a country.

Mr. KING O'MALLEY.—Does not the right honorable member think that we gave the Government, of which he was a member, a good innings?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The honorable member for Bland no longer occupies that commanding position of real power which he held for the three years, during which his party sat on the cross benches. It is no longer "Yes, Mr. Watson." The honorable member is now a humble suppliant for an alliance, in order that he may regain the power that he has lost, and which, of course, he desires again to exercise.

Mr. CARPENTER.—It is now "Yes, Mr. Cameron."

Sir JOHN FORREST. — It is at any rate no longer "Yes, Mr. Watson." It is, in my opinion, a very good thing that we now have no party sitting on the cross benches, dominating the affairs of the Commonwealth, and accepting no responsibility. It is highly desirable that those who have the real power should also bear the responsibility. My honorable friends opposite and their leader must have realized long

ago how foolish they were to disturb the Deakin Government.

Mr. KING O'MALLEY.—We did not desire them to resign.

Mr. PAGE.—The right honorable member was the disturbing element.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—They must realize that, although they were at one time a "Samson" in the House, they have since had their hair clipped, and that the strength, power and influence which they wielded for several years has now disappeared. They have had to make a humble alliance with protectionist members who have seceded from the Protectionist Party.

Mr. MALONEY.—The protectionists on the Government side are the seceders.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—The Opposition will see who are the seceders when we go before the people.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Some one interjected a moment or two ago that I was not willing that honorable members opposite should remain in office for even a day. That is not quite accurate.

Mr. FISHER.—The right honorable member said in this House that he was not willing that they should.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I do not think I said that I would not give the Labour Government time to formulate a policy, but I assert most distinctly that the leader of the Labour Party, according to ordinary constitutional usage, had no right whatever to form a Government. I expressed that opinion when he first formed his Ministry, and I reiterate it. If the representative of the Sovereign sends for an honorable member to form a Government, that honorable member must be able to give his Excellency an assurance that he has reasonable grounds for the belief that he has a majority behind him.

Mr. GROOM. — Did the present Prime Minister give that assurance?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I know that the honorable member for Bland, when sent for by the Governor-General, had made no representations to either of the other two parties in the House. Knowing that he had no support except that coming from the members of his own party, he accepted from the Governor-General the commission to form a Government to control the affairs of the Commonwealth, and he formed a Ministry when, so far as I know, he had the support of only a minority. He might have had great hopes, but those hopes should have had some tangible foundation.

Mr. WATSON.—He had the suggestion of fair-play from this side of the House.

Sir JOHN FORREST. — Surely the honorable member did not expect those who had been defeated by him to keep his Government in office if it were in a minority?

Mr. PAGE.—It is because we believe that the present Government is in a minority that we wish to put it out of office.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Honorable members have interjected again and again, that I desired to oust the Labour Government from office from the very first day that they met the House. The suggestion, apparently, is that I had some personal objection to the honorable member for Bland assuming office. That was not the case. The honorable member is just as good a man to hold office as is any other member of the House. My sole objection to his Government was based upon constitutional grounds, but if my contention in that respect be erroneous, then my argument, of course, falls to the ground.

Mr. WATKINS.—Did not the right honorable member and his party remain in office when they were in a minority?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—No; I have already explained the difference between the position of the Barton and Deakin Governments and that occupied by the Watson Government. We were there, and had to be displaced.

Mr. GROOM.—And the other party got there.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Yes, by accepting office contrary to constitutional usage.

Mr. GROOM.—But, having got there, they had the same argument in support of their position as the right honorable gentleman's party had.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The honorable and learned member is too keen a lawyer not to see my point, and it is, therefore, useless for him to interrupt me in this way. We were in office before the first general election took place, and we remained in office until we were defeated on what we had made a vital question. That is altogether different from the position of a Government which assumes office without having a majority at its back. I will state a case to explain my contention. A Government is defeated, and an honorable member, who, perhaps, may be the weakest man in the House, is sent for by the Governor-General; he undertakes to form a Government, but gives no assurance to His Excellency that he has a majority; he comes down to the House and asks for

an adjournment of three or four weeks in order to formulate his policy, occupies the Government benches and controls the affairs of this country for a couple of months, and never had any chance whatever of commanding a majority. Now I am sure that honorable members do not desire to see such a state of things. I admit that the honorable member for Bland nearly had a majority, but he could not have commanded an absolute majority of the House if a no-confidence motion had been moved.

Mr. WATSON.—I was assured that I had a majority in case a no-confidence motion was moved.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Was the honorable member assured of that?

Mr. WATSON.—Yes. I was assured of that by honorable members whose word I accepted, and whom I have never reproached for taking their own course.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—My point is not that the honorable member might not have gained strength as he went along, but that at the time he undertook the formation of his Government he had not that assurance which was essential.

Mr. MAUGER.—How does the right honorable member know that?

Sir JOHN FORREST. — That is my whole point. If he had such an assurance, all my argument falls to the ground.

Mr. THOMAS.—Next week we will see whether the Prime Minister has a majority.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—That is a very different case. The point upon which the leader of the Opposition was turned out was equivalent to a no-confidence motion, and there was a majority in favour of it.

Mr. THOMAS.—Was not the amendment with regard to the railway servants equivalent to a no-confidence motion?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—It was never made such.

Mr. PAGE.—But the Deakin Government went out upon it.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—There were different combinations operating against the Deakin Government. I should like to assure my honorable friends opposite that any objection which at any time I have taken to the actions of the honorable member for Bland, and those who supported him, were not based upon any personal grounds whatever. I have no personal feeling against honorable members opposite.

Mr. PAGE.—We all know that.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Well, I am much obliged to the honorable member for saying so, because I am sometimes led to

believe, from interjections and remarks which are made, that I am thought to be opposed to honorable members opposite, because they belong to the Labour Party. I have no such feeling.

Mr. THOMAS.—The right honorable member never called us “steerage passengers.”

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I am personally just as friendly with honorable members opposite as I am with honorable members who sit behind the Government. My objection to the policy of the Labour Party is not personal, but is based on public grounds.

Mr. THOMAS.—The right honorable member is the most popular man in the House.

Sir JOHN FORREST. — Honorable members opposite know perfectly well that I am opposed to them because of their programme, which I call socialistic, and because of their methods. But I must say that the members of the Labour Party in this House are far more moderate than those outside whom they represent—those who go haranguing and preaching all over the country, and whose views are represented in labour journals, like the *Tocsin* and the *Worker*, seem to be different people altogether. But I cannot forget that the members of the Labour Party in this House are the representatives of those persons. I cannot forget that, moderate as they are, they are the representatives of people whose principles and political views are by no means moderate.

Mr. WATSON.—The right honorable member merely practises Socialism; he never preaches it.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I do not believe in the programme of the Labour Party, nor do I approve of the position which they occupy in this House in relation to their constituents. I consider that that position is not one which representatives of the people ought to occupy. I do not see why the unions should treat their representatives as they do, hampering them in the exercise of their duties, and depriving them of their independence.

Mr. SPENCE.—They do not hamper us.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—It must be so. If they are continually passing resolutions, disapproving of what their representatives do in this House, those representatives cannot act as independently and as freely as they ought to do.

Mr. FISHER.—The organizations in the constituency of the honorable and learned member for Ballarat are passing resolutions against him.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—He is not altogether dependent upon them for his position in this House. In my opinion, the position occupied by the members of the Labour Party, not only in the Federal Parliament, but in the Parliaments of the States, is not that of representatives. They are delegates of the unions. I trust that the time will soon come when a wider and more liberal view will be taken of representatives sent to Parliament than appears to be taken now. Every single action that honorable members opposite take, if they exercise their own judgment, is adversely criticised, and the resolutions passed are scattered broadcast throughout the unions of Australia.

Mr. FOWLER.—The same thing happens outside the labour unions.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Not to the same extent. At all events, other organizations do not seem to have the same power. They have not, for instance, the power of nomination, as is the case with the labour unions. That power appears to be most drastic. My honorable friend, the member for Perth, has to get the support of some sort of caucus before he can even be nominated as a candidate.

Mr. FOWLER.—I have every confidence that they will do the right thing.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The honorable member's confidence may yet receive a rude shaking.

Mr. MALONEY.—Would not the right honorable member like that?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—That does not seem to me to be the position a representative ought to occupy. It is delegation, and not representation. Honorable members opposite represent the unions. They do not represent the people as a whole.

Mr. CARPENTER.—Whom did the right honorable member's nominees represent at the last election?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—If we nominate any persons they are at liberty to forget their nominators.

Mr. SPENCE.—What does the right honorable member do with them then?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—It is not as easy to do anything with them, as it seems to be with honorable members opposite. My honorable friend, the member for Perth, made a speech last night. He knows that I have a great respect for him

as a man and as a member of this House. Therefore anything that I say concerning him will not be said from any but friendly motives. But I must say that it is open to those who are opposed to the honorable member to say that there never was a finer piece of acting than his in the apparently earnest speech which he made.

Mr. FOWLER.—There was no acting about it.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—It might have been regarded as a very fine piece of acting. The object of it was, I suppose, to show that the caucus could not bind him in the matter at issue, and that he was independent.

Mr. BAMFORD.—It cannot bind any one.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The speech, as I say, was intended to show that the honorable member for Perth was independent, and that he would let his party know that they could not bind him to support the new alliance. He made it clear that he thought that those who had formerly called the members of his party by opprobrious names—who had said that the Labour Party was a sham and a fraud—ought not to be accepted in alliance until they had apologized. But when it came to the point, what did the honorable member do?

Mr. WATSON.—The disappointing part of the speech was the end of it!

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I think I am justified in saying that the speech was, after all, only a little bit of "fast and furious." Notwithstanding all he had said, the honorable member for Perth declared that he would support the motion. He was bold enough to bark, but not bold enough to bite. If I did not know the honorable member as well as I do, I should say that it was a capital piece of acting, intended to show how independent he was, although it really showed that he did not intend to exercise his independence, even in respect to an alliance with persons who had called his party a sham and a fraud. I want to ask the honorable member this question—Suppose that the motion of the honorable member for Bland is successful, and that honorable members opposite form a coalition Government, including some of the persons who have called his party a fraud, and a sham? Where will he be then?

Mr. SPENCE.—Does not the right honorable member recollect that the present Prime Minister called him and his party, plunderers, thieves, and brigands?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I have never seen or heard that he has done so. The honorable member for Perth has said that those honorable members who have attacked his party ought to apologize. I ask him again—if this motion is successful, what will be his position in sitting behind a new Government, and voting with those whom he denounced last night?

Mr. FOWLER.—I will carry out my pledges, and that is all.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—But those pledges mean everything. The honorable member will do exactly what the party does. He will do what the unions tell him to do.

Mr. FOWLER.—It is not fair to say that. I have acted on my own responsibility on several occasions in this House.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I remember one, and I think that the honorable member had a good deal of trouble about it. I do not profess for a moment to be well grounded in the rules and regulations of the Labour Party; but it seems to me to be rather inconsistent that the rules and regulations of that party affecting State elections, should be more stringent and far-reaching than those affecting candidature for the Federal Parliament.

Mr. FOWLER.—The circumstances are different.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I do not think the circumstances are very different, though, as the honorable member must have noticed, the conditions of candidature vary in each State.

Mr. FOWLER.—The conditions vary according to requirements.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—And yet, after all, the unions are composed of the same people. In Western Australia, for instance, the conditions of candidature of the Labour Party as regards the State Parliament, and the conditions of candidature of the Labour Party as regards the Federal Parliament may, or may not, be different; but it seems to me that the objects in each case are the same. Therefore, I do not think much of the argument that the conditions of the Federal Labour Party are less stringent than the conditions of the States Labour Party. The two seem to be so interwoven that the same conditions really apply in each case.

Mr. FISHER.—Does the right honorable member not see that the programmes are different, because the members of the party are free men?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—But the same associations nominate the candidates for both Parliaments, and it seems to me that the principles which govern them cannot be very different—the objects they have in view are exactly the same.

Mr. FISHER.—They are intelligent men, and know their own business best.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—However, I would like the conditions of candidature to appear in *Hansard*, and, therefore, I propose to read them to honorable members. There is a good deal of talk about these conditions, and I find them in a little publication from the north.

Mr. FISHER.—Hear, hear; the *Queensland Worker*!

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The conditions are as follow:—

1. That all candidates for the Federal Parliament shall sign the following pledge:—I hereby edge myself not to oppose the candidate selected by the recognised political labour organization—

is a “big order” to say a man shall not oppose a league candidate. The honorable member for Perth, after years of service, would not be able to become a candidate if he were not recognised by the political labour organization.

Mr. THOMAS.—A man may be nominated on his own account without going before the organization for selection.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—But in that case he would be a “black-leg”—not a member of the Labour Party at all. Doubtless the honorable member for Perth would be over to our side then. The pledge proceeds—

If elected, to do my utmost to carry out the principles embodied in the Federal Labour Platform, and on all questions affecting the platform—

is difficult to say what this means—it might mean anything.

Mr. SPENCE.—We know the questions.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—“All questions affecting the platform”! Who is to answer what those questions are?

Mr. PAGE.—The right honorable member the platform before him.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Further—

to vote as a majority of the Parliamentary Party decide at a duly constituted caucus meeting.

According to this, if there were twenty members, thirteen could absolutely rule over twelve.

Mr. WATSON.—There will always be more than twenty-five members in a league.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I am speaking of the Parliamentary Party; that is, of the members of the Labour Party who are returned to Parliament.

Mr. THOMAS.—That is the “cabinet” of the Labour Party.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Yes; and it is a “big order” to make all the members bow down to what the majority may decide.

Mr. THOMAS.—That was done in the Cabinet of which the right honorable member was a member.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—But that Cabinet was very much smaller.

Mr. TUDOR.—And the right honorable member was always in a minority.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The document proceeds—

2. That, subject to the acceptance of the Federal Platform and Pledge, each State shall control the selection of its candidates for the Federal Parliament.

3. That all labour candidates shall have a free hand on the fiscal question.

I should like to know where the Indi-Hume Party are in this matter. They have joined a party which has no fiscal faith; and I shall have something to say about them presently.

Mr. WATSON.—What is the right honorable member's fiscal faith at present?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I am a moderate protectionist, and always have been.

Mr. THOMAS.—What does the right honorable member mean by that?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I could more easily explain what I mean than the honorable member could explain the meaning of the words “and on all questions affecting the platform.” A further condition is:—

4. That no member of the Federal Labour Party shall accept office in the Federal Government except with the consent of a duly constituted caucus of the party.

It seems to me that the members of the Labour Party are bound hand and foot. One of them may not even accept office without obtaining the consent of the majority. It seems to me that the Labour Party is becoming, if it is not already, an absolute menace to Parliamentary Government in this country; the members are a solid phalanx, and there is no room for individual views. In regard to a great many matters, which cover nearly the whole gamut of politics,

they are a solid party; a machine controlled inside by the caucus, and outside by the labour unions.

Mr. FRAZER.—The right honorable member would never do for a caucus, that is certain!

Sir JOHN FORREST.—It is clear that if the party is fifty strong, twenty-six members will rule absolutely the others. Those conditions of candidature might have been all very well in the early days when the party was fighting an uphill battle, and had no chance of obtaining control of the destinies of either a State or the Commonwealth. Such conditions were excellent then, because in a small party unity is necessary if they are to exercise that influence without which nothing can be done. But circumstances have now changed, and honorable members opposite have become, in some cases, almost the dominant party in the House. Conditions which were good enough in the early days when the party were few in numbers, cannot apply to the altered circumstances; and, as sure as I stand here, they must break down.

Mr. PAGE.—The conditions are more necessary now than ever they were.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—In my opinion that is not so, and I am sure that the conditions will break down.

Mr. THOMAS.—Why is the right honorable gentleman so anxious about us?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Because I hope the conditions will break down. I consider that a combination such as that the Labour Party presents, is an absolute danger to this country. Freedom of action is denied, and a large body of men are bound together on a platform embracing numerous matters of great importance, which come before Parliament. The conditions of the Labour Party are too stringent, and, as I say, are an absolute menace to the good government of the country. It places the absolute control of the minority of the party in the hands of the majority. Such a position has never been known in any Parliament in a British country.

Mr. CARPENTER.—Majorities always have control.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Not the control that is exercised by the members of the Labour Party, because *volens volens* they are bound, and if one breaks what I was going to call the almost sacred pledge, he must take the consequences.

Mr. PAGE.—We consider the pledge sacred.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Such conditions are all very well with a small party for the purposes of aggression, but in my opinion they cannot last; and I hope that the Labour Party will not be able to apply them in the administration of the Government.

Mr. ISAACS. — The conditions were all right when the Labour Party were supporting the Government of which the right honorable gentleman was a member.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I do not think that that remark is very *apropos*, seeing that the honorable and learned member himself supported that Government.

Mr. ISAACS.—I did, and I was very sorry to see that Government go out.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The honorable and learned member is not the first to use the jibe that the Labour Party supported for three years the Government of which I was a member. But why did the Labour Party support that Government? Because we were carrying out legislation which they desired; and there was some of that legislation which several members of that Government were not greatly in favour of, as I shall show directly.

Mr. WATSON.—What happens to a man who votes against his party in England, where there is no Labour Party in the sense understood here? Such a man goes out on his "pink ear."

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I do not think so. Liberal-Unionists in England did not come to grief when they separated from the Liberal Party.

Mr. WATSON.—That was because they were adopted by another party.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The Unionists in England stood alone for years.

Mr. WATSON.—No.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—At any rate, the members of that union were free men—they were not bound as are the members of the Labour Party. The speech of the honorable member for Perth last night might be described as a fine piece of acting.

Mr. FOWLER.—I rise to a point of order. I take exception to the continual assertion that I was guilty last night of a piece of acting. I was never more in earnest in my life, and the right honorable gentleman knows that.

Mr. SPEAKER.—What is the point of order?

Mr. FOWLER.—Is the right honorable member in order in accusing me of acting—in misrepresenting my statements?

Mr. SPEAKER.—If the honorable member for Perth is displeased with the expression used, I am quite sure the right honorable member for Swan will withdraw it.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Certainly, I withdraw it absolutely. I do not think that the honorable member was acting, but I say that his delivering the speech he did, and then declaring his intention to vote for the motion, might give people the idea that he was acting. I believe the honorable member to be incapable of anything dishonorable. I should now like to say something about the alliance of the honorable members, led by the honorable and learned member for Indi, with the Labour Party. The real reason which actuates the honorable and learned member for Indi, and those supporting him in joining the Labour Party, is their desire to have the Tariff revised; but the honorable member for Bland, when submitting the motion before the House, never once mentioned the Tariff. Why? Because the free-traders of his party would not allow him to do so.

Mr. McCAY.—The caucus had forbidden it.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The leader of the Opposition was not able to say one word about the Tariff in connexion with the alliance.

Mr. PAGE.—It is said that there is a Tariff truce; why mention the matter?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I say that this alliance, so far as the main object which those who have seceded from the main body of protectionists have in view—

Mr. GROOM.—The right honorable member left us after he had assisted in passing a resolution declaring he would not.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Who is the honorable and learned member's leader?

Mr. GROOM.—The right honorable member's leader is the Prime Minister.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The honorable and learned member has deserted not only his party, but also his leader.

Mr. GROOM.—I keep to my principles.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I should like to know where those principles are; perhaps the honorable and learned member will tell us where he keeps them.

Mr. GROOM.—They would not be safe in the keeping of the right honorable member.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The main reason for this great alliance has been treated by the leader of the Opposition with contemptuous silence, and has been repudiated by the honorable member for Perth, who

will have nothing to do with seceders from the protectionist party who have referred to the Labour Party as a sham and a fraud, unless they apologize. The honorable member for Bourke had better set about making an abject apology.

Mr. HUME COOK.—I will correct a misstatement at the right time.

Mr. FOWLER.—I gave other reasons as well.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I assume that the honorable and learned member for Indi and the other protectionists have joined the Labour Party in order that the Tariff may be reconsidered, but the honorable member for Bland has not promised to re-open the question if this motion be carried. Honorable members must think that the public are rather stupid if they suppose that they will be misled by their action in giving notice of motions for the appointment of a Royal Commission to consider the working of the Tariff, and to inquire into the tobacco trade, immediately before the moving of a motion of want of confidence. We might have expected from the mover of this no-confidence motion a statement of the terms of the alliance between the Labour Party and the protectionist seceders, and he might have told us what he was going to do for them.

Mr. WATSON.—There is plenty of time yet for a statement of policy by me.

Mr. PAGE.—What was the bunch of carrots which the right honorable member for East Sydney held out to the right honorable member for Swan to induce him to join the coalition?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The right honorable gentleman has not offered me anything. He made no overtures to me.

Mr. PAGE.—What did he offer the right honorable member's party?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The Prime Minister has explained the terms upon which the Ministry was formed.

Mr. WATSON.—He said that the terms placed before the public were not adopted, and that the proposed coalition went by the board, so that there has been no statement of the terms of the present coalition.

Mr. ISAACS.—Up to the present, it is a secret treaty.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—There is no secrecy so far as I am concerned. The party of which I am a member went to the country at the last general elections on a definite policy, which was announced at Ballarat by the then Prime Minister, in

October last, when I was present as a member of his Government. Referring to the existing Tariff, he said—

We are prepared to preserve that Tariff, because we believe that the best boon to this community that its public men can give it is fiscal peace.

Further on, he said—

We are willing to wait and trust to experience, to show our confidence in the working of the protectionist part of this Tariff.

That was the pith of the policy upon which we went to the country, and I believe that every member of the party adopted it. But what has been the action of the honorable and learned members for Indi, and Darling Downs, of the honorable members for Hume and Bourke, and others? This alliance with the Labour Party is founded on the repudiation of their public pledges to their constituents and to the people of Australia.

Mr. ISAACS.—The right honorable member should justify the statement that I gave any such pledge to my constituents.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I hold that the honorable and learned member who was a leading member of the Protectionist Party, by his silence, assented to the programme put forward by the honorable and learned member for Ballarat. He was returned as a supporter of the Deakin Administration, and it is idle for him to say now that he did not in the main support the policy of his leader in regard to fiscal peace. That policy was very clearly enunciated, and the *Age* newspaper, which supported the Deakin Government, declared in no uncertain terms for it. In its leading columns, of the 30th October, I find the following:—

The first and foremost necessity of the times is a truce on the fiscal question. As long as that struggle goes on, it bars the way to any progressive legislation on other national or social questions. There is a time to draw the sword and a time to sheath it. All the interests of trade and industrial development demand for the present a cessation of fiscal hostilities.

Therefore I ask why this falling off on the part of the honorable and learned member for Indi, and on the part of the honorable member for Bourke, and others, all of whom have now joined the Labour Party? Not only have honorable members seceded from the Protectionist Party, and repudiated the pledges which they made to their constituents, and to the people of Australia, but they have deserted their leader.

Mr. STORRER.—He deserted us.

Mr. ISAACS.—We would not follow him into the enemy's camp.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I do not believe in deserting my leader, or in profiting by desertion, as the honorable and learned member for Indi will do if this motion succeeds.

Mr. WEBSTER.—That is not true.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—He will be a member of any coalition Government.

Mr. FISHER.—It is not so.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Well, I withdraw the remark. The policy of fiscal peace, announced by the honorable and learned member for Ballarat, was universally accepted by the Protectionist Party.

Mr. RONALD.—No.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I do not mean to say that every individual protectionist accepted it; but it was accepted by the party throughout Australia. I do not know what was said in Queensland and Tasmania, but in Victoria and in New South Wales, "fiscal peace" was the election cry of the Protectionist Party.

Mr. McDONALD.—What they declared for in Western Australia was labour.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I am dealing now with the fiscal issue. What did the honorable member for Barker say upon this matter? He is a protectionist, and was a member of the Protectionist Party. He said—

The Tariff was not by any means perfect, but he was for fiscal peace during the next Parliament.

Surely that is a very clear pronouncement. What was my own position in Western Australia? My pledge to the electors of Western Australia, which was printed in the press, reads—

I am in favour of the existing Tariff being given a fair trial. It was arrived at after much labour and controversy, and I recognise it would be unwise to disturb it, and to do so at the present time would be detrimental to trade and injurious all round. The verdict of Australia at the coming elections will, I feel sure, be in accord with the above views.

The verdict of Australia was in accord with those views. Speaking for myself and all who belonged to the Protectionist Party at that time. I ask "Where is the mandate from our constituents to alter the Tariff?" We have none. The protectionists throughout Australia declared in unmistakable terms that they accepted the pronouncement of the honorable and learned member for Ballarat that there should be fiscal peace during the life of this Parliament. Where is the mandate of the honorable and learned member for Indi, or the

honorable and learned member for Darling Downs, or the honorable member for Hume, or the honorable members for Bourke and Melbourne Ports, to ask for an alteration of the Tariff?

Mr. MAUGER.—That mandate comes from the exercise of common sense, and the knowledge that industries are being destroyed.

Mr. ISAACS.—We have the same mandate as has the right honorable member if he will only obey it.

Mr. GROOM.—We received no mandate to place ourselves under the free-trade leader.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—In my opinion the protectionist supporters of the Government are as safe now as they were before. The honorable and learned member for Darling Downs will be absorbed, and will sign the pledge of the Labour Party.

Mr. GROOM.—I am quite prepared to run the risk.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—What have the seceders done? They have joined a party which is very much stronger than is their own—a party which has no fiscal faith whatever.

Mr. CARPENTER.—They have not joined the Labour Party. The two parties are quite distinct.

Sir JOHN FORREST. — It has been stated that the agreement between the two parties has been confirmed.

Mr. ISAACS.—We have not been “gobbled” up by the Free trade Party.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The seceding protectionists have joined a party which has no fiscal faith whatever, and which helped to defeat the protectionist Government in this House. No matter what the members of the Labour Party may say to the contrary, the fact remains that they hurled the protectionist Ministry from power. Concerning the statement that I was not prepared to allow the Watson Administration to continue in office for a single day, I wish to say that had it not been for the fact that it was a Labour Ministry, it would have received a very much shorter shrift than it did. There was a general feeling in the House that a party which had had no experience of Ministerial office, should be accorded very generous treatment. We had as much chance of deposing that Government when it first met the House, as honorable members opposite have of succeeding with the present motion.

Mr. WATSON.—Not by a long way.

Mr. CARPENTER.—Honorable members opposite were conspiring all the time to defeat the Watson Government, but could not do so.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I repeat that there was a general desire that we should not act precipitately in regard to the Labour Party, which for the first time, had assumed the reins of Government. From the time when the Protectionist Party met in the room upstairs, and decided not to enter into an alliance with the Free-trade Party, no meeting has been held, and no agreement ratified in regard to the present coalition.

Mr. MAUGER.—The meeting to which the right honorable member refers, decided that there should be no coalition.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The honorable member should be ashamed to make any mention of that meeting. He attended with a determination to prevent any coalition being arranged. He was present only for the purpose of creating trouble and obstruction.

Mr. MAUGER.—And I succeeded.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The honorable member temporarily succeeded, but I am satisfied that, within a brief period, we shall again have him in the fold. The alliance between the protectionists and free-trade members upon the Ministerial side of the House is not the result of any agreement arrived at by meetings called for the purpose. But we believe that Australia will be better governed by the present Administration than it would be by honorable members opposite.

Mr. MAUGER.—That decision was not arrived at by any meeting which was held.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—There are some agreements which are better than those made with pen and ink—I mean agreements which are arrived at by mutual consent in cases where people come together of their own accord.

Mr. MAUGER.—Four seats in the Cabinet represent good pie all the same.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—At any rate, I am not a member of the Government. I believe, however, that I can accomplish just as much good on behalf of Western Australia, and exert quite as much influence as a private member as I could if I filled a position in the Cabinet. I am not so foolish as to think that a coalition Government can find portfolios for everybody. Those who will not abstain from urging any claims which they may have reason to believe they possess, in a time of great difficulty, must be satisfied to be branded as self-seekers.

Mr. DAVID THOMSON.—Does the right honorable member think that he will get back next time?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Certainly. I may add that neither directly nor indirectly was I ever consulted by any member of the Ministry concerning the programme which they have submitted. I had confidence that they would do what was just to Western Australia, and if they had not I was free to express my dissent, and to act as I considered best.

Mr. GROOM.—They did nothing.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—They have brought forward one measure in which I was specially interested—the Kalgoorlie to Port Augusta Railway Survey Bill.

Mr. ISAACS.—Oh!

Sir JOHN FORREST.—At any rate it is to my credit that I never had any conversation with Ministers upon that subject.

Mr. DAVID THOMSON.—The motion relating to the survey of that line was carried with the aid of members of the Labour Party.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I am very much obliged to them for their assistance. Honorable members are aware how very interested I am in that project, and knowing the intimacy which exists between members of the Government and myself, may have been disposed to think that I requested them to include that measure in their programme. But neither directly nor indirectly did I ever mention the subject to them. Of course it would be idle for me to deny that I was aware of the compact which was made between the honorable and learned member for Ballarat and the present Prime Minister.

Mr. ISAACS.—What was that compact?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I refer to the compact into which they entered, subject to the approval of their respective parties. I knew that that compact would be the basis of any understanding which might be arrived at between those parties. I was in favour of it—

Mr. MAUGER.—The majority were opposed to it.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I had every confidence that that compact would form the basis of any alliance which might be entered into.

Mr. MAUGER.—The right honorable member seceded from the Protectionist Party in order to get it.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I mentioned the subject of the Transcontinental Railway for a purpose. The Deakin and Wat-

son Administrations having approved of the Bill relating to the survey of that line, it was only reasonable to assume that the coalition Government would approve of it.

Mr. McDONALD.—Then there is no credit due to the right honorable member.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—But I wish to show the view which is entertained by a member of the other branch of the Legislature, who is at present upon a visit to Western Australia. In the *West Australian*, of 6th September, Senator Croft is reported to have said—

We have no idea as to what Mr. Reid's policy is likely to be, but I am credibly informed that it will contain little or no reference to the Trans-Australian Railway, and will not even provide for a survey in that connexion.

I should like to know by whom he was "credibly informed." My idea is that he was not credibly informed, and it would take a lot of persuasion to induce me to think otherwise. Another paragraph appeared in the *West Australian* newspaper of the 8th September, quoting the right honorable member for East Sydney as stating as a part of his policy—

We propose to deal with the Bill providing for a survey of the Transcontinental Railway line.

Yet Senator Croft said that he was credibly informed that nothing would be done. Does any honorable member in this House believe that the honorable senator was credibly informed to that effect? If no communication was made to me or to my friends, how could this wiseacre who went to the West have been "credibly informed" to that effect?

Mr. CARPENTER.—Knowing the opponents of the railway who were in the Ministry, we were a little suspicious about it until we saw the policy stated.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Do honorable members think that, in my position as a supporter of the Government, I would not have been informed if the Ministry did not propose to do anything?

Mr. SPENCE.—No; the right honorable member would not be consulted at all.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—All I can say is that if Senator Croft was "credibly informed," no one else was so informed. These pure-minded patriots go about the country trying to create ill-will and mischief by making statements which have no foundation.

Mr. CARPENTER.—It is not so bad as sending telegrams.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I am willing to stand by anything I have sent.

Mr. WATSON.—I suppose that Senator Croft is equally ready to stand by what he said.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Then let the honorable senator say who “credibly informed” him.

Mr. McDONALD.—Considering the speech delivered by the honorable member for Gippsland, and the fact that the honorable member represented half the head of the Government, was it not a natural conclusion for Senator Croft to come to?

Mr. McLEAN.—I stated in the speech to which the honorable member refers that I hoped the Government would get the fullest possible information.

Mr. McDONALD. — But the honorable gentleman denounced the proposal in another speech, made in Gippsland.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The other day when the honorable member for Bland gave notice of the motion of want of confidence in the Government, I interjected that if the Western Australian members of the Labour Party had brought pressure to bear upon the honorable member he would never have precipitated his motion until the Kalgoorlie-Port Augusta Railway Survey Bill had had a fair chance of being got out of the way. I said that if those honorable members had supported the proposals in the way they ought, the honorable member for Bland would not have done anything so detrimental to Western Australia. The honorable member for Coolgardie, when replying to me, said:

I am afraid that my idea of loyalty to my leader and colleagues must be different from that cherished by the right honorable member for Swan.

Loyalty to his leader and his colleagues! What about loyalty to his constituency and his State?

Mr. CARPENTER. — The right honorable member does not know what the honorable member for Coolgardie had done for his State that same morning.

Sir JOHN FORREST. — We do not know what the honorable member did, but we know what he said. The honorable member spoke of loyalty to his leader and his colleagues, but he said nothing whatever about his loyalty to his constituents and his State. It appears to me that, with the honorable member, they are a secondary consideration, and his first consideration is the Labour Party, to which he is bound hand and foot.

Mr. CARPENTER.—That is very unfair.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I say that it is absolutely true.

Mr. CARPENTER.—The honorable member for Coolgardie had done everything for Western Australia that a man could that same morning.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I do not know what the honorable member may have done in caucus, that is not reported here.

Mr. MAHON.—I merely meant that I did not disclose Cabinet differences in this House.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I have quoted the honorable gentleman's statement, when I told him that I thought he should have brought more pressure to bear on the honorable member for Bland. Do honorable members think that I would have approved of such a thing being done, as the honorable member for Coolgardie allowed to be done, especially when there was no reason or advantage to be gained by doing it?

Mr. MAUGER.—No; the right honorable member would have smashed things.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—If the party were to be injured, or some great catastrophe were likely to happen, it might be justified. But to avoid a few hours' delay in giving notice of a motion, the honorable member for Coolgardie sacrificed his loyalty to his constituency and his State for loyalty to his leader and his colleagues.

Mr. CARPENTER.—It was because of the conduct of honorable members opposite.

Mr. ISAACS.—It is not five minutes since the right honorable gentleman placed loyalty or so-called loyalty to a leader before loyalty to a whole country.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I absolutely deny that. Cannot the honorable and learned member for Indi allow other people to defend themselves? Must he always rush in? Is the honorable and learned member the only member with any sense in this House? Does he desire to be the protector of everybody?

Mr. ISAACS.—I wish to show how very little consistency there is in the right honorable gentleman.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—Some honorable members opposite are good judges of consistency.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The honorable and learned member for Indi is in a difficult position; and I suppose one must make some allowance for him. The first allegiance of members of the Labour Party is to the labour unions outside, and their constituents come second.

Mr. CARPENTER.—That is a very foolish statement to make.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I say that here, and I shall say it to the honorable member's constituents when I have the opportunity.

Mr. CARPENTER.—The right honorable gentleman says many foolish things.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—What is the shelving of that Bill, and the sacrificing of his own State to the honorable member for Coolgardie?

Mr. CARPENTER.—The right honorable gentleman's comrades on the other side sacrificed the Bill.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Will the honorable member for Coolgardie deny that that Bill, which has been so longed for by the people of Western Australia, was shelved without any reason at all? I said at the time that the chief opponent of the Bill, the honorable member for Moira, had gone home. I was not then absolutely certain of the fact, but I find that I was correct. Surely, with all the means at the disposal of the party opposite, they could have found out where the honorable member for Moira was? The honorable member was on his way to the North, and probably at that time he was half way to his home on the Murray.

Mr. MAHON.—Did not the right honorable gentleman himself vote to shelve the Bill some time ago?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I say that this Bill, which is of so much importance to the people of Western Australia, was shelved, and I say that the honorable member for Coolgardie temporarily sacrificed his own State, because, when I objected to what had been done, the honorable member said that it had his full approval and indorsement—

Mr. MAHON.—Hear, hear. I repeat that now.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—This shows how much the honorable member cares for his constituents and the people of Western Australia. Why should the honorable member care for Western Australia? He is a stranger there; he is scarcely known to the people there, though he is a representative of the State.

Mr. WEBSTER.—Is this an electioneering address?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The honorable member for Coolgardie and I are personal friends, but that does not prevent me from telling the honorable gentleman the truth.

Mr. MAHON.—The right honorable gentleman knows very different from what he is now stating.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The honorable member did not look after his constituents the other day, or that wrong to the people of Western Australia would never have been perpetrated. There was no reason for it at all, unless it was to enable the honorable member for Bland and others to return to Sydney on Thursday instead of Friday. Was that a sufficient reason to justify the abandonment of a Bill which was so eagerly longed for by the people of Western Australia?

Mr. MAHON.—And which the right honorable gentleman was three years in office without advancing a single stage.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The honorable member has said that the Government of which he was a member did more, but they did nothing.

Mr. MAHON.—We did.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The honorable gentleman and his Government found the resolution relating to the Governor-General's message on the table when the Deakin Government went out of office, and it was still there when the right honorable member for East Sydney came into office.

Mr. MAHON.—The right honorable gentleman put the Labour Government out, and in doing so he helped to shelve the Bill.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Though what I have said may be considered by some honorable members to be ungenerous, it is not nearly so ungenerous as is the honorable gentleman's statement that, although I was three years in office, I did nothing. In view of the facts, that is a most ungenerous statement. I did all that I possibly could do, and I admit that the honorable gentleman helped me.

Mr. MAHON.—The statement is quite as true as what the right honorable gentleman said just now.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The honorable gentleman may have acted in a weak moment, or thoughtlessly—

Mr. MAUGER.—The right honorable gentleman had better withdraw the statement.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I shall not withdraw it. I shall reiterate it in Western Australia, unless the honorable member for Coolgardie explains why he allowed this wrong to be perpetrated.

Mr. MAHON.—I shall explain what the right honorable gentleman did also.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The people of Western Australia do not know the honorable member for Coolgardie, and would not listen to him. The honorable member is stranger in Western Australia.

Mr. MAHON.—They know the right honorable gentleman too well.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Of what use is for the honorable gentleman to talk about what he will do? If he were to walk down the streets of any of the principal towns of Western Australia, the honorable gentleman could be unknown. He must know that, as well as I do.

Mr. MAHON.—Thirty thousand of them could not chase me to the railway station.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—People who do nothing are never found fault with. People who are unknown, who have no public service to their credit, have never anything laid against them. But the man who tries to do something for the benefit of his fellow-men, may depend upon it that he will tread upon the toes of a lot of people doing so.

Mr. MAHON.—Hear, hear. Let the right honorable gentleman send up one of his dogs to Coolgardie, and see how he will get on.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—We shall do it. We shall try to secure that the place which owns the honorable gentleman shall know no more.

Mr. MAUGER.—The right honorable gentleman is excited.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—It is not excitement; it is only a little earnestness. During the last month or two, since I retired from office, and since I have been in a position to express myself freely, I have been misrepresented a good deal in this House. I wish the honorable member for Hume were present, because, although that honorable gentleman is an old colleague of mine, I desire to tell him that he was not correct something that he said. The honorable gentleman has said that, because I voted against some of the extreme clauses of the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill, I am, for that reason, opposed altogether to the Bill.

Mr. RONALD.—Hear, hear.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—That might be used as an argument if I had no evidence to prove the contrary. But I was the first man in Australia to introduce and pass a compulsory Conciliation and Arbitration Bill, brought up to date with the provisions of the Act then in force in New Zealand, with one or two exceptions.

Mr. GROOM.—With preference to unionists?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—No. That was not in the measure. I am opposed to preference to unionists, as being unnecessary and unfair. I do not think it was in the New Zealand Act at that time.

Mr. GROOM.—It was held to be.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I did not know that at the time. I do not think the State Parliament of Western Australia would have passed a Conciliation and Arbitration Bill giving one man an undue preference over another.

Mr. GROOM.—Has it passed it since?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I may tell the honorable and learned member that even now, though the measure I passed has been amended, with the assistance of the Labour Party, which was not in existence in my day, and has been liberalized in some directions and brought up to date with the New Zealand Act, there is no preference to unionists in it, and the Court in Western Australia has refused to give preference to unionists.

Mr. GROOM.—Has the Court held that it has not the power?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The Court has held that the law in Western Australia does not permit of preference to unionists.

Mr. CARPENTER.—It does not direct the Court to give preference.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The honorable member for Fremantle will admit that the Court has refused to give it.

Mr. CARPENTER.—I admit that; the Court may not think it has the power.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I am aware that there is a difference of opinion upon the point, but up to the present time, the Court has held that the law cannot be construed to mean that a preference shall be given to unionists. I repeat, that I was the first man in Australia to bring in a measure for compulsory arbitration. Whatever may be said against me, in respect of my action upon the extreme provisions upon which we divided—the inclusion of farmers, civil servants, and railway employés, and the giving of an undue preference to unionists—it is very unfair to say of me that I am opposed to the passing of any Conciliation and Arbitration Bill.

Mr. MAUGER.—But the provisions against which he voted were in the right honorable gentleman's Bill. As a member of

the Government that introduced the Bill, the right honorable gentleman was responsible for it.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The honorable member for Hume is in exactly the same position as myself in that respect. He voted against provisions appearing in the Bill as agreed to by the Deakin Cabinet, because he was opposed to them.

Mr. MAUGER.—The honorable member for Hume desired to liberalize the measure.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I have understood that if as a Minister one does not agree with any provision in a measure proposed by the Government to which he belongs, when he is no longer a Minister he is free to exercise his own judgment on such a provision. That is the understanding on which I have acted. It is, therefore, unfair to say that because I did not vote with the Labour Party on the few divisions that took place on extreme provisions in the Bill, I am opposed to the whole measure. The Bill I passed in Western Australia may not have been so up-to-date as present requirements demand, but circumstances change as the years roll on, and legislation has to be amended from time to time. When I introduced it in 1900, representatives of the labour organizations of Western Australia waited on me, and in the course of the interview said that my name would be always honored by the labour organizations of Australia as that of a man who had done good service in the cause for which they worked. Now I am told by the same persons that I am opposed to them.

Mr. CARPENTER.—Not by the same persons.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I voted against extreme provisions in the Federal Conciliation and Arbitration Bill because I had always been opposed to them.

Mr. FOWLER.—I do not think that any member of the Labour Party has said that the honorable member is opposed to the whole Bill.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The honorable member for Hume has publicly said that I am, and I think the honorable member for Bland said I intended to destroy the Bill altogether.

Mr. FOWLER.—The honorable member for Hume is not a member of the Labour Party.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—In the course of my previous remarks, I made an unfortunate observation concerning those whom I called the seceding protectionists, who had

deserted their leader and their party. I said, amongst other things, that they had done it because they hoped to make a profit out of it. I desire to say, before I go further, that that was a very improper observation on my part, which I very much regret, and I unreservedly withdraw it. I am informed that, when I was not in the House, the honorable member for Kalgoorlie referred to my having attended women's meetings in Victoria, but said that I had never done anything for women. I desire to point out that I gave the franchise to women in Western Australia, and that the franchise could not have been extended to them at that time without my assistance. Western Australia was the second State in Australia to extend the franchise to women. So that the honorable member was not correct if he said—as reported to me—that I had not done anything for the women of Australia.

Mr. CARPENTER.—The honorable member referred to the Prime Minister, and not to the right honorable member.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I understood that he referred to me, but if it is not so my remarks are not necessary.

Mr. McLEAN.—He referred to me, and to the right honorable member also.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—He certainly was in error in referring to me, because I stand second amongst the Premiers of the Australian States in this respect. The State of South Australia, either during the Premiership of the right honorable member for Adelaide, or during my Premiership, Mr. Speaker, was the first to extend the franchise to women. Western Australia, under my Premiership, was the second State to do so. I now wish to refer to a matter of very great importance to Australia and to all honorable members. It is the White Australia policy. What I have to say will be in opposition to section 16 of the Post and Telegraph Act. I am opposed, and personally always have been opposed, to the terms of that section, which provides that no contract or arrangement shall be made for the carriage of our mails in ships unless such ships are manned by white crews. I am very glad to have an opportunity to express my opinions on this subject. Every one must see that to mix up the question of coloured labour on mail ships with the question of a White Australia is a mistake. But lest any one should think that I am opposed to the White Australia policy, I wish to point out that I was the first Premier in Aus-

tralia to introduce and pass through Parliament a measure founded on the Natal Act, which is practically the same legislation as we have in existence in the Commonwealth at the present time. I was in England at the Diamond Jubilee of her late Majesty in 1897, when the other Australian Premiers were there. We all agreed to do our best to pass through our respective Legislatures Bills based upon the Natal Act, rather than a measure embodying prohibition. Honorable members know that a measure involving prohibition was passed by the Parliament of New South Wales, but the Royal Assent was withheld. I carried out the promise which I made in England. I believe that my right honorable friend the Prime Minister also carried out his promise, and that a similar measure was passed by the Legislature of New South Wales. In Victoria a similar Bill was introduced by my right honorable friend the Treasurer, but he was not able to pass it. In South Australia it was introduced, I think, but afterwards withdrawn.

Mr. CARPENTER.—In South Australia we refused to accept the Natal principle.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The point which I wish to make is that I was the first Australian Premier to carry such a measure through the Legislature. If honorable members like to read my speeches in the Western Australian Parliament—I have quoted from them before in this House—they will see that there was no lack of sympathy on my part concerning the White Australia policy. But while I am in accord with the idea that we must do our utmost to keep Australia for the white race, I am altogether opposed to section 16 of the Post and Telegraph Act, and for many reasons. I may also point out that when I passed the Act to which I refer, and also when I passed the Conciliation and Arbitration Act, there was no payment of members and no Labour Party in Western Australia. Therefore, although there was plenty of pressure, and the conditions were difficult—as I suppose they are in all Parliaments—at the same time we had not a concrete body of members banded together to support their own platform such as we have in the Parliaments of Australia at the present time.

Mr. THOMAS.—The Opposition would have turned out the right honorable member if he had not passed those Bills.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—They could not have turned me out. The Opposition were very weak. The only way in which I

could have been turned out was by the secession of some of my own supporters; and any honorable member who has had experience of party government is aware that very often a Minister experiences more difficulty from within, than from without. The point is that there was no Labour Party in Western Australia at that time.

Mr. MAHON.—Because the right honorable member would not give the people the franchise.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I have already said that I not only extended the suffrage to men, but I also gave it to women.

Mr. MAHON.—It was said that the right honorable gentleman extended the franchise to women, in order to dish the gold-fields.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—When one gives anything, it is rather ungenerous, if it is not worse than ungenerous, to turn round and say that one gave it for a wrong purpose, or had an ulterior motive.

Mr. MAHON.—I am only imitating the right honorable member if I am ungenerous.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I do not desire to be ungenerous. Nevertheless, the fact remains that there was no Labour Party and no payment of members at that time in Western Australia. Of course, the absence of payment of members restricted the representation to some extent. There is no doubt, as every one will admit, that where there is no payment of members, many persons, who would otherwise be able to enter Parliament, cannot do so. My honorable friend, the member for Coolgardie, seems to be alert just now. Perhaps, I have made some point at his expense. But he must expect that. When members sit on different sides of the House, they are apt to be not so generous to one another as, perhaps, they would be if they were sitting on the same side. Hard hitting is not unfriendliness. In passing, as the honorable member has referred to matters of days now long ago, I may say that I am quite willing to be criticised in regard to every action in my political career. The honorable member referred to that unfortunate incident when he said 30,000 people on the gold fields—there were not nearly so many — hooted and mobbed me at Kalgoorlie in 1898. Why did the honorable member refer to that?

Mr. MAHON.—I always condemned their conduct.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—But the honorable member said something about it tonight. I say that that incident is not to my discredit, because I was trying to benefit

those poor people. And I did it, too. I did help them. I was told by my opponents that I helped them because I was afraid, inasmuch as they had mobbed me, and treated me badly. I was then three hundred miles away—in Perth—and why should I have been afraid? I could have stopped that disturbance or riot if I had been a little more conciliatory than I was. All that they wanted me to do was to address them. But I would not do it, because I was not going to be coerced. I told them that I would give them their answer in a certain time, but that I was not going to make a speech then. I knew that I could not give a satisfactory answer at that moment, and so I refused to address them. That is why I received such treatment. There was no ill will towards me. Their conduct was simply prompted by the fact that I refused to be coerced. I was offended and hurt at their action; that is why I did not do what perhaps on another occasion I should have done. I do not know why the honorable member should have referred to that incident. He has never been hooted by 10,000 people. And why? Because he has never had to exercise great power and authority. It is by the exercise of power—it is by going out of the ordinary channels, by insisting upon doing things which one thinks will result in good, that one makes enemies. I never blamed those poor hard-working fellows at Kalgoorlie, nor did I in any way resent what they did.

MR. MAHON.—Hear hear; that is quite true.

SIR JOHN FORREST.—They did not know they were hurting the feelings of one who had always tried to befriend them. I was working hard at that very time to bring them happiness and comfort; and I would trust my life to-day to the same men who mobbed and hooted me then.

MR. FRAZER.—They did not hoot the right honorable member when he went up again to open the water scheme.

SIR JOHN FORREST.—In regard to this White Ocean policy, I wish to consider the matter calmly and clearly. I think that we have made a great mistake. I was not here when the subject first came before the House. I was in Western Australia. But I believe if the records of the House are searched, it will be found that, although I was always opposed to the clause. I did not vote or speak against it. Still I think we made a great mistake. In endeavouring to protect this

country from an invasion of alien coloured people, we went further than there was any necessity to go; and, in fact, we acted very foolishly. What is the history of the matter? In the Senate the Government introduced the Post and Telegraph Bill, and it was sought by the Labour Party in that House to insert a clause providing that no mail contract should be let to a shipping company which employed coloured crews. The then Vice-President of the Executive Council, Mr. R. E. O'Connor, resisted that clause with all his might, on behalf of the Government, and was able to prevent its adoption. When the Bill came to the House of Representatives, however, the clause, the consideration of which was postponed again and again, was eventually adopted under great pressure from the Labour Party. Mr. O'Connor was abandoned by the Government, or, it may be, he acquiesced in what was done. At any rate, when the Bill was returned to the Senate, Mr. O'Connor had to argue in favour of the clause, which then became a part of the measure.

MR. THOMAS.—How did the present Prime Minister vote on the clause?

SIR JOHN FORREST.—I do not know, but I should say the right honorable gentleman voted against the clause.

MR. THOMAS.—I doubt it.

SIR JOHN FORREST.—I myself was always opposed to the provision, but I was not well at the time, and had great domestic trouble, and the extent of my action was to express to my colleagues my disapproval of its inclusion. There are members of the Labour Party, and also of the Free-trade and the Protectionist Parties, who have expressed to me the view that in this matter we went further than there was any occasion to go; and subsequent events have proved the correctness of that opinion. It may be said that if honorable members, including protectionists, free-traders, and labour representatives, overstepped the mark, we can easily retrace our steps; but, though I sympathize with any desire there may be in that direction, it is not so very easy to adopt such a course, and especially is this so in the case of members of the Labour Party. Those who express disapproval of this section of the Post and Telegraph Act are exposed to much misrepresentation. They are told that they are not in sympathy with a "White Australia" policy, and that they are undoing legislation of a far-reaching character, and so forth, and I have not

the slightest doubt that I shall be so misrepresented. I have previously tried to convince honorable members that that is not my attitude, as is shown by the fact that I was responsible for the adoption of the Natal Act by the Western Australian Parliament, and by the further fact that long previously the Government of the State, of which I was Premier, passed Chinese exclusion legislation nearly as stringent as that passed by the Commonwealth Parliament. In my opinion this section in the Post and Telegraph Act will cause us to be regarded as Quixotic, unpractical, and unbusiness-like. There is no doubt that this legislation will cost the Commonwealth a lot of money. I know that honorable members opposite say that the Orient Company have stated that this provision is not the main reason for the increase in the amount of their tender. A couple of years ago, both the Peninsular and Oriental and Orient Companies—I do not know whether this has been made public, but it happened so long ago that I think I may state the fact to honorable members—through the Secretary of State for the Colonies, expressed their willingness to extend the present contract for two years, on the same terms. In the opinion of the Government, though not in my opinion, it was thought better to have a new contract under different conditions.

Mr. CARPENTER.—That does not touch the question the right honorable member is discussing.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—But the fact that the companies were willing to extend the contract on the same terms a couple of years ago, indicates that to a large extent the increased prices may be attributed to the new conditions, among which are the restrictions under section 16 of the Post and Telegraph Act.

Mr. CARPENTER.—The company say not.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—That is so in regard to the Orient Company; but the Peninsular and Oriental Company has refused to tender at all. As I have said, this section will cost us a great deal of money, and that is a consideration we should not altogether disregard. In my opinion, the provision will retard our progress, seeing that it will interfere to some extent with our means of communication, and, altogether, the measure, so far from being practical, seems to be very foolish. If we have passed legislation which is found to be adverse to our in-

terests, financially and generally, the only course for us is to repeal it. The words used in the Act are "no contract or arrangement shall be made." I appeal to honorable members who are accustomed to read plain English, to say what the meaning of those words is. The lawyers have been at work in order to find some way out of the difficulty, and their conclusion is that if we send our mails, and pay by poundage, we do not enter into an "arrangement"—that it is not an arrangement to send by the pound and pay by the pound. If that be so, it is very fortunate, because otherwise the section would prove much more injurious. To my mind, however, a "contract or arrangement" means any contract or arrangement under which we pay for the carrying of our mails; and that I believe would be the definition arrived at by any ordinary man. Such a construction, however, would never suit us, because it would debar our sending mails by the Peninsular and Oriental steamers, and by the steamers running to Japan, China, Singapore, and elsewhere. There would be no communication by post with those places, and we should be in a very difficult position. However, as I say, the legal mind has come to our rescue, and we are told that "arrangement" does not include paying for the carriage of our mails by the pound. The Peninsular and Oriental Company, under arrangement with the British Government, will bring the English letters out in ships, probably to some extent manned by coloured crews, and will carry our letters back to Europe, the latter, however, under the poundage system. Under such a method there would be no arrangement as to time-table, as to where the vessel should call, or how quickly they should travel, or where they would land the mails. We should simply put our mails on board, and allow the companies to carry them over the ocean when and how they liked. Money would be paid out of the Treasury for the carriage of the mails in ships manned by coloured crews. If we are to send letters, let us send them in the most expeditious way. To take the step to which it appears we may be forced, appears to be hypocritical, and not honest. If we were to say that we would not use any steamers with coloured crews for the carriage of mails, either under contract or by poundage, we might be acting foolishly, or Quixotically; but we should, at any rate, be acting like honest people, who were determined to adhere to their principles. The other plan means to deny an arrangement when, in my

opinion, we have made an arrangement. I wonder we use the tea the coloured man grows; there is no doubt we pay the coloured man, though we may not do so in the first instance, for all the services he renders. I wonder that farmers use the sacks, or squatters use the wool bales, which the people of India make, and for which we have to pay with the produce of the country. In desiring that the British, or, at any rate, the white race shall, as far as is possible, inhabit Australia, we are on safe ground. But when we say that we will not use the coloured man to make particular articles, or to assist in conveying our mails under an arrangement, we are on unsafe ground, and become hypocrites. I do not know why we should tilt at windmills in this way, and act differently from any other community in the world. No other country can afford to say that its mails shall not be carried out under a "contract or arrangement," except by a certain class of people. We must remember that there is not much difference between the Government paying for the service and a private person paying for it. The Government, in the first place, get the money from the people, and then pay it, while in the other case, the people pay for themselves. Why should we not also say that no ship carrying a coloured crew shall convey our produce and general merchandize? Why should we not prohibit every one from making a contract under which cargo may be carried in ships manned by coloured crews? Whether the Government or private persons pay, the money has to come out of the soil—Australia has to pay. What we desire is to have our mails carried expeditiously and safely. If we were to say that we would clear the ocean, and the world, of all coloured people, that would be consistent, though impracticable. We remember, however, that we are not so large in number as are the coloured races, and therefore such an idea is not entertained. We subsidize the Pacific Cable, but I feel sure that the board has a good many coloured people in its employment at Fanning Island and other places in the tropics. Similarly we subsidize mail services for the encouragement of trade with places like the New Hebrides and New Guinea, which are inhabited by people of coloured races. Why is this done? Because we have to do it. It is a matter, not of inclination, but of necessity. I think that we have acted very foolishly, therefore, in saying that we will not make a "contract or arrangement" with the English mail lines which employ

Sir John Forrest.

coloured crews on their steamers. But although we say that we will not enter into contracts or arrangements with such companies, we have had to twist the Act in order to allow the service of carrying our mails to be performed, and we have had to decide that to pay poundage is not an evasion of the law. If we have no contract with the companies, and simply pay so much per lb. for the carriage of our mails backwards and forwards, their vessels will not be compelled to call at Fremantle or at Adelaide; and will probably come on direct to Melbourne and Sydney. That would be a great injury to Western Australia and to South Australia.

Mr. CARPENTER. — The present English mail contract binds the vessels of the Peninsular and Oriental Company to call at Fremantle.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—So much the better for us. But are they bound to call at Fremantle on their way home? My point is that we shall be better off if we have definite contracts with the mail companies, stipulating where and when their steamers shall call, than if we have no contract and pay a poundage, which, in my opinion, is an unbusinesslike and foolish arrangement.

Mr. CARPENTER.—By paying a poundage we get the same service as before, but at a lower rate.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—We cannot obtain a regular service unless we have contracts with the companies concerned. Without contracts, their boats will not be bound to call regularly, according to a time-table, and might even be taken off for a week or two. Of course, if we can get as good a service for less money—by paying poundage than by paying a subsidy, the former arrangement is the better one; but I do not think we can. I do not think that the companies will give us as good a service without a contract. If I were a director of one of these companies, I would take good care that I did not give as much for lower rates as I gave when I was being paid a reasonable sum. It is essential to this country that we should have quick and regular ocean transit for our people, our produce, and our mails, and anything which interferes with that is prejudicial to our interests. The whole thing requires exposure, because at present the public are being deluded into the belief that what is being done is necessary to prevent Australia from being overrun by coloured people.

Mr. WILKINSON.—Is there not a patriotic as well as a commercial aspect?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—We are not the centre of the Empire. We are a handful of people on the outskirts of the Empire, requiring, above all things, speedy and regular transit. Surely the forty or fifty millions of people in the old country can safely be trusted to look after the main interests of the Empire. At the present time we are doing ourselves injury, and gaining no compensating advantage. We are made to appear as out of sympathy with the mother country in her difficulties in dealing with the various problems of the Empire. I am sure that we are all glad to help her; but at the present time we are made to look as though we are unmindful of her obligations and her difficulties. If what we are doing resulted in great material advantage, we might say to the mother country, "We cannot afford to do otherwise"; but at the present time we are gaining nothing, and are exhibiting ourselves before the people of the Empire as arrogant, unbusiness-like faddists.

Mr. FISHER.—Is it not a good thing to train up British seamen?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Yes; but that is a matter which can be well left to the mother country, and in which, at any rate, she might lead the way.

Mr. FISHER.—As we pay for the carriage of our mails, we are surely at liberty to take advantage of the opportunity to enforce a principle.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—But although we do not enter into contracts with the mail companies which employ coloured labour, we support them by paying poundage for the carriage of our letters, and by employing them for the transport of our wool, wheat, and other produce. I should like to see the matter reconsidered. It seems popular now-a-days to suggest the submission of questions like these to Royal Commissions, and it would certainly be a reasonable thing to have this question so investigated. The present law has done us a lot of harm. It has cost us a great deal of money, without doing us any good, materially or otherwise. It is useless to think that we can prevent the employment of coloured persons upon the ocean. Would any one suggest that we should not export our wool, our meat, our wheat, or our apples to the mother country in vessels employing coloured crews?

Mr. FISHER.—No one has proposed it.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Then, is it not foolish to make an exception in connexion with the carriage of our mails? Most of us are so afraid of being misrepresented in the matter, that we dare not express our real opinions; but I, for my part, am willing to run the risk. I commenced by saying that I am for a "White Australia," and no one can urge that my remarks to-night have been directed against the policy of preserving Australia for a white race, so far as we reasonably and properly can. It is legislation like this which makes people afraid of the Labour Party. I wish now to refer to another matter. It has been said that we, on this side of the Chamber, have adopted a certain attitude in regard to honorable members opposite, because they are members of the Labour Party, as though the Labour Party was something with a bad brand on it. At one time the members of the Labour Party were persons engaged in manual toil; but its membership has gradually grown until now any one can become a member of it. No doubt I could join it to-morrow if I were willing to sign the pledge. No other party offers such prospects of quick political advancement. On this side of the House a member must be in politics a long time, and make himself either very agreeable or very disagreeable, before he can obtain a portfolio. Then his position will probably be at the tail-end of a Ministry and he will have to work up from one office to another until perhaps at last he may become Prime Minister. Seven members of the Labour Party, the other day, however, reached the Treasury bench with a hop, skip, and a jump, none of whom had practically held Ministerial office before. Therefore, the temptation from a mere selfish point of view would seem to be to join the Labour Party rather than to oppose them. I am supporting the present Government, because I believe that they are capable of doing useful and necessary work.

Mr. WEBSTER.—The late Government were also capable of doing good work, but the right honorable member would not let them do it.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The programme and methods of this Government are more in accord with my view than were the programme and methods of the late Government. Some honorable members opposite, having tasted the sweets of office, disliked relinquishing them. By the phrase "sweets of office" let me explain that I

do not mean the emoluments of office; but rather the power, authority, and honour which attach to the management of public affairs. Some persons seem to think that there is only one sweet—the pay. That is not so. As one who has enjoyed a long term of office, I say that it is the desire to exercise control, to satisfy one's ambitions, and to do good for the community that is the chief incentive to office with good politicians.

Mr. FISHER.—I am sure that the right honorable member never profited by being in office.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I sometimes lost money by being in office. But I have certainly no ground for complaint, and I tried to do my best while there.

Mr. WEBSTER.—Why did the right honorable member's party charge the late Government with wishing for another day's pay?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I did not make any such statement, and I regret it if it was made. The honorable member, when trying to prevent the defeat of the Watson Government, urged that they had done good work, and that there was no fault to be found with their Administration. Do not these arguments apply now?

Mr. WEBSTER.—I asked for fair play.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I, too, ask for fair play on behalf of the Reid-McLean Administration. It is composed of experienced men, who are capable of doing good work. It is impossible for any Ministry to do very much in a short space of time. When Ministers take office, their first duty is to obtain a grasp of the questions which are awaiting their attention. The individual who, upon taking charge of a Department, immediately rushes matters, after the fashion of a bull at a gate, will not be likely to be successful. I do not blame the late Government for not having accomplished much, because they had not the opportunity to do so. They had to attend to their parliamentary duties, and consequently had very little chance to do anything of great importance. The same remark is applicable to the present Administration. Let us give them a trial, and let us put an end to this constant scrambling after office.

Mr. WATKINS.—Why did not the right honorable member entertain that view a month ago?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—We gave the late Government a trial extending over four months. Personally, I was very glad to see

a coalition effected between the protectionist and free-trade members of this House.

Mr. WEBSTER.—Does the right honorable member support the view which is entertained by the Prime Minister concerning the administration of the Immigration Restriction Act?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I have not heard anything about that matter.

Mr. WEBSTER.—What about the six potatoes?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Personally, I would prevent persons being brought to this country under contract for the purpose of interfering with the labour market, but I would not prohibit men from coming here under contract for a special purpose. A good man will not leave a position in the old country unless he can come to a certainty. How are we to excel in this country unless we obtain the services of experts? We must secure the best talent available. So long as the Act is not abused by bringing in persons to prevent strikes, I think that there is little cause for complaint. In my view, the existing law is too drastic. It might with advantage be amended in such a way as to effect all that the Labour Party desire, and yet not interfere with the importation of a few men for special purposes. I believe that the clause in the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill, upon which the Deakin Government were defeated, will receive a very short shrift indeed when it comes before the High Court. All the trouble by which the secessionists have disorganized the Protectionist Party might have been averted had they listened to the voice of reason. But some of those who voted against the Deakin Administration attached much more importance to the insertion of that clause in the measure to which I have referred than they did to protection. That is the position of the honorable member for Melbourne Ports and the honorable and learned member for Corio. They were content to vote for a provision which, in the opinion of the best legal authorities, was unconstitutional, and by their votes destroy the Protectionist Party, which they were elected to support. They were willing to sacrifice protection and the Deakin Government, which they loved so well, in order to vote for the inclusion of State servants in the Arbitration Bill. They seem to forget that they were responsible for deposing the protectionist Ministry from power. In his speech last night, the honorable and

learned member for Northern Melbourne entirely overlooked the fact that he assisted to defeat the protectionist Government, and subsequently took office with those he had assisted to depose his leader. He has affirmed that he obtained the permission of the honorable and learned member for Ballarat to join the labour Government. Where is the correspondence relating to the matter? I think he should produce it. I have the authority of the honorable and learned member for Ballarat for saying that, so far as he is concerned, he has no objection. I am informed that the honorable and learned member for Northern Melbourne did not receive any such permission from the honorable and learned member for Ballarat. The honorable member for Melbourne Ports and others are doing their best to induce people to forget that they destroyed the Protectionist Party in this House by voting for a clause which they knew upon the authority of men possessed of great legal knowledge was unconstitutional. They appear not to have cared twopence for protection so long as they could do something which they thought would enable them to gain the approval of a few of their electors.

Mr. HUME COOK.—Some of them had to keep their pledges.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—There is a time when honorable members have to decide which pledge they will keep. The protectionist members were returned to support a protective policy. They were elected under their leader, without whose assistance some of them would probably never have entered the portals of this House. Yet they were willing to forget that, and simply because they had given a pledge in regard to another matter not nearly so important, and which will prove to be unconstitutional, they deserted their leader and protection, and allied themselves with the enemies of the Government. I am opposed to the socialistic programme of the Labour Party, and to their caucus methods. In my opinion their policy is opposed to individual effort and individual ambition. I am aware that the individual views of many honorable members of the Labour Party do not differ very much from my own. But the organizations which are behind them do not share the opinions which they appear to entertain.

Mr. HUGHES.—Who is behind the right honorable member?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—My constituents.

Mr. HUGHES.—Our constituents are behind us.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Does the honorable and learned member believe in all that the *Tocsin* or the *Worker* says, or in all that Tom Mann preaches?

Mr. HUGHES.—No more than the right honorable member believes in all that Mr. Walpole says.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I scarcely know Mr. Walpole, and I am in no way responsible for him. If the Labour Party were in power, I am satisfied that the crusade in which they are engaged would progress very slowly indeed, because they know that the Socialism which they preach is not in accord with the views of the electors. The idea of every person being equal in wealth, energy, and ability!

Mr. HUGHES.—Who says that?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The press of the Labour Party says it. I shall fulfil my pledges as well as I can, but I will not be coerced by unions outside of Parliament, who wish to tell me how I should act in every emergency. If the theories advanced by honorable members opposite were sound they would have borne fruit long ago. The truth is that they are impracticable, and they will end now as they have always ended—in disaster. If they do not end in disaster, they will terminate in revolution.

Mr. HUGHES.—Will the Coolgardie water scheme end in disaster?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I sincerely pray that it will not. I do not consider that a socialistic enterprise at all.

Mr. HUGHES.—What is Socialism?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The Labour Party desire to deprive people of their property and to nationalize the land. The time has arrived for plain speaking upon both sides. I read in the *Tocsin* and the *Worker* what the Labour Party intends to accomplish, and I must say that its aims differ materially from the programme submitted by the Watson Government. They adopted the policy of the Deakin Government with the exception of the proposal to establish a Government tobacco monopoly and to take possession of £8,000,000 worth of the bank reserves, and these two planks of their future platform, and especially the latter, were put forward in my opinion without sufficient knowledge or consideration, and unmistakably show the trend of the socialistic legislation they

desire to pass. I am sure that the responsibility of office will cause honorable members opposite to moderate their views. There is no necessity, in the interests of the country, to depose the present Government. If they are defeated, what will happen?

Mr. WEBSTER.—There will be a general election.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—If there is not a dissolution, a coalition Government will be formed between members of the Labour Party and the seceding protectionists. Will such a Government be acceptable to or benefit Australia?

Mr. WATKINS.—Surely the right honorable member does not consider himself a protectionist any longer.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I hold that the present Government is much better fitted to control the destinies of Australia than is any combination of honorable members opposite. At any rate, the Ministry should receive a fair trial, and be treated with some measure of generosity. No one can say that the present Government is not composed of experienced men. There is not a member of it who has not had long experience.

Mr. HUME COOK.—Have they all had experience?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—With one exception, the members of the present Government have had many years experience of office. It is said that a man should serve his time to every trade, and I should be inclined to say, except for that of a Minister of the Crown—Ministers are all ready-made. I have now only to express a hope that those honorable members who have been so unwise as to desert, or to leave—perhaps that would be a more moderate word to use—the Protectionist Party and their leader—

Mr. MAUGER.—It is honorable members opposite who have done that.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I hope that those honorable members who have seen fit to leave the Protectionist Party and their leader, and who have thrown themselves into the arms of the Labour Party, will soon see the error of their ways. Personally, I feel convinced that if the Government is given a fair trial they will be able to do those things which will be found to be in the interests of Federation, and calculated to cement the various States more closely together. I believe, too, that they will bring forward measures which will be of permanent advantage to the people of Australia.

Mr. SPENCE (Darling).—I am sure that the members of the Labour Party have listened with a great deal of interest to the right honorable member for Swan. I have no doubt that they will take into their careful consideration the hints which he has given them, so that they may be able to make their organization so perfect that the right honorable gentleman will himself be prepared to join it. Judging by his address I can see that he is uncomfortable in his present company, and already feels that the Labour Party is the party he ought to join. He has told us of a number of democratic measures which he has passed in the great State of the west, and I always like to give the right honorable gentleman credit for what he has done. If the measures he has carried are not as perfect as they might be, he should not be censured or blamed for that. I am very hopeful that he will shortly see his way to join the Labour Party. He has been studying the pledge and rules of the party, and all we ask of honorable members generally is that they should study them a little more. We have been glad to hear that some of them have commenced to read the *Tocsin* and the *Worker*. I suppose that until quite recently they knew nothing of those intelligently-conducted literary organs. Their education, political and social, has in consequence been very much neglected. Now that they have started to read that literature, they have no doubt learnt a great many things they were not aware of previously, and a continuance of the study will dissipate some of the foolish notions and prejudices that are, at all times, associated with a lack of knowledge. The speech of the right honorable member for Swan was the usual straightforward, manly, breezy utterance which we all admire. There was some evidence in it of the influence of his present environment, because there was a good deal of "yes-no" about it. In criticising our methods, the right honorable gentleman found fault with them as being too stringent, and expressed the opinion that they would break down. He does not believe in the Labour Party, and he hopes that its organization will break down. We were not aware that the right honorable gentleman was a prophet, but he said to-night that he was going to prophesy, and he did prophesy that the organization of the Labour Party would break down inevitably. If that be so, the danger he fears from the return of the party to power is

non-existent. Why, therefore, should the right honorable gentleman be alarmed about the advance of the labour movement? Why should there be a gathering together of organizations outside, and a great fight put up, if within the Labour Party itself there is such a condition of affairs existing that it must break down of its own weight, owing to lack of efficiency? From the attention which he gave to the subject, I think that the right honorable gentleman realizes, on the contrary, that there is a very great probability of labour politics and the Labour Party very shortly dominating Federal and State politics together. The methods which they have adopted, and which they understand, and which the right honorable gentleman, and those who speak in opposition to them do not yet understand, have hitherto proved successful. I do not quarrel with the right honorable gentleman's criticism, or with the statement he makes with regard to the changed conditions which the control of parliamentary affairs brings with it. It is self-evident that some changes will be made in the methods of working in the Labour Party, and labour organizations. I have said that there seemed to be a good deal of "yes-no" about the right honorable gentleman's address. He found fault with the constitutional position. He said that a Government ought to be able to give the representatives of the Sovereign an assurance that they had a working majority. It was interjected that the Government of which the right honorable gentleman was a member had no such majority. He replied by saying, "But we were there, and remained there until we were shifted," as if that was a reply. If a Government is constitutionally bound to have a working majority, and otherwise should not continue to hold office, the right honorable gentleman stands self-condemned, because he was a member of a Government that continued to hold office without a majority. He said, in reply to an interjection, that the Government of which he was a member were there, and remained there until they were shifted, but that might be said of any Government, and was no answer. Then the right honorable gentleman admitted that it was the support of the Labour Party which, because of its policy, gave the Government of which he was a member, a working majority. That statement was quite correct, and exactly described the position. I shall not dwell upon the change of Government; we have heard of it sufficiently often to be familiar with the facts. But there was an assumption

on the part of the right honorable member for Swan that the Watson Government did not have a majority. Honorable members need only look at the division list on the question on which they took office, to see that they had every reasonable assurance from the division and from the speeches of honorable members who took part in it, that they had a very substantial majority—a much bigger majority than the present Government secured by a catch vote. The honorable member for Bland, therefore, had ample authority for assuring the representative of the Sovereign, that he had a working majority. It was only when the measure on which the division took place came to be submitted to the House in Committee that the steady pressure of the conservative elements outside and inside this House whittled away the majority. It was then found that our party had been deceived. Those who professed to be in favour of the Arbitration Bill, failed to carry out their pledges and promises, when an opportunity was given them to place the measure on the statute-book. They do as all conservatives do when they do not desire that it should appear to the people that they are opposed to a measure—they give something which is ineffective and worse than useless. In this case certain honorable members adopted that policy exactly. Speaking of the constitutional aspect, the Watson Government was really the only constitutional Government that this Federal Parliament has yet had. It has yet to be decided whether the present Government have a majority. The right honorable member for Swan asserted that the Watson Government had not a majority, but we all know quite well that if the present Prime Minister considered that there was a majority against the Watson Government he would at once have moved the motion of censure which he contented himself with talking about every day, in order to keep interest in the matter alive, and to find an excuse for asking honorable members to come with him. As leader of the Opposition the present Prime Minister gave the Governor-General his personal assurance that he had a working majority, but we know that the very moment this eager office-seeker got his opportunity he would take it. If he had had a majority behind him he would have taken advantage of the opportunity before he did.

Mr. WILSON.—Are there no eager office-seekers on the honorable member's side?

Mr. SPENCE.—Not that I am aware of. I do not know of one office-seeker on this side of the House. Let me say here that a most unfair remark was made to-night insinuating that one member of the alliance on this side is there for self-seeking reasons. There is absolutely no foundation for that statement. There has been no indication of anything of the kind. The right honorable member for Swan has put this matter very fairly. He does not tell honorable members that it would be unreasonable for any of them to desire to acquire office. There can be no blame attaching to any one who secures office fairly. But when office is secured unfairly and by peculiar tactics, as it has been secured by the head of the present Government, the action taken is open to criticism. A good deal has been said about our methods and the labour pledges. I do not propose to deal extensively with those matters to-night. A short time ago I delivered a speech in which I made some very emphatic statements of my views regarding the Ministerial programme, and the reasons why, in my opinion, the present Government should be put out. I do not propose to repeat those statements. I ask the House to take them as read, and to assume that I still stand by them, only more so. Some reference, however, may be made to the way in which the Labour Party is pledged, as the matter is always being brought up. I remind honorable members that any man who desires to join the Conservative Party in England, must sign the platform of that party. A party pledge is, therefore, no new thing, and there is nothing uncommon and nothing wrong about it. The pledge of the Labour Party is complained of because our platform is so good and our aims so high and noble that the only objections which can be brought forward are in respect of little matters which will not bear consideration. I cannot refrain from saying a word or two in reply to the criticism of the alliance by the right honorable member for Swan. The alliance is a perfectly natural and fair one. When the Watson Government took office, certain honorable members who do not belong to the Labour Party, but hold liberal and democratic views, and have no other object to serve than that of securing the passing of good measures, openly announced, without any request from the Ministry, that they intended to support it. There was no scheming on the part of the Government to secure that support. During the

course of this debate, not many honorable members have spoken, but the insinuation has been made more than once that there is a secret understanding among members of the alliance. These insinuations suggest that honorable members opposite are familiar with such practices, but the Opposition do not know of anything of the kind.

Mr. WILKS.—If the Opposition did they would not mention it.

Mr. SPENCE.—The basis of our alliance was put in black and white; but we cannot obtain any information as to the terms of the coalition. As soon as the Watson Government took office, they openly declared the relations between the Labour Party and those members of the Liberal Party who were supporting them, and, as the basis of the alliance, we have simply placed in black and white the agreement which was then publicly announced. The suggestion that there is some secret understanding between us, comes only from men who are naturally suspicious. We have sufficient common-sense to know that the alliance could not succeed by crooked methods. It must succeed on its merits, or it will fail. If the Labour Party had been so foolish as to adopt the tactics attributed to us by our opponents, we should not have made that progress which has characterized the labour movement. Every day we are gaining ground. The right honorable member for Swan has twitted honorable members of the Liberal Party with having deserted their leader, and while I know that they are well able to take care of themselves, I feel disposed, as one of those associated with them, to reply to his taunts. The right honorable member spoke of the lack of loyalty shown by these honorable members to their former leader. I confess that I have an admiration for loyalty, but it is not so much a question of loyalty to a leader as it is loyalty to the principles which bind a party. Nothing can be said against the man who stands by his principles. The right honorable member for Swan has charged honorable members of the Opposition corner with deserting their leader. What is his position? Who is his leader? Has he not deserted his true leader, the honorable and learned member for Ballarat, by placing himself under the leadership of the Prime Minister? If he has not accepted the Prime Minister as his leader, what is his position? I think that we are justified in asking for further information as to whether there is any

arrangement between the two parties now supporting the Government.

Mr. KENNEDY.—No arrangement.

Mr. SPENCE.—So far we have not heard of any. The Government whip—honorable member for Dalley—has said that the Prime Minister is the “star performer” of the company opposite, and I would add that the organizer is the honorable and learned member for Ballarat, who ought about the present situation. The company has submitted such a poor programme that it will not have any attraction to the public. I feel satisfied that the people demand something much better. The performers may be very good, and I am willing to admit that the company boasts of a star performer, but we wish to learn from the organizer himself what relation he, and those who speak of him constantly as their leader, bear to the rest of the company. We desire to know what he has secured for them by bringing about the peculiar combination which confronts us.

Mr. KENNEDY.—He has not handcuffed and handed us over to another leader.

Mr. SPENCE.—He has ceased to lead old followers, and has made them members of a scratch team. The honorable and learned member had a great deal to say a little while ago about a three-cornered political cricket match. I am prepared to kick the solid team on this side against the scratch team that has been raked up on the Government side. The members of that team cannot play together, and never will.

Mr. WILSON.—Has the honorable member ever attended our weekly caucus?

Mr. SPENCE.—It is useless for the honorable member to talk about caucus meetings, in view of the fact that members of the Deakin party have been charging each other with disloyalty to the decision of their caucus. When proposals were made some time ago for a coalition of the followers of the honorable and learned member for Ballarat, and those of the right honorable member for East Sydney, the proposed agreement was submitted to the caucus of the Liberal Party, but was rejected, the members of that party declining to support any coalition of which the honorable and learned member for Ballarat was not the leader. I wish to know what honorable members opposite have now to say in regard to that decision. A charge of disloyalty comes with a very ill-grace from an honorable member who has not respected the decision of the caucus.

Mr. KENNEDY.—To whom does the honorable member refer?

Mr. SPENCE.—To the right honorable member for Swan. It seems to me that those honorable members of the Liberal Party, who are now in alliance with us, are the only ones who have been loyal to the decision to which I have referred. There is an ominous silence on the part of the Ministry. We have heard from the star performer, and it is time that we had a speech from one of the stars of lesser magnitude. I am inclined to think that, as the result of the exposure of their manifold political sins, the Government feel their position so keenly that they are about to tender their resignation, and therefore do not think it worth while to put up a fight. Perhaps they propose to resign without going to a division on this motion.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—No fear.

Mr. SPENCE.—The honorable member is not in the secrets of the Cabinet. He finds fault with the combination; he does not like the company in which he finds himself. It is, after all, a company of contradictions. The members of the coalition, with perhaps one or two exceptions, have only one aim in common. For the most part the coalition consists of men who have thrown their previous policy to the winds, and their one aim now is to “down” the Labour Party. The honorable member for Parramatta is, in that respect, solid with the coalition.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Have I ever said that I wish to “down” the Labour Party?

Mr. SPENCE.—The honorable member yesterday declared himself against the party. There can be no mistake about his utterances.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I said nothing of the kind, but that does not matter.

Mr. SPENCE.—The honorable member declared himself an anti-socialist, and therefore, he must be against the Labour Party.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—But not against labour.

Mr. SPENCE.—That is an old Conservative cry. I never yet met a politician who was not, according to his statements, the best friend of labour. An employer may be the greatest sweater living—but he will declare that he is one of the best friends of labour. Although he may not even be paying his workmen a living wage, he will regard himself as a philanthropist, simply because he employs them, and suggest that, if he did not find the work, they would be

unable to live. I am astonished that the honorable member who has often denounced that cry, should now give utterance to it.

Mr. WILKS.—The Labour Party never had so good a man for labour in its ranks.

Mr. MAUGER.—Let the honorable member for Parramatta speak for himself.

Mr. WILKS.—He is too modest; but the honorable member cannot contradict my statement.

Mr. SPENCE.—The honorable member for Parramatta modest!

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The honorable member has a crowd behind him who never did anything for labour in their lives.

Mr. SPENCE.—The honorable member says that he is in sympathy with labour, but that is a claim which is made by every conservative politician. The masses are the best judges, and they have declared against the conservatives, who put forward that cry, by returning special representatives, so to speak, to do that which men who professed to be their friends failed to do. Honorable members on this side of the House were returned to Parliament, because those who professed to be the friends of labour had neglected its interests.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Those who talk so loudly have done the least.

Mr. SPENCE.—I am quite prepared to have my record compared with that of any other honorable member.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I am not referring to the honorable member, but to some of those behind him.

Mr. SPENCE.—In view of the silence maintained by members of the Ministry, I am inclined to believe that they are about to throw up the sponge.

Mr. MAUGER.—Where are the members of the Ministry?

Mr. SPENCE.—Perhaps they are holding a Cabinet meeting, to consider whether they should not recognise the situation, and gracefully retire.

Mr. KENNEDY.—Whom should we put in their places?

Mr. SPENCE.—There would be no difficulty in filling their places by men who would do the work of the country much better than they are likely to do. When the honorable member for Parramatta—who has a faculty for interjecting, and drawing speakers away from the thread of their discourse—interrupted me, I was about to point out that some of the secrets of the coalition would yet leak out. Perhaps, after all, I am mistaken in supposing that the Cabinet are considering the wisdom of retiring. It may be that the leader of the

Government has imposed silence on his colleagues, lest they should tell too much. One or two secrets have already been disclosed. We have learned something about the way in which nominations are made by the Conservative Party; we have learned that it indulges in practices for which the Labour Party has been denounced. We have heard something about the *Sydney Morning Herald* fixing up the free-trade bunch. We have also heard that in Western Australia the right honorable member for Swan, together with a newspaper editor, fixed up a bunch for election purposes. The lack of wisdom of those who fixed up those bunches was shown by the fact that the persons selected did not stand true to their parties. The right honorable member for Swan is evidently not a good hand at choosing candidates. I interjected while he was speaking that those he selected did not stand true, and the right honorable member admitted that he could not keep them true. We have only to look at the present situation in this Parliament, in regard to the Free-trade Party, to see that their method of selection does not keep honorable members opposite to their pledges. Many of them, it is true, tried to be loyal, but when they could not get enough of their own way they gave up the fight. That is not the way to win. The way to win in politics is to keep on fighting. If we on this side of the House are beaten in connexion with our social reform and trade union movements we come again. We adopt some other tactics, and keep on fighting. The right honorable gentleman at the head of the Government has never tested the question of free-trade in this House. He does not even know the fiscal opinions of a number of the Queensland members.

Mr. WILKS.—He does not know the honorable member's opinions.

Mr. SPENCE.—If the right honorable gentleman had any faith in his own views he would certainly have taken an opportunity to test the question. The method of selection by newspaper proprietors, or by a great leader like the right honorable member for Swan, has been proved to be a failure. If honorable members opposite wish for the success of their principles, they had better copy the methods of the only successful party—the Labour Party. Instead of doing that, they twit us with not knowing how to manage our own business. It seems to me that the evidence is all the other way. I say emphatically that we ought to hear

from the Government something more about their policy. The discussion hitherto has centred around the policy of the present Opposition. If my theory be correct, the Government intend to resign, or they know that if they go to the country, they will not return as a Government. I presume that the tactics adopted by honorable members opposite are intended to save time, and that they think it expedient to discuss the policy of the party that will be in power after the appeal to the country. If that be the case, it is just as well that we should understand it; and we can regard the present debate as a discussion of the policy of the incoming Government, rather than as a criticism of the lack of policy of the present Government. We cannot, of course, discuss something which is non-existent. It would hardly be interesting enough to discuss nothing. As the Government have no policy except to get into recess, they cannot give us the slightest indication of what they propose to do. When they get into recess, they will evolve a policy which they will be able to present to Parliament when we meet again. That in itself is enough to condemn them. It is only a fair thing that the example set by the Watson Government to have upon its programme something more than is sufficient for one session should be followed by the present Government. But they criticise that as a foolish course to pursue. They have such a peculiar combination behind them that they find it impossible to evolve a policy. The honorable member for Parramatta tells us that he is not satisfied with the coalition.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Why does not the honorable member leave me alone?

Mr. SPENCE.—I have not said anything unkind of the honorable member. He has a right to know what the policy of the Government is. For many years he was a colleague of the Prime Minister, and he did his work as a Minister exceedingly well. Yet he does not know anything, and naturally he is not satisfied.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I seem to be more satisfied than the honorable member for Perth is.

Mr. SPENCE.—One question that has been mentioned this afternoon is that of the High Commissionership. I agree with the leader of the Opposition that a great deal more importance attaches to that question than seems to be supposed by the Government. They tell us that they intend to consult the States. The Watson Government intended to ask the States

whether they were willing to hand over to the High Commissioner some of the work that is now done by the Agents-General.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Hear, hear.

Mr. SPENCE.—The honorable member for Parramatta agrees with that. But if the States refuse to agree we ought to know what the Government intend to do. Do they intend to decline to carry out that part of their programme which is necessary in the interests of the Commonwealth, simply because one or two of the States may not agree with what they propose to do? That is a question that ought to be replied to. If any member of the Government has the courage to speak, or if their master, the honorable and learned member for Ballarat intends to speak, we ought to have an explanation in regard to this matter. It is not fair to deny us information.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Has the honorable member read what the Premier of New South Wales said on the subject?

Mr. SPENCE.—He is only one. There are six States in this Federation, although the present Government appears to recognise only two. The others appear to be regarded merely as postscripts. The policy of the Government seems to be to listen to the representations of the two larger States, and not to mind the others. The right honorable member for Swan has criticised a portion of the White Australia policy, as laid down by the first Parliament of the Commonwealth—upon which I need hardly say that I hold strong opinions—and has asked that it should be altered. But the Prime Minister appears to be afraid to deal with the contract section of the Post and Telegraph Act, because some of the supporters of the coalition would decline to assist him in that direction. That seems to indicate that there is a kind of understanding on that matter. If there is such an understanding, we ought to know it. Whilst I am a member of a party that has always been prepared to support any Government that gave us the measures which we desired, at the same time we intend to maintain what we have secured. We are naturally suspicious of those who are declared opponents of those measures that we believe in, and who, at the same time, refuse to give us the measures for which we ask—such, for instance, as the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill, in an effective form.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The section to which the honorable member has referred

has nothing to do with the White Australia policy.

Mr. SPENCE.—The right honorable member at the head of the Government previously said that he would alter that section; but he cannot alter it because of the coalition. The right honorable member for Swan is a part of that coalition.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I will vote for doing away with that section if I have the chance.

Mr. SPENCE.—I believe that the right honorable member will. But we want to know whether his leader has pledged him, amongst others, to support the maintenance of that section. The supporters of the Government appear to lack any cohesion of any kind, and to be without any sort of policy. How can a Government be sure of a majority when its supporters have no bond to hold them together? The subject of old-age pensions has been dealt with by other speakers. The Government have no definite policy on that question. I remember an occasion when the right honorable gentleman at the head of the Government, speaking in the Sydney Town Hall, said that any Treasurer would be foolish—I forget his exact words—if he raised all the money required by the Commonwealth from Customs. He said that the Treasurer could raise a portion of the revenue by the direct taxation of land values. When the Barton Government introduced its programme, which contained a proposal for old-age pensions, we heard the right honorable gentleman stating that that proposal was simply a sham, which could not be carried out. But it is now to be found in his own programme. Does he still hold the same view as he held when he said that it was impossible to carry it out?

Mr. WILKS.—He is going to try to carry it out by an arrangement with the States.

Mr. SPENCE.—Yes, he is going to consult with the States. But suppose that the States will not do anything?

Mr. WILKS.—Then he can do nothing; he admits that.

Mr. SPENCE.—The Government whip, who I presume is the mouthpiece of the Ministry, and appears to be the only one who knows anything about their policy, tells us that if the States decline to agree as to the matter of old-age pensions, the Government will not do anything. If they decline to do anything in relation to the High Commissionership, the Government will do nothing. Those unfortunate pioneers of Australia, whose hardi-

hood and whose grand work the Prime Minister and his followers praise so highly who have been enterprising enough to live in more than one State, may continue to starve, simply because we have not a Government with the necessary courage, ability, and energy, to pass the necessary legislation. Why did we have Federation? Are we to be governed by the States—to have a reversal of the Constitution? The Government, as I have said, is weak in every quarter—weak in its following, and weak in its alleged policy.

Mr. WILKS.—During the four years of the Commonwealth, this is the first time the Labour Party have spoken of this question, and for three years, they supported a Government who did not intend to do anything in the matter.

Mr. SPENCE.—The honorable member, who is the Government whip, knows that Parliament has worked very hard since the inauguration of the Commonwealth. It was necessary to pass many machinery Acts, and, surely to goodness, the sessions were long enough. The programme of the Barton Government was too comprehensive for any one Parliament; and it is unfair to twist us with supporting a Government, who were eleven months dealing with the Tariff alone. The present Prime Minister said that it was simply a sham, and a humbug, for the Barton Government to place old-age pensions on their programme, because legislation in that direction could not be carried into effect, until the expiration of the book-keeping period. Now, however, the Prime Minister places old-age pensions in his own programme, and we learn for the first time that its introduction depends on the consent of the States. But the States are self-governed, and have the power to follow the example of the two States in which old-age pensions are established. It is a fair argument that, if we do not find the States moving in this direction now, they are not likely to co-operate with the Commonwealth. The weak policy of the Ministry is not the kind of policy we ought to expect from gentlemen who talk so glibly about responsible government.

Mr. WILKS.—There is a Labour Government in Queensland, and there are no old-age pensions in that State.

Mr. SPENCE.—The Labour Government in Queensland are prepared to establish old-age pensions promptly, and they have the necessary knowledge and ability to carry out such legislation. The present Commonwealth Government knew that they could

not establish old-age pensions when they put the proposal before us, and the Prime Minister is guilty of the same sham and humbug with which he charged the Barton Government. Although arbitration admittedly affects only a limited number of industries at present, no one can foresee how many may eventually come under the Federal Act; and any legislation is desirable which will prevent strikes, with their disturbance of industrial life, and conditions. The fact that we cannot at present say how many industries may be affected, makes it all the more imperative that the measure should be an efficient and workable one. This Bill has wrecked Government after Government; and we now have a Government in power, who, if they have a chance, will impose on the people of Australia, a measure which will be productive of much evil, suffering, and injustice—which will make the conditions of industry worse than they would be without a measure of the kind. I make that remark advisedly, and am convinced of its truth. One particular clause will, in my opinion, not only do a great injustice to unions, but will prevent many registering under the Bill.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—When the honorable member says that, does he mean that unions will be prevented from registering, by reason of the difference between the two amendments?

Mr. SPENCE.—Yes; I know that, because of the clause which has been adopted, unions which were waiting for the Bill will not register.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—They may not register, but it will not be because of the difference between the two amendments.

Mr. SPENCE.—The Watson Government when in charge of this measure in Committee, were in many instances forced, by the influence of those now on the Treasury bench, to accept certain amendments which rendered the Bill less efficient, and were not in the interest of those concerned. The clause on which the late Government were defeated, was not the only one to which we objected, and it was not fair to twit the members of that Government, because they had to accept some amendments in which they did not fully believe. It was the duty of the Government to pass as good a measure as possible; and it was only when an amendment was reached, which rendered the measure unworkable, that the Government took their final stand. One point is overlooked by those who have had no experience of the trade union movement, and who, like the

Minister of Defence and his colleagues, regard that movement from a theoretical point of view. Because certain things are possible under the measure, they suppose that those things are going to be done. We who are connected with trade unions, have practical experience of men as they are, and with us it is not a question of what men of a different stamp might do, but what the men whom we know are likely to do. The great difference between the two amendments is particularly felt in the union of which I have been president for eighteen years, and about which I claim to know more than any other honorable member in the House. It would be impossible for that union to prove to a Judge that a majority of those affected were in favour of preference being given. The members of the union are not working in the industry except at a certain period of the year, and no living soul could say where the members were, or who were affected by the award, and there is no machinery to secure the opinion of those affected. We could not give any evidence that would be accepted, and any lawyer, or even a layman, could break us down and prevent our getting an award which would give a preference. In some other industries, I admit that the whole position would be different; but we are legislating for specific industries. The organization to which I refer is the largest in Australia, and is connected with the greatest industry and biggest export trade of the Commonwealth. The union has had a long existence, and the opinions of its representatives ought to have some weight. Let us suppose, for a moment, that a matter involving only legal questions was before the House, and let us further suppose a most unlikely thing, namely, that all the lawyers in the House were unanimous. What would those lawyers say if a layman like myself were to deny the correctness of their assumptions and opinions? Such a denial would not have any weight. Those who have had experience of the trade union movement are, by reason of their practical knowledge, unanimously of opinion that the measure, as passed by this House, is unworkable, and I can only interpret our being ignored as showing a desire to make the Bill ineffective. I speak authoritatively on this matter, after consultation with those controlling the affairs of the union of which I am president, and I may say that I used no influence whatever in order to secure the opinion I express, namely, that the union

will not register, and thus will be shut out from any benefits under the measure. It may be asked why the union should not register and get an award. The answer is that an award would be useless unless the Judge had power to protect the interests of the organization. The measure will be absolutely inoperative unless it recognises and encourages the maintenance of all such organizations. In the New Zealand Bill, when originally introduced, the preamble spoke of the encouragement of industrial unions, that measure being based on a desire to encourage the formation and registration of organizations, so that they might be used as machinery to bring about industrial peace. In this House the conservative element, with its influence operating on others who have practically no knowledge, has reversed the position altogether. Each clause which recognised unions was attacked the moment it came before us, and we had proposals for compulsory organizations, proposals which were intended to strike a blow at existing institutions, and render the measure nugatory. No one can say that I did not do my best each time to resist those attacks; and though we were forced to accept some amendments, that is not a fact on which we ought to be taunted, because our acceptance does not mean approval. For myself I should not have accepted the amendments which the late Prime Minister consented to make in the Bill, but would have kept the debate going single-handed until all were tired out before I gave way. The remarks I have made apply to other organizations, but particularly to the organization with which I am connected. In industries where the men are constantly at work, it would be easy to ascertain the views of those directly concerned, but in an industry where we do not have the same men working year by year, it would be impossible to prove to any Judge the consent of the majority of those affected. In my opinion, the Arbitration Bill has been deliberately destroyed. It was very plainly to be seen what influence was brought to bear on honorable members towards that end. That influence counts in the present movement, and will count in the coming election if we have the luck of a dissolution—I mean that anti-labour influence, which is called anti-socialistic. Unless the Arbitration Bill is improved—as it must be, or I hope it will not become law—it will introduce tyranny, and take us back to a period from which we thought we had escaped. The measure as it stands would inflict a great deal of misery, and

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take away from the industrial classes rights for which they have fought very hardly. Honorable members who prate a great deal about individual liberty, but who support a social system which does not give any liberty, claim that they are conserving the interests of the non-unionists. I have known it to be the rule within a district, with the consent of the employers concerned, that no one should obtain work unless he was a member of a union. But under the Bill as it has been amended, it would be within the power of employers to weaken and to gradually destroy the unions, and the unions would be unable to compel their members to pay for the maintenance of the organization which obtained reasonable conditions for them. It would also be possible for employers to boycott the members of unions. Although the Bill contains the provision that no one is to be discharged from his employment because he is a unionist, we know that in practice that provision could not be enforced, because it could not be proved that the employé was discharged for that reason. We cannot deny the employers the right to discharge workmen who do not suit them, and therefore they would be able to make excuses for the dismissal of unionists. In the electorate which I represent, it has been urged in the leading article of a newspaper that the employers should refuse to engage any member of the Australian Workers' Union.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—To what newspaper does the honorable member refer?

Mr. SPENCE.—To the *Bourke Banner* of the 10th August, 1904. The writer of the article says—

We now advise a course which may seem drastic, but which alone can be effectual. No employer should give employment to a member of the Australian Workers' Union. Let the hundreds of union men, to whom the union is their God, look to their union, and not to the capitalist, for work and wages, for food and clothes for themselves and their families.

Then follows a good deal more in the same tone. That was written just after the recent New South Wales elections, because the electors insisted on returning a labour member.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Surely no one takes any notice of such statements!

Mr. SPENCE.—They are taken notice of, and the honorable member knows it. I think that he must have forgotten a great deal of his trade union experience, because these practices are not confined to any one class of industry. While I do not rank all

employers alike, I know that the organization to which this newspaper appeals—the Pastoralists' Union—practices a systematic boycott. There have been produced in this Chamber the official papers of the Queensland branch of that Union, and we have in our possession other similar documents. I have seen its official circulars, and the instructions to its agents, and I know that a boycott is worked by means of a system of registration; which is made compulsory upon its members, with a view to weeding out union men.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK. — Does that member believe that any member of this House is in sympathy with that sort of thing?

Mr. SPENCE.—What is the use of sympathy, if honorable members do not give effect to it in an Act of Parliament? What is the use of the honorable member talking of sympathy with labour, when he prevents the passing of labour laws?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The honorable member is talking humbug now.

Mr. SPENCE.—I am stating an absolute fact.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I did not dispute the honorable member's statement of fact, but I complained of his unfair criticism.

Mr. SPENCE.—I do not think that the honorable member understands the difference between a fact and an insinuation. The organization to which this newspaper appeals carries on a systematic boycott. Probably the majority of its members decline to put it into force; but those who choose to do so use the machinery that is provided.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—And the honorable member wished to insinuate that I am in sympathy with that sort of thing.

Mr. SPENCE.—If the honorable member is not in sympathy with it, he should show that he is not. I charge the honorable member with not doing so, and with voting in such a way that the workers cannot obtain a law which is necessary for their protection.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—What the honorable member says is pure nonsense. I am amazed at his unfairness.

Mr. SPENCE.—I am not generally charged with being unfair. The honorable member and others voted for an amendment which will prevent the labour organizations from securing protection against unfair dealing and injustice. That is undeniable. Boycotting is no new method. It has been worked before by men of strong prejudices. All that we asked was that the Court should have power to grant preferences if it chose

to do so. The phrase "preference to unionists" is really a misnomer. What is desired is protection to unionists, and protection to the Act, so that it may be effectively administered.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The honorable member's leader said that it was not intended to give this preference, except to majorities.

Mr. SPENCE.—The honorable member is slow to admit that he is in a false position. It was not a question of there being a majority, but of proving the existence of a majority. I have already explained that; it is not my fault if the honorable member cannot understand plain English. In addition to the boycott, which the employers may use if they choose, and some of them do use it, there are other ways in which they can weaken the labour unions. It is a very common thing in America, and I can quote instances of it here, to make it a condition of obtaining employment that the applicants shall not join a trade union. A clause in the agreement of the South Australian *Register* office, for 1888, with compositors accepting a thirty-six months' engagement, was this—

The employee shall not during the service aforesaid be or become a member of the South Australian Typographical Society, or any of a similar nature, or having similar objects.

If employers choose to insist upon such conditions, how can we prevent it, unless power is given to the Court to give preference to unionists—that is, to see that the unionists get fair play? I need not dwell on this matter, because I have spoken upon it before, and I know that it is hopeless to convert honorable members opposite by force of logic.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The honorable member's statements are too unfair to convert any one.

Mr. SPENCE.—The position I am taking is, that the attitude of the Government in regard to the Arbitration Bill is sufficient to condemn them, apart from their want of a policy, and the other charges brought against them. Although honorable members opposite have pretended to desire the passing of a measure which will secure industrial peace, they voted for an amendment which defeats its object, merely to displace the then existing Government, and to obtain office themselves.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH.—The honorable member is in favour of the Bill as it stands, with the exception of the provision in dispute.

Mr. SPENCE.—No; I am not. There are other provisions to which I object. The late Government had forced upon it

provisions which make some of the clauses of the Bill imperfect, and which I should not have accepted. Honorable members know that when a Bill is in Committee, those in charge of it are sometimes forced to accept amendments in which they do not believe. The Watson Administration are not responsible for such amendments. The honorable member for Macquarie is one of those who sought every occasion to turn that Government out of office. I should have no fault to find with the present Administration, if its leader had defeated the Watson Government by a straight-out fight, on a motion of censure. If he had done so, the present discussion would have been saved. He, however, took advantage of a difficulty in connexion with a most important measure, which affects the well-being and the living of thousands of men and women, who have little enough to live on, and who have been waiting for a long time for a Bill which will allow of the peaceful settlement of industrial disputes by a Justice of the High Court, in order to defeat the Watson Government. It is our duty to ascertain whether the vote by which he came into power was not a catch vote. If it was given deliberately, in order to displace the then Government, that fact will be seen when a division is taken on the motion now before the House. Upon a previous occasion I pointed out that the declared attitude of the present Government and their followers is anti-socialistic. The extraordinary feature of the position is that whilst they profess to be strong opponents of Socialism, the only definitions which they offer of that term refer to reforms, such as the establishment of a co-operative Commonwealth, which may possibly be accomplished in the far distant future. The Government and their supporters do not attack anything which the Labour Party has done, or proposes to do now, but they condemn something which, according to their own wild imaginings, may occur a hundred years hence. Constitutional government, as I understand the term, means that at certain fixed periods the people are called upon to choose their Parliament. We have a democratic form of government—in other words, Demos rules. The people elect their members of Parliament upon certain definite issues, and send them here to give effect to their mandate. Consequently, the business of Parliament is really controlled by the electors. For the Government to attack conditions which they say somebody is anxious to

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establish in the misty future, but which may never be established, seems to me a most extraordinary position to take up. They say that they intend to combat Socialism, and yet the very organizations to which they are appealing to fight their battle throughout Australia are themselves of a socialistic character.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The honorable member has raised a nice little bogey, and now he should knock it down.

Mr. SPENCE.—The honorable member for Parramatta is chasing a mere shadow. The statement has been made that the Labour Party intend to rob everybody.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Who said that? I am amazed at the honorable member's unfairness. He is absolutely reckless.

Mr. SPENCE.—If the honorable member would remain silent he would not get so hopelessly mixed. The Socialism of which we have heard in this Chamber is a pure myth. The honorable and learned member for Wannon has declared that the Labour Party wish to rob the farmer—to confiscate his stock, and land, and, indeed, all his worldly possessions. I have no desire to misrepresent the honorable member for Parramatta.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The honorable member is misrepresenting me all the time.

Mr. SPENCE.—I repeat that Socialism, as defined by the honorable and learned member for Wannon, means the confiscation of all the farmer's property.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Will the honorable member permit me to ask him one question?

Mr. SPEAKER.—The honorable member cannot ask a question at this stage.

Mr. SPENCE.—I recognise that the honorable member must be uncomfortable.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I assure the honorable member that I am uncomfortable only when I hear him make such unfair statements.

Mr. SPENCE.—The so-called anti-socialistic movement outside is merely an attempt to defeat the Labour Party by branding its members as Socialists. The Federated Employers' Union, the Property Defence League and other bodies are being associated for that purpose, and the Prime Minister has declared himself in sympathy with their objects. That fact connects every supporter of the Government with the movement in question. But I would point out that one of the meetings, which was held at Geelong, concluded by asking the

Government for a grant of £1,000 to enable the producers to buy compressed fodder and to find a market for their produce. These are the people who denounce Socialism. A similar gathering, which was held at Hay, wound up by adopting resolutions urging the Government to pass an Irrigation Bill. At Adelaide, too, a meeting was recently held to form an organization to combat Socialism. Every other consideration is to be sunk in order to defeat the Labour Party. The extraordinary feature

is that those who most violently denounce Socialism themselves practise it. In New South Wales, the followers of the Government, led by Mr. Carruthers, have asked for nearly £8,000,000 from the Public Works Department and, strange to say, the gentleman who requested the biggest sum, namely, £1,700,000, was the honorable member for New England who is a strong individualist. He desired that a railway could be constructed from Guyra to Grafton. As the brunt of the attack upon the Government has hitherto fallen upon the Prime Minister, I think it is about time that a little Victorian history was introduced into the debate. In this connexion, it is very singular that the Minister of Trade and Customs—who is “equal in all things” with the Prime Minister—was, when Premier of Victoria, a most astounding Socialist. In his address at Bairnsdale he submitted a very socialistic programme. He proposed to find money for housing the industrial classes, and advocated the granting of loans to the extent of 60 per cent. upon the value of the securities offered, at 6 per cent. interest, with a fifteen years’ currency. He also proposed to establish old-age pensions, and a system of State-aided insurance. He wished to go one better than the Labour Party. He further advocated technical education for all branches of industry. Does he still believe in those principles? He favored the establishment of dairy farms, in which instruction could be imparted in the best methods of making butter. He also promised to provide the people with inferior land at 5s. per acre, and proposed to compulsorily resume it. He assured his hearers that he had resumed 50 acres within a two-penny tram section, and established a settlement.

Mr. McLEAN.—And a very good settlement it is.

Mr. SPENCE.—This is the programme that we are advocating, and yet the honorable gentleman has now decided that his special mission in life is to keep the Labour

Party out of power, in order to prevent these good things being brought about. If not, why did honorable members opposite put us out of power?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Why does the honorable member wish to put the honorable member for Gippsland out of power when he is so pronounced a Socialist?

Mr. BAMFORD. — Because the honorable gentleman does not propose to do those things now.

Mr. SPENCE. — I like something approaching decency and honesty in politics, and not sham, humbug, and hypocrisy. I object to men speaking in one way and acting in another. I object to their saying that these things are not socialistic, while some proposal which may never be introduced is Socialism. The co-operative Commonwealth and such things are not before us now, but the other measures to which I have referred are before us, and they are distinctly socialistic. The Minister of Trade and Customs now has as his colleague the “star” of the company opposite, whose anti-socialistic proclivities lead him to support private enterprise pure and simple. But I have not yet exhausted the honorable gentleman’s programme. He was also prepared to support grain elevators for loading the farmers’ grain, and water conservation for their benefit. All these excellent ideas are distinctly socialistic. I wish to know, and I think we are entitled to know, where honorable gentlemen opposite draw the line. The right honorable member for Swan has carried out an excellent socialistic scheme in Western Australia. It was a very big project indeed, and the right honorable gentleman deserves very great credit for having the courage to enter upon it. But he says that that is not Socialism. It is time these honorable gentlemen had some teaching to enable them to know what Socialism is, and what it is not. We say that where the general community takes up an enterprise, or in a certain degree gives assistance to an enterprise, that is State Socialism. It may be limited according to circumstances, but it is all a form of State Socialism. The Minister of Trade and Customs was consistent with his advocacy of Socialism when he went in for protection, because the object of protection is to enable people to carry on industries here by giving them the assistance of protective duties. That is distinctly socialistic.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK. — Is the honorable member a protectionist or a free-trader? We are coming to it now.

Mr. SPENCE.—The honorable member for Parramatta need not bother himself about that. I hope I am something better than either. I do not find any reference to the matter in the speech to which I have referred, but I have been told that the present Minister of Trade and Customs, although a federalist now, was in the past somewhat opposed to Federation, on the ground that it would probably do away with the Victorian Stock Tax. The honorable gentleman, it appears, would rather sacrifice Federation than do away with the Stock Tax. I hope that his association at the present time with the right honorable gentleman, who is going to bring about harmonious relations between the Federal and States Governments, has induced him to abandon his opposition to Federation, and even to forget all about the Stock Tax. However, the honorable gentleman is, I think, in duty bound to tell the House exactly how far he is going, and how far the consent of his partner in this business, as the head of this peculiar Government, will be given to bring about complete Socialism.

Mr. McLEAN.—If the honorable member will support the Government, I shall be prepared to go as far as I said on the occasion to which he has referred.

Mr. SPENCE.—How can I support the honorable gentleman and the Government of which he is a member, when he has declared that he will knock the Labour Party out of existence if he can, and when I know that that is the only party which honestly and openly advocates these things? The members of the honorable gentleman's party say one thing and do another, and they are being backed up by a party outside that wants everything socialistic for itself, whilst it denies the advantages of Socialism to everybody else. The honorable gentleman speaks of the Labour Party as representing a section of a class. I presume that the honorable gentleman means that the wage-earning class, the artisans who work for an employer, are not to have their share of Socialism. They are not to have any share in socialistic enterprises, which are only to be proposed for the benefit of the men on the land. I shall presently have something to say about the attitude of the Government to the men on the land. I have just a word or two to say about another anti-Socialist who stood for the Victorian State Parliament at the same time as the honorable member for Gippsland, and who was a supporter of that honorable member. I refer

to the honorable and learned member for Wannon. I am sorry the honorable and learned member is not here, but I shall say nothing concerning him that is not perfectly fair. I desire merely to show how much deception there is about some of these honorable gentlemen. In a speech delivered at Hamilton, when the honorable and learned member for Wannon stood for the Victorian State Parliament, after Federation had been accomplished, he was able to tell the electors that the fiscal issue had been transferred to Federal politics. As he dealt with the matter at the beginning of his address, I suppose I may conclude that it represented his first plank, and I find that the honorable and learned member complained that the retiring member had altogether neglected local requirements. He had not had enough Government money spent in the district. The honorable and learned member for Wannon was going to see that more was spent in future. The other man had done nothing, and he knew that he would be able to do a great deal more. The position which he then took up was that it was justifiable to grab Government money for the constituency; but the honorable and learned member is now an anti-socialist, and he believes only in private enterprise. I need not refer to some other statements which must have been jocular, because the honorable and learned member claimed that he was a liberal, and a follower of the Liberal Party. He told the electors that he had the support of Major Reay, with whose politics residents of Victoria are well acquainted. I find that he favoured a number of things which were advocated by the honorable member for Gippsland. For instance, the honorable and learned member for Wannon on that occasion favoured the establishment of State dairies in agricultural districts as educational institutions in which the people might be taught to make good butter—equal to the Dutch butter, and so on. That is, no doubt, a very good idea, but it is distinctly and entirely socialistic. There can be no denying that.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—What is the use of denying it? Would the honorable member accept a denial if he got it?

Mr. SPENCE.—But the honorable and learned member for Wannon is now denouncing Socialism. He said, further, that he would support closer settlement, and advocated the resumption of the large estates around Hamilton. That is a social-

istic proposal, which has been advocated by the Labour Parties in the States. The honorable and learned member then favoured the taking away of people's land, and he is now denouncing, with all his powers of invective, the taking away of land from its owners. If further taxation was necessary, the honorable and learned member said, in reply to a question, that he would extend the land tax, so as to include cities, and towns. What about taxing the poor farmer? He also advocated old-age pensions, and that is decidedly socialistic. The honorable and learned member favoured the Factories Act, which is a socialistic measure, interfering with private enterprise. He favoured an eight-hours' day for railway employes, and he said he would compel every public servant to insure his life. That, again, is a distinctly socialistic proposal. It involves interference with individual liberty, and the denial of the right of a man to do as he likes with his own. It proposes an interference with men, by compelling them to pay a portion of their income or wages for the purpose of insuring their lives, whether they like it or not. These proposals are entirely socialistic. This only shows how ridiculous is the position of honorable members who claim to be anti-socialist, and who mouth about Socialism, when they have themselves professed to be supporters of it to the fullest extent to which it has, so far, been advocated by the Labour Party in any State. I have said before that we are entitled to claim to be judged upon the proposals we put forward, and not upon something which some one may have proposed, and which is not, and may never be, before us. It is most unfair for honorable members to make these attacks upon a growing political party. If they desire to attack the party, they should do so in an honest way on its policy. Honorable members, who have professed to attack the Labour Party, because of its socialistic principles, when they have themselves advocated those principles, are guilty of cant and hypocrisy, when they talk in the way they do. The honorable and learned member for Wannon, who now so strongly denounces all State interference, desires individual liberty, and believes all interference with private enterprise to be positively wrong, has favoured the resumption of land held by private owners in the district which he represents. In that district, there exists at the present time, I suppose, one of the most crying evils in existence in Australia, in the form of a

monopoly of land. I propose to introduce here a little more detail than I had an opportunity of doing, when I spoke previously. If we take an area of 4,000 square miles, of the western portion of Victoria, we shall find that nine-tenths of it is owned by sixty families. The total number of dwellings upon it, including tents, is 1,285; the total population of the area, men, women, and children, is 7,869. According to the logic of honorable members who do not believe in interference with private enterprise, we have no right to alter that state of affairs. The owners of the land secured it under the law, and according to the people who preach private enterprise, it is theirs to do as they like with. I want honorable members to be aware of their inconsistency, when they at the same time claim that that land should be resumed. Three hundred and sixty-two miles of railway run through the area, and chiefly through properties in the hands of forty owners. These railways cost £3,753,000.

Mr. BAMFORD.—Is this in the electorate of Wannon?

Mr. SPENCE.—Some of the area traversed by the railway is in that electorate. It is in the Western district where the good rich land is to be found. The taxpayers of Victoria have contributed no less than £3,753,000 to enhance the value of the property held by these people. Is not that Socialism? Are not railways a socialistic institution in the hands of the State. They are constructed to open up country, and yet this country is monopolized. And if the policy of those who advocate non-interference with private enterprise be carried out fully, we cannot resume one of those estates in order that the land may be put to its proper use. We cannot do what the honorable and learned member for Wannon said should be done, when as a candidate for the State Parliament of Victoria he advocated that these lands should be resumed, in order that men should be put upon them instead of sheep. As another illustration I take the Hampden and Mortlake Shires, an area of 1,845 square miles, or 1,180,000 acres. In this district, twenty families own over 800,000 acres. The shire value of the territory, with all improvements, amounts to £5,000,000. The towns of Terang, Camperdown, and Mortlake are included in this valuation. The rates amount to £12,406, or to about ½d. in the £. These shires have had £4,112 from the State.

Mr. BAMFORD.—What for?

Mr. SPENCE.—For the purpose of making roads to enable these rich land-owners to get their produce to market. There is, in this district, also an illustration of what every one in Victoria knows has been a crying evil in the State for many years. These land-owners have enclosed roads, covering an area of 16,337 acres, for which they have paid nothing. Their fences include land which has been surveyed as roads, and they pay nothing for it. These persons all belong to the anti-socialistic crowd. They are supporting the present Government.

Mr. McLEAN.—Does not the honorable member know that the Labour Party in Victoria has always opposed proposals to make these persons pay for the use of the roads. Such a proposition has been made on several occasions, but has always been opposed by members of the Labour Party.

Mr. SPENCE.—The Labour Party has never been strong enough in Victoria to accomplish any great reform.

Mr. McLEAN.—But they have always opposed such a proposal. I would vote to make these persons pay for the use of the roads.

Mr. SPENCE.—I know that the honorable member would, but I am anxious to learn whether he intends to stand by the policy which he formerly advocated. Leaving out towns, over three-fourths of this area has only one human habitation to every seven square miles, and only $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the land is used for dairying. These figures are, I think, of sufficient importance to be brought under public notice, and they may induce honorable members opposite to recognise the inconsistency of their position. In the counties of Dundas, Follet, Lowan, Normandy, Villiers, Heytesbury, Ripon, and Hampden, 2,960,000 acres are held by three companies, and 105 individuals or families.

Mr. SPEAKER.—Does the honorable member think that this has anything to do with the motion?

Mr. SPENCE.—I think I shall be able to connect these statistics with the motion, by showing that they constitute a reply to those who say that Socialism is the one thing against which they are fighting.

Mr. SPEAKER.—If the honorable member can connect these statistics with the motion there will be no complaint.

Mr. SPENCE.—I shall do so, sir. One-eighth of all privately-owned land in western Victoria is held by 525 persons, 1,240,000 acres are held by eighteen per-

sons, and over 1,000,000 acres by eleven individuals. We have heard some honorable members opposite declare that they are individualists, and are opposed to interference with private enterprise. These figures should afford them food for reflection. It may be said that the Commonwealth has nothing to do with the lands of the States, but it has been urged again and again that the Labour Party in the Federal Parliament, and those in the Parliaments of the States are controlled by the same organization, and constitute a menace to the well-being of the Commonwealth. That being so, I think we are justified in showing the inconsistency of Government supporters in attacking us, when they themselves really support the policy of our party. When they say that the Labour Party is inimical to the interests of the Commonwealth, they are really attacking their own position. They declare that they are opposed to our methods of seeking to improve the conditions of the people; but they must definitely declare whether they are going to renounce for ever the principles which they advocated before they joined the coalition. They must say where they draw the line.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—We say that we are going straight on.

Mr. SPENCE.—The leaders of the Government have stated that they are opposed to Socialism, but they do not say how far they will go. Every honorable member on the Government side who has yet spoken during this debate has intimated that he is opposed to the Labour Party because it consists of socialists. We do not deny that we are socialists. We are proud to say that we are, but we certainly deny that we have ever advocated the ridiculous proposals attributed to us and to socialistic writers about the equal division of property. No true socialist has ever suggested anything of the kind. Statements of this character are purely mythical. They are sometimes made by the ignorant, and repeated as jokes, but they have never been seriously put before the people by the Labour Party. It is a very serious thing for honorable members to make such charges against us, without adducing any specific fact in support of their assertion. I desire to draw from the Government some definite statement as to what socialistic enterprises they favour or disfavour.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Does the honorable member deny that any socialistic writer has ever advocated the division of the product equally?

Mr. SPENCE.—That is not the point. Honorable members have charged us with a desire to deprive men of their property, and to divide it amongst the people. The leader of the Government has intimated that his policy is an anti-socialistic one, and the Sydney *Daily Telegraph*, in its issue of 6th inst., puts the position of the Governments very clearly, when it says —

The Government has not come to bring peace to Socialism, but a sword, and unless it makes itself felt in opposition to the aims of the Labour Party, its mission will totally fail. That is what the fiscal issue has been sunk for, and why a coalition between Mr. Reid and Mr. McLean has become tolerable.

That is a clear statement made by a leading newspaper, which champions the present Government. In these circumstances I hold that we have not yet heard enough in regard to the policy of the Ministry.

Mr. WATSON.—They have no policy, and no remarks to offer.

Mr. SPENCE.—The members of an Opposition must naturally be opposed to a Government. We are opposed to the Government on certain grounds, which we have had no hesitation in stating. The Government say that they are opposed to us on certain grounds. They say that we are socialistic, but they do not give us any full insight into their policy. We term ourselves the Labour Party, and put a definite programme before the people, and we say to the Government, "Tell us what are your objections to us."

Mr. McLEAN.—We are not endeavouring to turn the Opposition out. If we were, we should state our objections to it.

Mr. SPENCE.—The mission of the Government is wholly against the Labour Party. According to the Sydney *Daily Telegraph*, they wish to prevent any increase in the strength and power of the party. As a matter of fact, we have read of more Ministerial statements of policy made outside than we have been favoured with in the House. I have brought these statements before the Government, and I ask for a reply. When I was discussing, a few days ago, the limited and shadowy programme outlined by the Prime Minister, in his declaration of policy, I challenged the Government to show that there was any desire on the part of the Labour Party to crush any section of the community, and to drive men, as was alleged, into the gutter. The Government may, or may not, have a majority, but they should make a straight-out honest statement, and deal fairly with us. Statements should not be

bandied about, for which there is no foundation.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—After this, I shall never say anything more.

Mr. SPENCE.—Before the honorable member leaves, I should like him to listen to one short quotation that I intend to read. He had something to say last night about Socialism, and I desire him to hear a short extract from a very excellent address delivered recently in Sydney by Dr. Mercer, Bishop of Tasmania, on the socialistic movement. I do not know whether the honorable member has read the report of that address.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I have.

Mr. SPENCE.—Then he must see that the views of the Bishop—who certainly ought to be accepted as an authority on questions of morals and ethics, and of the religious aspect of any social or political movement—are entirely at variance with those which he has enunciated. Dr. Mercer, in dealing with the socialistic movement said that—

He believed that, while there might be bad motives in it, there were good ones at the bottom of the social movement, and there were a number of educated thinking men who were moved with compassion for the multitude, because of all the sweating and miseries of slum life. He had had eight years' experience in the slums of London, and if any man realized the enormous amount of suffering and degradation there was among members of the human race at the present time, if he had any sympathy at all with the Saviour of mankind when he looked on the multitude in the wilderness, he must have compassion on them, and he believed that there was at the heart of the socialistic movement of the present day genuine compassion for the multitude, and a determination to raise the standard of life for the submerged mass of the race. Then there was the sense of brotherhood to be found in the movement, and he believed in that brotherhood of humanity, and that they were increasingly realizing what that brotherhood could be, because of some of the socialistic ideas. The people might be long in working them out, but he thought they were setting them ideals towards which they could work.

That is but a very short extract from a very excellent address, and I think that the sentiments expressed indicate that the Bishop has made a more correct analysis of the socialistic movement than has the honorable member.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Does the honorable member call that which he has read an analysis of the socialistic system?

Mr. SPENCE.—I have merely said that the address was an excellent one. I have not said that it was an analysis of the socialistic system.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The honorable member used the word "analysis."

Mr. SPENCE.—The honorable member must be opposed to Socialism, or he would not associate himself with the party which is now making an attack on something which it terms Socialism. The wild outcry against Socialism is simply a bogey. It has been raised for party purposes. Either it is a case of ignorance appealing to ignorance—because the declamations against Socialism, which we hear, will have no weight with the intelligent, or with those who have paid any attention to the study of the social questions—or it is simply a cry raised for party gains. Having nothing else to urge against the Labour Party, our opponents must raise this bogey. Other persons have raised the cry of “reform,” knowing that it is a good word and that many people have no time to study socialistic questions. The statement has also been made by our opponents that we are going to rob the farmers of their land. They expect to create such an antagonism against the Labour Party that they will be bound to win when a dissolution takes place. That is the plain object of the coalition. We rejoice that they have adopted these tactics. It is the best thing that could happen for our movement. The stronger the reactionary parties outside Parliament fight, the more successful will the Labour Party be. We are on solid ground, and put forward measures which we contend are practical. It is not denied by the Government that they are practical. They have offered some criticism on the only proposal which we have put forward that seems to be debatable in a socialistic sense—the tobacco monopoly proposal. With this exception, they advocate every one of our measures and adopt them as their own. Therefore, their present tactics are merely an attempt to appeal to the prejudice and the ignorance of the people. We are not afraid of that. When we can get the people to understand our proposals we have no fear that we shall secure their support. If, as honorable members opposite contend, they wish to prevent Socialism and promote private enterprise, let them advocate the selling of the Government railways and the putting of all enterprise of that description in the hands of private persons. As we have now reached the usual hour for adjournment, will the Government consent to my continuing my speech to-morrow?

Mr. McLEAN.—We have no objection. Debate adjourned.

House adjourned at 10.32 p.m.

House of Representatives.

Friday, 23 September, 1904.

Mr. SPEAKER took the chair at 10.30 a.m., and read prayers.

MOTION OF WANT OF CONFIDENCE.

Debate resumed from 22nd September (*vide* page 4882), on motion by Mr. WATSON—

That the present Administration does not possess the confidence of this House.

Mr. SPENCE (Darling).—One of the issues raised in connexion with this motion of censure is that, although the fiscal question has been sunk by the people, a movement is being made to raise it again, and I wish to present to the House a few of the reasons why there is an objection on the part of the Government to the raising of it. To show what kind of friends the farmers and pastoralists will have in the present Administration if they get their way, I would like to refer to what happened in my own electorate just prior to the last elections. I was opposed by a single-taxer, a gentleman of the school to which the honorable members for Lang and New England, and some others, belong. He took the trouble to go all the way from Mudgee to Sydney to hear the right honorable member for East Sydney state the policy of the Free-trade Party, and, in presenting his case to the electors, no doubt carefully followed the right honorable gentleman and the official organs of the party, the *Sydney Daily Telegraph* and the *Sydney Morning Herald*. The occupations of the people in my electorate, although somewhat varied, come chiefly under the three heads—pastoral, farming, and mining pursuits, and in appealing to these people for support, he denounced taxation through the Custom House as something wrong. But, as revenue was necessary, he supported a revenue Tariff, such as has been advocated both here and on the hustings by the leader of the Free-trade Party. He wished to levy the same rate of duties on all importations. What that rate would be does not matter much for the purposes of my argument, but I think that Sir William McMillan has stated that it would require an average duty of about 15 per cent. to raise the amount of revenue necessary. He would therefore have reduced those

duties which now have a protective incidence, and would, on the other hand, have placed duties on articles which are now admitted free. It will be interesting to see what effect that would have upon the people in the country districts. Under our Tariff, only the articles which are specifically named are subject to duty. In addition to those articles there is a long list of articles specifically exempted from duty, while all other articles not mentioned are also admitted duty free. As a matter of fact, the Commonwealth Tariff has about the biggest free list possessed by any Tariff in the world, and contains over 1,100 items in its list of exemptions. I therefore followed my opponent round the electorate, and pointed out to the people what would be the effect of his proposal. I showed them that the articles which they mostly used are now admitted free. In connexion with pastoral work, shears, shearing machinery, woolpacks, cornsacks, galvanized iron, fencing wire, and wire netting, are all admitted free; while the farmers are allowed to import over twenty items of farming machinery free, in addition to the articles which I have named, and which they use in common with the pastoralists. Furthermore, household commodities of which there is a large daily consumption, such as tea and kerosene, are admitted free, while cotton goods, which are so greatly used for the clothing of families, pay a duty of only 5 per cent. My opponent was actively supported by a canvasser for Messrs. Paling and Co., of Sydney, and he was urging upon the electors the desirability of adopting a free-trade policy, such as that advocated by the Prime Minister, under which the duty would be taken off pianos, and the taxes upon the necessaries of life increased. The policy of the Prime Minister is to reduce the duty on the luxuries of the rich, and to levy imposts upon the necessaries of the poor. This would have been a very good policy for Messrs. Paling and Co., who at present have to compete with a local manufacturer, who derives a certain amount of benefit from the protective Tariff. Very few of our struggling settlers are in a position to afford pianos, and these buy only one piano in a life-time. The Prime Minister is sinking the fiscal issue temporarily only, because he has made no secret of the fact that both sides are to keep their powder dry, and to hold themselves prepared to fight the fiscal question at the next election. Therefore,

after having obtained the co-operation of the alleged protectionists, the free-traders will endeavour to secure the introduction of what is called free-trade, but which is a mere sham and a humbug. How could our settlers be benefited by the introduction of a system of free-trade which would require them to pay higher duties upon the necessaries of life? I am in favour of allowing the Tariff to stand for the present, because under it the people enjoy a certain measure of free-trade. As a matter of fact, I have been more loyal to free-trade principles than have some of those honorable members who are now supporting the Government. In connexion with the question of preferential trade with Great Britain, the honorable and learned member for Ballarat advocated the raising of the Tariff against the foreigner, whilst maintaining the present duties against Great Britain. The Prime Minister, on the other hand, favoured the lowering of the Tariff wall, so far as Great Britain was concerned, and maintaining it against the foreigner. Therefore, he advocates the adoption of a protectionist policy against the foreigners, and a half-and-half free-trade policy towards the old country. I would point out, however, that about one-fourth of our imports are upon the free list, and that in regard to the articles therein enumerated we might give Great Britain all the preference necessary if we were to impose duties upon imports from foreign countries. The free list embraces tools of trade and a number of other articles which can be manufactured in England as well as elsewhere, and it seems to me that the possibilities of adopting the preferential principle in connexion with this section of our Tariff might profitably engage the attention of our statesmen. The Prime Minister has boasted that in New South Wales he relieved the poor of some of their burdens, and placed them upon the shoulders of the rich; and I think that he might proceed still further in the same direction in connexion with any contemplated alterations of the Federal Tariff. I do not see that any objection can be urged against the proposal to appoint a Tariff Commission. It is highly desirable that we should inquire into the working of the Tariff, with a view to remedying any defects, and removing anomalies. The appointment of such a Commission could not be regarded as committing us to the revival of the fiscal issue. So far as I am aware, the only person who has proposed Tariff revision is the Prime Minister himself. He declared,

some time ago, that he was desirous of lowering duties which have a protective incidence, with a view to imposing an equal duty all round.

Mr. REID.—Has the honorable member read the terms of the alliance to which he has subscribed? Do not the words, "Including Tariff revision," appear there?

Mr. SPENCE.—It is merely a question of degree. If we deal with one item in the Tariff only, that may or may not be called Tariff revision. The words to which the Prime Minister has drawn attention do not necessarily imply that we wish to reopen the whole of the Tariff issue. If the question of preferential trade were to ripen—I do not think that it will, within the life of the present Parliament, even if we avoid a dissolution—I claim that we should be able to enter into arrangements with the mother country without any interference with the existing Tariff. Both parties to the coalition subscribe to the idea that a preference should be extended to British goods. To assure our producers that they would be benefited by the imposition of an all-round duty of 15 per cent., is simply to attempt to deceive them. The endeavour to persuade them to regard the Labour Party as their enemies is also prompted by deceit and hypocrisy. Amongst honorable members who sit behind the Government, are some who believe that the single tax is a panacea for all evils. The honorable member for New England and others favour that doctrine, and it is most extraordinary, therefore, that they should join in a denunciation of Socialism. The adoption of the single-tax, which they regard as the solution of the labour problem, would mean that, for the purposes of the community, the State would receive the whole economic rent of land. In other words, all the unearned increment would be appropriated by the State for the general good. Can we conceive of a more socialistic proposal than that? I should like to ask the advocates of that doctrine who constitute a big section of the Ministerial supporters, and who are continually telling the farmers that the Labour Party wish to steal their land, what they would do with this vast revenue when it had been collected. Those who have bestowed most attention upon the matter admit that they would then give the community the benefit of free railways. Would not that be Socialism? Where is the difference? I repeat that those who denounce Socialism most loudly are themselves pronounced Socialists,

only they choose to call things by different names. Personally, I have no faith in mere names—I desire to get at realities. The whole of the Government attack upon the Labour Party has centred around the term "Socialism." It is a boggy, but even bogies exert some influence. I think that I clearly demonstrated last night that the organizations to which the Government are appealing to fight their battle are of a most reactionary character, and that they represent merely a class—the smallest in the Commonwealth—which is constantly demanding from the Government concessions which it is not prepared to extend to others. It does not recognise equal rights to every section of the community. The members of the Labour Party receive the support of the wage-earning class chiefly, because their interests in the past have been neglected. We are here to definitely voice their requirements, and chiefly because the needs of other sections are very carefully studied by other honorable members. I do not intend to touch upon the destruction of industries which would follow the carrying out of the Government policy, further than to say that under their proposals we should not have either a free-trade Tariff or a protective one. A so-called revenue Tariff would be merely a sham. I wish to show what the Socialism that we advocate really means, and to appeal to honorable members opposite to give us fair play in view of the necessity to do something to improve the welfare of society, and I use the term in its broadest sense. I am pleased to think that we have at last entered upon the consideration of a question that certainly constitutes the one great issue of the present day—the question of how to improve the lot of all classes. The Socialism which we believe in recognises that the present social system is running more or less rapidly—rapidly, I think—in a direction in which it cannot be permitted to continue. Changes must be made. I shall endeavour to show that the developments taking place in all phases of industrial life among the civilized nations of the world are in the direction of collectivism. The whole industrial movement is in the direction of Socialism, and it is only because words convey different meanings to different minds that that fact is not recognised. This industrial movement towards Socialism is not a conscious one. It is not being specially directed by Governments,

Labour Parties, or Socialists. The development of the socialistic movement, some phases of which have been touched on during the debate, is the result of an analysis on the part of the people of the conditions that are being created by the commercial classes and by others who are antagonistic to labour ideals. Just as we find strong evidence of approval of socialistic movements, in the practical sense of the term, on the part of the present Government, so we find an evolution in the same way taking place throughout the industrial life of the civilized world. It is too late for honorable members opposite now to attempt to stem the flood. We call upon them to recognise the movement, and to join with members of the Labour Party who, perhaps, have obtained a fuller insight into the wretchedness and misery of life, in endeavouring, so far as possible by legislation, to secure better conditions for all who work, whether by muscle or by brain. The basis of modern trade and production is simply that of profit. A man cannot employ labour unless he makes a profit on it. In the broad sense of the term there are only two economic elements to be considered, land and labour. Labour is now being massed, and placed under captains of industry. The individualist is disappearing, and it is therefore somewhat surprising to hear some honorable members talk so freely about the necessity to protect the rights of the individual, and to develop individual power. What the Socialists contend is that the existing social system is destructive of individuality. The masses recognise that the employment of labour depends upon whether the employer can make profit on it, and that the measure of gains is affected by factory legislation imposing certain conditions on employers of labour, and by conciliation and arbitration laws, which have a very important bearing in that respect upon them. They recognise that, as the result of these conditions, employers are interested in keeping men out of work. That is the most remarkable state of affairs. It is deplorable that men who control vast interests should be able to profit by the misery of their fellow beings—that workers should be kept out of employment in order that the cost of production may be kept down. But, if men remain out of employment, the demand for the output of those who are producing for a profit is lessened. If the workers form strong trade unions, and become so powerful that they can make

demands on employers for conditions which they are unable to meet, the employers may close down their works. They are able to stand out longer than their workmen, and in that way may practically starve them into submission. From the point of view of self-interest the workers recognise that this is not a desirable state of affairs, and they say that the only proper solution of the difficulty is for them to provide employment for themselves. The socialistic movement, which has been referred to as having for its object a co-operative Commonwealth, has underlying it the great principle of increased co-operation on the part of the people. In one sense we are a co-operative people. We are all dependent upon one another. No man can live by himself, and of all classes those who are called independent are in reality the most dependent. They could do nothing but for the labour of those whom they would not think of admitting into their drawingroom. Some of them would not even be able to cook a meal for themselves without the labour which they employ; they would die of starvation without it, and yet it is said that they are independent. That is a misleading term. Notwithstanding all this talk of individualism on the part of certain persons, it is interesting to note the way in which men are forced to do things that they do not want to do. By way of illustration I would refer to an incident that occurred recently to a gentleman associated with an anti-socialistic organization operating more particularly in this State. We have heard of an organization called the Farmers' and Property Owners' League, which is giving its support to the present Government. That league has in its employment a gentleman named Sievwright, who has been carrying on the work of organization. I am not acquainted with him, but he seems to be an educated man. I am told that he is a solicitor, and yet such is our social system that this intelligent, educated man was brought before a court a week ago and cross-examined as to why he had neglected to support certain relatives. I regard that case as one of the saddest pictures and most striking parodies on our present social system. Here is a gentleman of education, with a profession by means of which he ought to be able to do well for his family; and yet, in order to live, he has week by week to preach doctrines which he himself must feel are not true. Mr. Sievwright will be expected to organize the farmers and denounce the Labour Party

as the enemy of the producer—to tell the farmers that there is no need for arbitration laws, and that there is plenty of work for everybody. Personally, I think it rather disgraceful that there should be such exposures in connexion with old-age pensions. We hear a great noise made about the inquisitorial character of an income tax, and yet this man is called upon to publicly declare the fact that his sisters are unable to obtain work, that his daughter has to give her services for half-a-crown a week, and that his brother works in a solicitor's office for a wage of 30s. All this is an absolute travesty on our present social system. We hear much prating about individualism, but what do we observe, for instance, in connexion with our leading newspapers and the press generally? Some of the best brains are engaged in advocating in the columns of the newspapers doctrines and policies in which they do not believe. What chance is there to develop and maintain individualism when, in the mere struggle for bread and butter, a man is forced to do that which is revolting to him? I know reporters and others connected with the press who have to earn their crust by writing what to them is personally unpalatable, and who feel that what they do is not honest. Surely there is something in the idea of Socialism, if by that means such a state of things may be altered so that every one may have a chance to do the work for which he is most fitted, and thus lead to the better industrial organization of society. At present people have to select occupations, not from choice, but from force; every father of a family knows that in seeking openings for his sons and daughters, he cannot always find the industry or trade for which they are most suited. I should like to remind honorable members of the position in our great manufacturing industries where men and women become simply parts of the machinery. Where, under such circumstances, is the room for the development of individual liberty? Where is there room for private enterprise? "Private enterprise" is another favourite parrot cry of those who have no knowledge of its true meaning; they cannot realize that for enterprise of the kind there is no opening when each mechanic is forcibly fitted into a groove. Where is the room for private enterprise in the case of the coal miner, who has to produce at so much per ton, knowing that the harder he works the less chance there will be of continued employment? Such a

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man is forced and driven, and his position can only be described as one of wage slavery. In every industrial branch of life similar conditions prevail. Men know that the harder they work, and the more they produce, the more they are depriving their fellows of employment. There is a cry of denunciation if such men do not work hard enough; we hear complaints of what is called the "Ca-Canny" system in English trade unionism. What is the object of this denunciation? It is to allow some few persons to become rich. Where is the gain? Professor Warren tells us in his interesting study of the subject—

Insufficiently and poorly-paid employment is the greatest single cause of degeneracy.

We hear honorable members speaking of paying men according to what they can earn; and yet we already have conditions of life in which adults and children are insufficiently fed, and even then on adulterated food. And then because these poor people have no possible chance of developing physically or mentally, so as to hold their own with the stronger, they are punished by being told that they shall receive only what they are able to earn. That is a great blot on the system which honorable members opposite favour, and desire to maintain. Have those honorable members ever really studied the matter. As Henschell says—

To allow a class of society to live in idleness and wax fat on the degradation and demoralization of their fellow-men seems to me to be little less than a crime perpetuated by society, and an evil in the sight of God.

That is a statement by a great thinker; and I have other quotations which I have been careful to make from the writings of those who are not associated with the Labour Party, but are observers and students, whose writings I commend to those concerned in the great attack on a movement which is undoubtedly coming, but which is very much misunderstood. The present system only tends to build up an idle rich class, with a sweated poor at the other end of society. One of the great evils, probably the greatest, is the moral degradation which inevitably follows. Then there has to be taken into account the further result of the destruction of human life, and also the class hatred bred of the class feeling inseparable from present conditions. I think there is a great deal of suggestiveness in a short quotation which I wish to make from Dr. Edward Caird, in his presidential

address to the Ethical Society of England a short time ago. Dr. Caird said—

As a class, men of culture are not in much danger of being possessed by a frantic love of evil and hatred of good, but sometimes they are in danger of losing a belief in the greatness of the issues of existence which are hid under its littleness, and in the worth of every human life in spite of the triviality and meanness of its appearance.

That is the position of which the Labour Party complain—that there is not enough thought given to those numerous individuals who are, to some extent, lost sight of, and are treated, perhaps, as we are all, from want of thought, inclined to treat those with whom we are not brought in close contact. We read of thousands slain in a great battle, but we cannot bring ourselves into close enough sympathy with the afflicted to realize what that slaughter means to the many friends and relatives of the combatants. And so in the industrial struggle; the idle rich follow a butterfly existence, their wives often regarding it as rather desirable that they should have a chance of exercising charity, so that they may get credit as philanthropists amongst those unfortunate people through whom, and by whose work and energies, their wealth has been obtained. I should like to read another quotation on the same line of thought by Prince Krapotkin, and in which I think he voices the feeling of the workers. He says—

Where, then, are these young people who have been taught at our expense? These youths whom we fed and clothed while they studied? Where are those for whom, our backs bent double beneath our burdens and our bellies empty, we have built these houses, these colleges, these lecture-rooms, these museums? Where are the men for whose benefit we, with our pale, worn faces, have printed these fine books, most of which we cannot even read? Where are they, these professors who claim to possess the science of mankind, and for whom humanity itself is not worth a rare caterpillar? Where are the men who are ever speaking in praise of liberty, and never think to champion our freedom, trampled as it is each day beneath their feet? Where are they, these writers and poets, these painters and sculptors? Where, in a word, is the whole gang of hypocrites who speak of the People with tears in their eyes, but never, by any chance, find themselves among us helping in our laborious work?

We say that that very fine quotation voices feelings of which we may not be always conscious, which are not always given utterance to so clearly, but which are always present. Class feeling and hatred are expressed in those burning words. There is discontent and dissatisfaction, and it must find an outlet if no improvement is made. But in this more or less intelligent

age we must have some improvement. In dealing with the relations of the capitalistic class with the worker, what is said by the organizer and mouth-piece of the Federated Employers' Union? We have heard many quotations of what Tom Mann has said, and a great fuss has been made about his views. I am glad that people are taking a note of what Tom Mann has said. We on this side are charged with responsibility for every word he has uttered. I do not know whether every honorable member in this House would like to be held always responsible for every sentence he utters, it may be under some little excitement, but we are told that we must be responsible for all the sayings of Tom Mann. We are prepared to stand by him too, for that matter. But will honorable members on the other side stand by their organizer and take all responsibility for the utterances of Mr. Walpole, who is reported in the *Lilydale Express* of 18th April, 1902, to have said that—

Marriage was a luxury for the workers as were also "long sleepers," attending theatres and the like, and it was not fair to compel employers to pay for these things.

That is economically unsound, but it is the teaching of these people, and it is what they believe. They have not yet realized that they are not paying the workers. They do not pay any man unless they make a profit out of his labour. As a matter of fact, labour pays itself. Henry George, of whom there are some students on the other side, many years ago made it clear that labour pays its own wages.

Mr. BAMFORD.—Did not the honorable and learned member for Wannon read a letter from a clergyman saying that Mr. Walpole did not make the statement attributed to him?

Mr. SPENCE.—No; the honorable and learned member only said that he had such a letter; he did not read it.

Mr. PAGE.—Who was it said that—Tom Mann?

Mr. SPENCE.—No, Mr. Walpole, a man who gets a very big salary for propagating doctrines of this kind. He is the mouth-piece of the Employers' Union, the members of which are the backers of the present Government. The Government is, therefore, responsible in a sense for the utterances of Mr. Walpole. That is fair logic and good reasoning. If we are to be responsible for what Tom Mann says, and for the writings and sayings of the wildest and most extreme Socialists and anarchists

in any part of the world, surely the Government can stand by Mr. Walpole?

Mr. McDONALD.—Is this the same Mr. Walpole who was on the platform with the Prime Minister a little time ago?

Mr. SPENCE.—The same gentleman. This is the Government mouth-piece. This is the agitator who, together with Mr. Sievwright and others, as the organizations are able to raise funds to pay them, is going round to educate the community. The most extreme labour man and the most extreme Socialist in Australia would not say anything resembling that which Mr. Walpole said. This man holds that marriage, as well as long-sleevers and theatres, is a luxury, and that working men should not have any of these things. Of course, they should not. They should not be other than slaves. We say that they are slaves. I believe that Aristotle gave expression to a great truth when he said that the working classes would always be slaves until machinery did the work. Our attitude, in contradistinction to that assumed by Mr. Walpole, may be stated in various ways, but I quote a few words used by Archdeacon Wilson, who states it very well—

We must press forward the popularization of the ideal of making human beings the supreme aim of our nation.

The members of the Federated Employers' Union are opposed to that. They favour individualism, the development of private enterprise, non-interference by the State; and profit-making is their sole consideration. The honorable member for Parramatta made reference to some great law. By interjection I asked the honorable gentleman what law he meant. He did not reply, but I presume that the great law to which he referred is one with which people of his school of thought have always associated themselves. They call it "the law of supply and demand." These people have a set of phrases which they have repeated for a century. I do not suppose that the honorable member for Parramatta is a century old, but his are ideas which were held a century ago, and the honorable member has practically stopped there. It requires but five minutes' reflection to enable honorable members to perceive that private enterprise is interfered with in almost every way already, and that there is no such thing as persons being allowed to do as they like. If they were, the social state would be one of pure anarchy. I say that our one great aim is the development of the individual, the human being. The nation is a

nation of men and women. I understand that the statement to which I have referred as having been made by Mr. Walpole was made in reply to a vote of thanks, moved by a clergyman. I presume the clergyman expressed some approval of what Mr. Walpole had said, and I suppose he now feels called upon to some extent to stand by what was said in reply to his vote of thanks. Mr. Walpole did but give expression to what others who think in the same way have not the courage to say. Men of this class believe in non-interference with the law of supply and demand, because if that law is not interfered with they will be able to secure very cheap slaves, and in their own short lives they may become very rich. I do not care to follow a certain line of argument at great length, or I might show that riches themselves take wings and fly when more powerful competitors succeed in crushing out those who possess them. A recent return of insolvencies in the United States of America show that insolvents in that country in one year had failed for £17,000,000. But that is nothing at all compared with what we can do in Victoria. In this great progressive State insolvents in one year have failed for £3,000,000, £4,000,000, £5,000,000, and in the boom time for no less than £8,000,000. Against failures in the United States to the extent of £17,000,000 in a population of 75,000,000, we have had failures in this State, with a population of 1,000,000, to the extent of £8,000,000. It is clear that we can beat the Americans at going insolvent. These figures show that private enterprise does not always result in success. Of ten people embarking in business, three may fail utterly, four or five may struggle along making a bare living, and one or two may make a fortune. A very wise and suggestive thing was said by Cicero—

One thing ought to be aimed at by men, and the interest of each individual and all collectively should be the same, for if each should grasp at his individual interests all human society would be dissolved.

That was said a long time ago, but the truth of it will be evident to every one. Unless we consider the interests of each and all, society must fail. The members of society must be studied entirely from the collective stand-point. Men and women must be continually considered from that stand-point. Only by so considering them, can we afford an opportunity for individual development on the best lines. To do otherwise is to permit a system under

which greed is allowed to work injury and injustice to the great mass of the community. Thomas Carlyle, the great thinker, said—

This that they call the organization of labour is the universal vital problem of the world. It is the problem of the whole future for all who will in future pretend to govern men.

I commend that saying of the old prophet to the present Government for their careful consideration—the organization of labour is the universal and vital problem. It is the one problem which is looming large in connexion with the foundation work of this great Commonwealth. But, apparently, the supporters of this Government have something to learn as to what that organization means. Socialists say that the movement referred to is the organization of society as a whole, guided by Government; that is to say, that the evils of industrial revolution, which become every day more and more apparent to every thoughtful and observing person, must be removed, and that certain changes must be introduced by legislation that will permit of social evolution on healthy lines. It is because we recognise the course of this evolution that the Socialist movement has arisen. It is because the founders of that movement have studied it, and know the direction in which it is going, that they have become socialists. They are the only body of people in the world who have a solution to offer, which they claim to be practical in connexion with these great problems. I admit that there are Socialists—in New South Wales, for instance, we have the Australian Socialists' League—who wish to have great reforms brought about quickly. They wish to have them effected by Act of Parliament—in a day. But those are extremists. They are really against us. They make attacks upon the Labour Party. They oppose us at the elections. They run candidates who generally forfeit their deposits. But they are not discouraged by that, and run them again. I think that the Socialist candidate of this school in New South Wales received nine votes in the labour constituency. That fact shows that strength there is behind their proposals. That is the answer which I give to those who twit us with holding the extreme views of the Socialists to whom I have referred. Those honorable members take certain propositions enunciated by such socialists, and which agree to some extent with the principles of more moderate socialists, who do not want reforms

to be effected quite so quickly, and accuse the moderates of holding the opinions of the extremists. The healthier class of Socialists, of whom there are many, recognise that the only trend of events which is likely to lead to beneficial results is that which would allow matters to develop themselves steadily and slowly, making changes in our law which would at the same time afford an opening for further developments on right and healthy lines. I desire to make a few quotations to show that there is a justification for certain of the claims which we put forward in support of a position which will have to be faced very shortly. They will show that our views are not merely abstract, and will also indicate to what an extent advanced opinions have been uttered by leading men, great thinkers, who in their day were strongly denounced as being extremists, and as enunciating doctrines which were destructive of the rights of property. Let me show what extreme things have been said by some great writers even within a recent period. Henry George said—

This thing is absolutely certain: private property in land blocks the way of advancing civilization. The two cannot long co-exist. Either private property in land must be abolished, or, as has happened again and again in the history of mankind, civilization must turn back in anarchy and bloodshed.

One could hardly have a stronger statement than that. Professor F. W. Newman said—

To make away into mercenary hands as an article of trade the whole solid area on which a nation lives is astonishing as an idea of statesmanship.

That also is a very strong statement. In connexion with the principles of those who have fought against the private ownership of land, I might quote the old Mosaic law, which is to be found in the Book of Leviticus, and which should be remembered by every one of us—

The land shall not be sold for ever, for the land is mine; for ye are strangers and sojourners with me.

That is true; we live upon this earth only for a short time, and it is a duty imposed upon us to endeavour to improve the conditions of the millions who will come after us. John Stuart Mill, who is a favorite author of even some of our Conservative friends, said—

The land of Ireland, the land of every country, belongs to the people of that country. No man made the land—it is the original inheritance of

the whole species. Its appropriation is wholly a question of general expediency. When private property in land is not expedient it is unjust.

Next let me quote a passage from the great W. E. Gladstone. He said—

Those persons who possess large portions of the earth's surface are not altogether in the same position as the possessor of mere personality. Personality does not impose limitations on the actions and industry of man and the well-being of the community as possession of land does, and, therefore, I freely own that compulsory expropriation is admissible, and even sound in principle.

A great man in Gladstone's position could scarcely have made a stronger statement than that the expropriation of land was sound in principle. What do my honorable friends opposite say to that? Herbert Spencer, who recently died, and who was a very great thinker, said—

It may be perceived that equity utters dictates to which we have not yet listened, and we may then learn that to deprive others of the use of the earth is to commit a crime inferior only in wickedness to the crime of taking away their lives or personal liberties.

Now, I do not wish, however, to deal with the land question. I may remark that privately-owned land in Great Britain yields to the owners of the parchments which signify their titles to their properties, a revenue of £250,000,000 per annum, and represents a capital value of £8,000,000,000. The use which I wish to make of that fact is this: The greatest problem of to-day perhaps arises from the changes which are made in industry by the introduction of machinery. The position is very well put by an American writer, Daniel de Leon, who said—

The ladder up which mankind has been climbing toward civilization, the ever more powerful tool of production, is the stormy centre around which the modern social storm rages. The capitalist class seeks to keep it for its own exclusive use. The middle class seeks to break it down, thereby throwing civilization back. The proletariat seeks to preserve it and improve it, and open it to all.

The fact is that the next change, which is being clearly seen in connexion with this matter, is associated with the ownership and control of machinery. I would remind honorable members that in all our States we have by common consent recognised the right of interference with the ownership of land. Gladstone, in his great measure, took the question of rents out of the hands of private owners, and, in so doing, struck a blow at that which used to be called the divine right of owning land. "The sacred rights of property" is one of the many phrases which

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are gradually becoming obsolete. Men do not talk so strongly now about that phase of the subject. The great work which has been done in that connexion has led in Ireland and England, even in London itself, to the resuming of areas in municipalities, and the compelling of owners to pull down old buildings—things which we are also doing in Australia. The point I wish to establish is that we have gone beyond that stage when such proposals created alarm; we have now reached a period when statements regarding the taking over of machinery and the control of production create alarm. Just as in the other case the State found that it had to interfere to carry out the view of Archdeacon Wilson, to give the people a chance to live and so insure the preservation of the race, so we contend that in regard to machinery the same need will have to be recognised. The position that every individual is in is put very well by Professor Moore in the following quotation:—

The fate which befalls the individual in society is not the fate which he merits always, but is necessarily that which his group makes inevitable. Historic justice is not individual but social.

I shall now read a quotation to show what Socialism is not, and then endeavour to make clear to honorable members the reason for these references to the land question and other changes of ideas. Robert Blatchford, who is an English Socialist, and the editor of the *Clarion*, gives in his *Merrie England* an answer, which I shall quote in reply to the statements made by the leader of the Government and other random speakers about what Socialism is. Blatchford says—

Socialism does not consist in violently seizing upon the property of the rich and sharing it out amongst the poor. Socialists do not propose by a single Act of Parliament, or by a sudden revolution to put all men on an equality and compel them to remain so. Socialism is not a wild dream of a happy land where the apples drop off the trees into our open mouths, the fish come out of the rivers and fry themselves for dinner, and the looms turn out ready-made suits of velvet with golden buttons without the trouble of coaling the engine. Neither is it a dream of stained-glass angels, who never say damn, who always love their neighbours better than themselves, and who never need to work unless they wish to.

No; Socialism is none of these things. It is a scientific scheme of national government entirely wise, just, and practical.

Mr. MAUGER.—Who says that?

Mr. SPENCE.—That statement is made by Robert Blatchford in his *Merrie England*, which honorable members opposite should read. The book is written in a

simple form for those who have a limited intelligence, and therefore is one from which honorable members opposite can learn the A B C of Socialism. A perusal of its pages would give them more correct ideas on the subject. Socialists understand, from close study, what they are aiming at. That they differ in opinion on details is a matter of no consequence, because that occurs in regard to all proposals. Probably the ideas of Louis Gronland who has gone largely into details of how to run a co-operative Commonwealth, would not suit the English or Australian people. The Germanic brand of Socialism is intended for a people who have grown up under a different system, under which every man can be located, and has to fit into a place. It would be natural for writers in that country to be tinged with bureaucratic ideas. But that is not the view generally adopted by English Socialists, and certainly not by the leaders of the movement here which is being termed Socialism. I propose to read a quotation to illustrate the spirit which underlies Socialism. It displays an earnestness which should be recognised, and which justifies us in calling upon our opponents to show that our proposals are wrong and impracticable. It is taken from a work by J. Bruce Glasier on the religion of Socialism, and it is submitted to the consideration of honorable members because statements have been made in this Chamber about the religion of Socialism. The writer says—

And by implying that Socialism has, or is, a religion—what must we be understood to mean? This and no more: that Socialism gives us our highest ideal of the conduct of life, and calls from us the highest service of thought, emotion, and deed—that it is our aim and prophecy, and to it is due the utmost and gladdest devotion of all our gifts and powers.

The next quotation I propose to read is taken, not from one of the great writers, but from John Tamlyn, of Burnley, a propagandist and active worker in the movement, who is well acquainted with the every-day life of the people, and does not reason out his subject on abstract lines. Here is one view which he presents—

What is Socialism? I will give what commends itself to me as a practical working definition. Socialism is an attempt by State Organization of Labour to make every individual of the community perform some honest part of the labour of the community, and to prevent individuals becoming parasites, and shirking behind the labour of their fellows. Socialism recognises the fact that man has the same selfish instincts as the other animals. Socialism recognises the further fact that when men are left to their own free will—to seek their own good in Society—their tendency

is, obeying the lower instincts of their nature, to seek their own good at the expense of their fellows. Socialism declares that in spite of all the preaching to love their neighbour, at present this is the case: the common good has decayed, and a few heap up masses of wealth on the one hand, while thousands live in the direst poverty on the other. Socialism declares that such a state of things, which allows each individual to seek his own particular good at the expense of his fellows, is not Society but anarchy.

Mr. MAUGER.—Who said that?

Mr. SPENCE.—John Tamlyn, of Burnley. This quotation is taken from one of the propaganda tracts which are scattered broadcast among the masses of the people. And I challenge any honorable member on the other side to say that it is not a reasonable answer to the statements made by the right honorable gentleman at the head of the Government that Socialism would make all men equal, destroy individuality of character, cause a dividing up, tempt the weak to live on the strong, and so on. But no Socialist advocates the dividing up or taking away of the property of other persons. Let honorable members refer to the writings of those who are authorities on the subject, and study those writings, and then let them discuss the problem on its merits. Only mischief is done by making political cries of words, instead of paying attention to the true meaning underlying those words. The leader of the Government is reported in the *Sydney Daily Telegraph* of the 1st September to have said—

His own belief contained two ideals: He believed it was a true ideal in politics to use the national power in every conceivable way to advance the welfare of the community. The other ideal he had was to leave individual power as free as he could, consistently with proper national legislation. The mistake of the Socialists was that they would destroy the one ideal so that they might push the other to extreme limits. Under the Socialist's ideal the weaker man would be leaning on the stronger.

We accept the first two statements. The ideals of the right honorable member, so far, are our ideals. But we deny that any Socialist holds the views that he sets forth in his third statement. To put such views forward as socialistic ideals is to misrepresent the Socialists, and it shows that the right honorable member has not paid proper attention to the subject. Apparently he has been reading Lord Salisbury, from one of whose speeches I will quote a much stronger statement—one which honorable members might use in their propagandist work. Lord Salisbury said—

There is Socialist legislation, and that is the most popular, which is pure robbery. When you hear people say that all the instruments of

production ought to be taken into the hands of the State you know that you are in the presence of mere brigands. They are simply proposing to steal that which does not belong to them. With them no kind of negotiation or terms is possible. They are the enemies of the human race. We must resist them with all the energy and organization in our power.

Later on in the same speech—I leave out a passage which has no relevancy to my present argument—he said—

There is a third proposal to which the term Socialism is freely applied, and that is where it is proposed to use the machinery of the State for the purpose of achieving objects in which the community generally is agreed. Now, in that Socialism in itself, I can see no harm whatever.

It is the kind of socialism there spoken of that we advocate; and that is the kind of socialism in which the leader of the Government has declared himself to be a believer. We claim that he occupies the same ground as we do, so far as those views are concerned. Although he calls himself an anti-Socialist, his own words show him to be a Socialist. The first passage which I have read from Lord Salisbury's remarks misrepresents the aims of Socialists. Nothing is proposed by them to which the term "robbery" could be rightly applied. What we really wish to do is to prevent robbery. But the term robbery, or exploitation, is not used in the ordinary sense; it does not refer to something illegal. In dealing with these questions it must be our endeavour to get behind mere legal ideas. If that was not done in connexion with all legislation, we should have no new laws. Our existence as a Parliament is an acknowledgment of the fact that existing conditions and existing laws require to be altered, and we are constantly amending old Acts. Therefore, the mere fact that something is legal does not justify it; it may at the same time be immoral and injurious. A law may suit the conditions of society at the time of its passing, but later on its enforcement may create great injustice. Moreover, our aims are impersonal. Altogether there has been a great misinterpretation of terminology. It is manifest that if all exchanges between man and man were on the lines of equivalent for equivalent, no one would become richer than another. It is only because men are able by means of the law to take advantage of their fellows, that they succeed in becoming richer. It is claimed, of course, that superior ability should obtain its reward, and no doubt superior ability is sometimes a natural gift. At present, however, the

Mr. Spence.

poor cannot give their children the opportunities which the rich are able to give them, because the struggle for existence is so keen that ambition can play no part in their lives. I wish now to give one or two illustrations of the kind of socialism which we consider practical, which is now in operation, and which we think can be extended; and I will afterwards show the justification for extending it. In the old country there is a vast amount of voluntary co-operation, and millions of pounds are invested in co-operative concerns. In some cases co-operative societies grow their own grain, carry it to their own ships, while their own people bake it. All concerned are shareholders, and the middleman has entirely disappeared. Such systems would prevent what we have recently read of in Victoria—the monopolization by middlemen, to the extent of thousands of pounds, of butter bonuses granted to assist the unfortunate farmers. In Kilmarnock, in Scotland, 86 per cent. of the community are shareholders in co-operative societies, while in several places in England, 60 per cent., and in many other places 10 per cent. of the people are shareholders in co-operative societies. This co-operation is voluntary, and has been organized, not by great statesmen, but by the despised trade unionists. It is doing away with middlemen as unnecessary. In seventeen of the towns and municipalities of the United Kingdom, the profits on electric lighting last year amounted to between £300,000 and £400,000, while five municipalities which manage their own tramway systems obtained profits amounting to £400,000. Glasgow, which was included in the five, obtained a profit of over £200,000. Those are instances of the success of municipal socialism. We do not propose that everything shall be done by the State. The term "State," when used by socialistic writers, is understood to mean the public, and the work I have spoken of has been done by the people for the people.

Mr. CAMERON.—The honorable member wishes to make co-operation compulsory, whereas in the cases to which he has referred the people acted voluntarily.

Mr. SPENCE.—We cannot pass laws, except with the consent of the people.

Mr. CAMERON.—That is, the majority of the people.

Mr. SPENCE.—All our laws are passed with the consent of the majority of the people. There is no question of the

majority imposing upon the minority something to their detriment. In none of the cases to which I have referred has any desire been manifested to reverse what has been done.

Mr. CAMERON.—The enterprises mentioned were entered upon by the majority, whilst others stood out; whereas under legislation such as that favoured by the honorable member all the members of the community would be compelled to stand in.

Mr. SPENCE.—In the case of Glasgow there are really no opponents of the socialistic movement, so far as it has been followed by the municipal authorities.

Mr. FOWLER.—There may be a few malcontents.

Mr. SPENCE.—Perhaps so; but practically there is no opposition, and it cannot reasonably be said that coercion is being applied. We desire to educate the people to such a point that they will appreciate the benefits of voluntary action upon socialistic lines. Adam Smith said that it was impossible to legislate beyond the aggregate intelligence of the community. In other words, the community must agree to observe the law. Laws are made to compel small minorities to do that which the community voluntarily does. All laws are based upon the customs of the people, upon their voluntary observances. No laws can be enforced except by the voluntary obedience of the majority of the people. Of course, there will always be a few people who will not obey the law voluntarily, and they have to be compelled. Laws are required even in connexion with voluntary co-operative enterprises, for the registration of companies, for defining the duties of the directors, and for otherwise providing for the proper management of such concerns. We cannot do anything of a voluntary character except under the law which protects the individual. The State-owned tramways in Sydney notably illustrate the advantages to be derived from the application of the socialistic principle to that branch of enterprise. They provide facilities much superior to those afforded by the Melbourne tramways, and the fares charged are among the lowest in the world. Much the same could be said about the Glasgow tramways. In Glasgow public washhouses have been established to which housewives can repair and perform in an hour or two work which under ordinary conditions would occupy a whole day. I desire to bring under the notice of honorable members the extent to which the socialistic principle is applied in

our midst. I am sorry that the honorable member for Wannon is not present, because I wish to direct attention to one or two cases in his electorate. In Hamilton, the largest town in the Western district of Victoria, sometimes called the Chicago of the West, gas is supplied by a private company at the rate of 13s. per 1,000 feet. At Port Fairy, a very much smaller town, the gas works are owned by the municipality, which supplies gas at the rate of 10s. per 1,000 feet.

Mr. KELLY.—Is Hamilton as well situated as Port Fairy so far as the coal supply is concerned?

Mr. SPENCE.—No; but Port Fairy is only a fishing village, and cannot be compared to Hamilton. At Port Fairy, the baths are owned by the municipal council, which provides hot sea-water baths for 6d., whereas the charge made at the privately-owned baths in Melbourne is 1s. 6d.

Mr. KELLY.—Does it pay the municipality to provide hot salt water baths for 6d.?

Mr. SPENCE.—Yes. The municipality cannot afford to run its institutions for nothing. Now, returning to Hamilton. Some years ago the cattle sale-yards were in the middle of the town, and were in a disgracefully insanitary condition. They were privately owned, and the two auctioneers who conducted most of the sales had to pay half their commission for the right to use the yards. Eventually the municipal authorities woke up and established yards outside the town, which are kept in splendid order, and are under the charge of an inspector. There are now eight salesmen in Hamilton, all of whom use the yards, and the revenue derived by the municipality ranges from £500 to £800 per annum. I have compiled from memory a list of the various operations which are performed amongst us upon a collective basis. I do not say that in all cases the State exercises control, but in every instance the collective system is in operation. In fact, most people would consider it very difficult to eliminate that element. In the first place, we run our Defence Forces upon the collective system. Our Police Force, the administration of justice, and the collection of debts are under State control. Then our Post and Telegraph services are conducted by the State. Not only are letters conveyed through the Post, but also parcels up to 11 lbs. in weight. Our mercantile firms send large parcels of goods

into the country through the Postal Department, and the tendency is to extend rather than do away with this system. Our railways and tramways are also run by the State. We control the currency system, and, to a certain extent—although it may not be generally known—we undertake banking business. We regulate weights and measures, and we construct roads. All these things are undertaken either by the municipalities or by the State. Similarly, certain municipal bodies are responsible for the lighting of towns. The State also conducts a scheme of life assurance and controls our educational system. I ask honorable members if they are prepared to revert to the system of "private enterprise" in the education of our children? Do we not realize that it is absolutely necessary to see that they do not grow up in ignorance? My own idea is that we ought to expend more money in perfecting our educational system, I would further point out that the State undertakes vaccination, and has established a system of pensions in connexion with the retirement of our Judges. It conducts museums, libraries, and art galleries, and we encourage art by purchasing pictures collectively. We provide pilots for the safety of our shipping, and the harbors, wharfs, jetties, and, indeed, some steam-tugs, are State-owned. As a matter of fact, we undertake advertising collectively. We provide parks and gardens for the public benefit, and hotels are conducted very successfully by the State. Indeed, the idea is gaining ground that it would be a good thing if the people owned all the hotels.

Mr. McLEAN.—Does the honorable member know where the honorable member for Melbourne Ports can get a cheap hotel?

Mr. SPENCE.—I believe that the honorable member for Melbourne Ports would vote for any proposal in favour of the State owning all our hotels. I know that he believes in local option, and we should have full option then because the State would entirely control the liquor trade. Further, we construct railways and build bridges. We carry out irrigation works, manufacture rolling-stock for our railways, and perform foundry work of all kinds. In the same way the State undertakes surveying, issues weather reports, and collects statistics. It owns public batteries and factories. In New South Wales the Government have established clothing and boot factories. The State has founded observatories, and already owns some of the ferries. It cares for

the sick, the aged, and insane, and for children of tender years. Some honorable member has characterized the proposal of a German Socialist that the State should take charge of children as a "mad" one.

Mr. WILSON.—He proposes to take them away from parental control.

Mr. SPENCE.—Honorable members opposite have a wonderful genius for imagining that other people are utterly devoid of sense. I wish them to recognise that they themselves are Socialists, and I desire to know whether or not they are prepared to draw the line of demarcation at what has already been accomplished?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The Minister of Trade and Customs preserves a sphinx-like silence.

Mr. SPENCE.—The Minister will have an opportunity to speak next week. I am speaking nearly all this week. The result of the experiment of the State of South Australia taking care of children has proved a great success. They are so well looked after by the lady inspectors that the mortality rate amongst them is very much lower than that it is where they are under the control of parents. In many cases the State, by force of law, has taken children from their parents and cared for them.

Mr. CAMERON.—Is it true that three men listened to the honorable member for two days, and at the end of that period went home and died?

Mr. SPENCE.—I hope that some of my honorable friends opposite will die politically, after the division on the motion has taken place. I know that no members of my party will leave the House as the result of it.

Mr. McCAY.—The honorable member appears to have frightened a good many of them out of the Chamber.

Mr. SPENCE.—We do not expect a large attendance of honorable members on Fridays. I recognise that my remarks have been somewhat drawn out, but I shall not trespass much further on the time of the House. I repeat that the care of children by the State has proved an excellent system. Then, again, I would point out, in support of my contention that we are a largely socialistic community, that the State carries on printing, lithography, photography, all branches of book-binding and engraving, ship-building, and even dairying and poultry-farming.

Mr. WILSON.—Is the honorable member referring to Mr. Tom Mann's projected poultry-farm?

Mr. SPENCE.—I am speaking of what the people of the States are doing collectively. I have mentioned only a few instances of State Socialism. Among other things, the State also deals with sanitation and other matters relating to health. Municipalities are required to attend to local sanitary arrangements; and when they neglect to do so they are brought to their bearings by a Central Board of Health. In this way the people are coerced by the State to do anything that is necessary in the interests of public health. In Sydney, the city of the beautiful harbor, the State Government found it necessary to step in and appoint men to clean up the back yards of persons who would not do this work for themselves. That step was rendered necessary owing to the outbreak of the plague. Aldermen of the city, most of whom were property-owners, had appointed an inspector, who carefully shut his eyes when he visited premises owned by them. One lane which had been passed as clean was subsequently inspected by State officials, and 70 tons of filth were removed from it. The fact is that we cannot do without coercion. It is necessary for the State, in the interests of the community, to interfere from time to time with private enterprise. In spite of the adverse conditions surrounding almost the whole of our industrial system, the average length of life of persons engaged in industries has been increased by about two years since the State insisted upon the observance of sanitary laws.

Mr. FISHER.—It has been increased by more than two years.

Mr. SPENCE.—Perhaps I have underestimated the average, but I would rather understate it than overstate it. I like to be moderate.

Mr. MCCAY.—The honorable member is a moderate Socialist.

Mr. SPENCE.—No; I am a practical Socialist. We exercise control over fisheries; our municipal councils control public baths; and the State also controls banking, and lends money. The Minister of Trade and Customs, who is half a Prime Minister, is one of the strongest advocates of State money lending. He would build houses for all our industrious farmers.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—He is an old Socialist.

Mr. SPENCE.—An extreme Socialist. The Government of New Zealand own coal mines, and in Australia the State carries on assaying and prospecting. The Postmaster-General is a strong Socialist, in the sense that he would give every possible assistance to those engaged in the mining industry. As a member of the State Parliament, he showed that he favoured Socialism, by supporting the erection of public batteries for the use of miners. A considerable sum of money has been spent by the States Governments of New South Wales and Victoria in prospecting, so that it may well be said that we, as a community, engage in mining. We interfere with private enterprise to such an extent that there is scarcely any branch of industrial life in which the State does not take a part. We also engage in the export trade, and the New South Wales Government has established a fund for the relief of those injured while following mining pursuits. That fund is maintained by contributions from the State, the mine-owners, and the workers, and the arrangement works admirably. I have given only a short list of those industries in which the States take a part. I have a list of about seventy-four of these industries.

Mr. REID.—The honorable member, judging by his notes, is not yet half-way through his speech. Is he not getting tired?

Mr. SPENCE.—I shall not inflict upon the House the whole of the subject-matter dealt with in my notes. I always leave a few remarks unsaid.

Mr. WILKS.—After that, I think that the honorable member is an Irish Socialist.

Mr. SPENCE.—I shall have to ask *Hansard* to put at the foot of my address the words, "To be continued in our next." The difficulty is that when I rise to speak on such a broad and general question as that now before us, so many subjects occur to my mind which I have not dealt with in my notes, that my address is generally much longer than I intended at the outset it should be.

Mr. WILKS.—Is the honorable member preparing a political romance.

Mr. SPENCE.—I am giving the House not a romance, but some of the hard facts of life. I wish to make a short quotation, which indicates the spirit in which we view the question of the classes, from a speech delivered by a Socialist member of the French Chamber of Deputies, M. Guesde. In answer to an interjection, "What is Socialism?" he made an

impromptu statement with which I am sure we must all agree. I have frequently given expression to similar views. He said—

Once more I bid you observe that I accuse no man. I arraign only institutions, not individuals. What distinguishes us Socialists whom you charge with incitements to class hatreds, is the knowledge and affirmation of the utter irresponsibility of men set against each other by interests which dominate and determine all their acts. As they stand, the capitalist is no more responsible for living on the backs of the proletariat than are these for being daily, hourly exploited. The situation is an economic historical fatality. Humanity only progresses, and only has progressed, in the midst of pains, and through blood and ruins. It has always been compelled to climb its Calvary to the summit, and to pass by the agony of the cross to reach its redemption by science.

The proposals of the Labour Party—of the Socialistic Party—are on those lines. When we speak of exploitation and robbery we do not blame individuals, but we blame the system; we do not attack capitalists as men, but attack the system which produces capitalists and poverty. Indeed, many capitalists are themselves Socialists, and we do not blame them for taking advantage of the present system in the struggle for life; we can quite see that they are forced to do so. When a man who has been taught a profession or has learned a business in a mercantile house or workshop commences for himself, as he is justified in doing, he does not consider his competitors. He goes into a town and endeavours by energy and advertising to draw custom, and thus secure a living and a competency, though he may be the means of driving others into insolvency. As I said before, under the present system men are compelled to go into occupations and do work which is repugnant to them—in some cases to be unjust to and sweat their fellows. That is the kind of thing we say that only Socialism can alter—

Mr. KELLY.—In the socialistic State will all people be able to choose their own avocations?

Mr. SPENCE.—I shall answer the honorable member by citing the case of a friend of mine—a working man and a labour agitator. This man was a contractor under the Shire Council of Penshurst, on the borders of the Wannon constituency. He was an excellent worker and manager of men, and in one year he cleared £400. When the time came for tendering again, he called together the men who had worked for him, and said, "I made £400 last year, but it was by your

work, and not all by my own energy." This man is most powerfully built, and, in a general way, might be said to be equal to two men. He continued, "It is not my money; I consider I have taken advantage of you, and I now propose that we should work co-operatively."

Mr. CAMERON.—What would have happened if he had made a loss?

Mr. SPENCE.—Wait a moment. I am about to relate a fact that will answer the honorable member. This man, who is now a selector in New South Wales, went on to say to his men that it was not he who had earned the money, and that he proposed in future they should work in co-operation. He said that he would tender for the work, and take care that the price was high enough to make it pay. Thereupon, one of his men, who was powerfully built, pointed out that another of the workmen was not so big as himself, and asked why he should be called upon to share alike with him. That is exactly the position. The answer that my friend, Jack Reid, made—

Mr. REID.—Reid!

Mr. SPENCE.—A very good name. The present Socialistic Government—this butt-gang Government, equal in all things—is following the same principle. The only difference is that the Government are not equal in talking, seeing that we cannot get any Minister except the Prime Minister, to speak. The answer that my friend made to the man was, "That smaller man can drive the dray just as well as you can, though he may not be as good as you in your special work as a quarryman; his special line is driving a dray, and he is just as necessary to the work as yourself."

Mr. REID.—Sheer despotism! To put one man in the quarry and the other in the dray!

Mr. SPENCE.—At any rate, an arrangement was made which was satisfactorily carried out. Lest honorable members may draw a wrong inference from the case I have cited, which is a case of simple co-operation, I ought to say that Socialists do not advocate equality of pay.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Some schools of Socialists do.

Mr. SPENCE.—I have already said that there are different schools of Socialism; but I am talking of the school to which we belong—the Australian school, if honorable members like. We do not propose an impracticable socialism which

would do away with wages. In the voluntary co-operative system in England trades union wages are paid, and the profits are divided; and it is not fair to say that we advocate simple communism. A great deal of what has been said outside against Socialism applies to communism, and it only shows that those who use the words have no knowledge of the subject. I am not saying that communism may not once more prevail. The early Christians were communists.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Is it not a fact that some of the best Socialist philosophers say that communism is the only method?

Mr. SPENCE.—I am not saying that it is not so. What I am dealing with now is the living present, and I am justifying certain changes which are advocated. I do not propose to speculate as to the future—as to the possibility of communism. One of the most disgraceful facts in our present civilization, with our degree of widespread education, is that nearly all our worries and our work concern the buying and selling of food and clothing, of which nature supplies such an unlimited quantity that every living soul could, under another system, have all he could possibly consume. It is because of that fact that Socialism is advocated. I should like to quote from Mr. Sidney Webb, as showing the school of Socialism in which we believe. He said—

Advocates of social reconstruction have learnt the lesson of democracy, and know that it is through the slow and gradual turning of the popular mind to new principles that social re-organization bit by bit comes.

That is the position we take up.

Mr. WILSON.—Where do honorable members propose to draw the line?

Mr. SPENCE.—We do not draw the line; it is the people who draw the line, according to their judgment of existing conditions. That statement by Mr. Sidney Webb marks the guiding line of our movement. I have mentioned that a certain school of Socialism—the Australian Socialistic League—want to accomplish a change by revolution—constitutional revolution, by Act of Parliament. We do not belong to this school, the members of which denounce us as anti-Socialists. We say that they are impractical, and that we must have the consent of the people for every step we take. The people have already done much, and will do still more in the direction of Socialism, and the movement is certain to advance. The con-

dition of affairs which may be eventually developed, may be considered communism, when, owing to the advance of science, it may be but mere exercise to supply the wants of all the people. It is estimated, even now, that if everybody did his share of work, the labour of all for two hours a day would produce all that could possibly be utilized. This may be considered only an estimate and calculation by mathematicians, but it shows that we have already reached a time when by the exercise of our powers we could remedy many of our difficulties and miseries. Sidney Webb further says there should be a—

close examination of materials composing the structure of society, their relations to each other, and their ideas regarding the moral rights of each

and also—

Change comes by the will of the people, democratic, and slow enough to avoid bad effects morally.

We can only succeed by a proper recognition of these principles. This is an important phase of the matter with which I desire to deal, and I connect it with the references I have already made to the changes which have taken place in the minds of a great many on the subject of land ownership. In this connexion I last night purposely quoted some figures with respect to the Western District of Victoria. It is recognised and admitted that it is against the interests of the people as a whole that the land in that district, to which I referred, should not be put to its proper use. The equal ownership of land as the source of all wealth is now very generally recognised as desirable. But Socialists recognise—and the opposition to the idea is now one of the biggest difficulties which they have to surmount—that machinery is in the same position, and its control must be taken in hand by the community. Machinery is being introduced very rapidly, and it is displacing men. When land was occupied only by sheep the door was closed on the natural opportunity, which all should have, of access to the source of all wealth. That is generally recognised and admitted, and we claim that the position is exactly the same with respect to machinery. When there is placed in the hands of an individual or group of individuals the control of machinery which displaces labour, where is labour to go? If all production is to be performed by machinery, what is to become of the labourer?

Mr. KELLY.—Would the honorable member abolish all machinery?

Mr. SPENCE.—I am not quite a fool. I do not object to reasonable interjections, but I am now dealing with a very important question, which I hope the honorable member for Wentworth will study, because I am unwilling to give up hope that the honorable member may some day become a democrat. It is only because honorable members have not studied the matter that they fail to recognise that the position with respect to land and machinery is the same. After all, what is machinery? We have taken many of the latent forces of nature from the land, which is the storehouse of nature. We have exploited nature to some extent, and have availed ourselves of some of its forces. We have made use of substances found in nature. Iron and steel have been placed in certain relations to each other, and, utilizing certain forces of nature, we have taken control of them. The principle is exactly the same as that involved in men taking control of land, and shutting other men off that land. The man taking control of machinery which displaces labour, shuts that labour out from benefiting by the introduction of that machinery. So that, unless we have machinery under the control of the community, and unless production becomes production for use of the community, rather than for profit of the individual, we can have no hope that we shall be able to do away with the social evils and misery which now exist. I think honorable members must see that. They are aware of the alarm which was created by the proposal to nationalize land; but that that is a wise proposal is now recognised, and admitted even by the Premier of Victoria. That honorable gentleman has undertaken to give effect to the principle, and no one is likely to charge him with being a Socialist, or, at all events, a conscious Socialist. The other half of the Prime Minister has advocated the same principle, and I wish honorable members opposite to see that it is inconsistent on their part to abuse the nationalization of other things when, to a limited extent at all events, they agree to the nationalization of land. It need hardly be asserted that no one proposes that we should take anything from anybody. We propose to take land, but we do not propose to do so without compensating the owner of that land. As a matter of fact, we compensate him handsomely. We pay him for something he never produced at all. We pay him for more than his improvements, because he very often takes the unearned increment to which he is

on no moral ground entitled. In connexion with the nationalization of machinery, we see no reason why it may not be gradually effected, by following on the lines which I have already indicated. We may gradually extend the number of factories managed and controlled by the State, or it may be that when the ownership of machinery develops into a monopoly we may see fit to take over that monopoly. This is the present policy, in a practical way, of the Labour Party. The trend of the present industrial system is distinctly in the direction of trusts and monopolies. In America the whole telegraphic system of the country is in the hands of two companies, bossed by a single syndicate. There is there also what is known as the "Triple Alliance," in the shape of the oil, sugar, and whisky trusts. We say that here we have already reached a condition of monopoly in one industry, the tobacco industry, and that other monopolies are coming. When industries have reached that stage we say that the community should take them over. We do not say that they should all be taken over now. We are quite willing that the evolution should go on, and should in fact be conducted by the anti-Socialists, if honorable members please, who are at present working as hard as they can for Socialism. Those of us who have studied these questions know that we are proceeding in the right way, and we desire that others shall come to believe that it is the right thing that monopolies should be taken over by the State. All monopolies enormously cheapen the cost of production, and we shall be able to do away with a vast number of unnecessary middlemen who are now engaged in the general struggle for existence, and at the same time serve to increase the cost of the article to the consumer. We desire that all that should be wiped out altogether, and it is only by the adoption of Socialism that that can be done. I defy any man who gives any study to this question to propose any other means that is not a revolution. We cannot change men suddenly by Act of Parliament; the alteration can be effected only by a gradual change in the ideas by which they are governed. Unfortunately many persons go around with their mental eyes shut, and they fail to recognise these things. They are like a man in a dream, or like an individual known to myself, who is so absent-minded and absorbed in the solution of problems that he has often passed his own wife on the footpath, and

she has had to bump him with an umbrella before he has recognised her. We desire that the minds of men shall be concentrated honestly on this subject, not for any party reasons at all, but because we believe that when they think the matter out fully they will realize that the Labour Party, whose members have studied these questions, are not proposing drastic and extreme measures. We do not propose to put society on a right footing by means of Acts of Parliament. We do not propose to take anything from anybody, but we do propose to allow to the poor and down-trodden some chance of a reasonable living. What has been our work, so far, but to attempt to secure by means of trades unions proper conditions, and something like a living wage for working men, and by our factory laws to secure for them reasonable hours of labour? These measures are all palliatives of existing industrial conditions. The real and final solution of the question must come from every one having an equal opportunity to earn his living, and from having that opportunity assured to him. What impulse is there for a man to do his best when he knows that the harder he works the more the price of his labour will be cut down? What nonsense it is to talk of individuality being developed under such conditions! We see now a fierce struggle for existence in which the workers are driven to work by the lash and by the fear of starvation staring them in the face; and, to make matters worse, their employers sneer at them. I know that the honorable member for Parramatta is an intelligent man and a student. He has worked amongst the coal-miners himself, and he knows that there are men in this country engaged in manual labour who are equal in ability to honorable members in this House. We who have worked amongst them, and know them as mates, are aware that the intelligence, and the brain power of this country is not concentrated in its Parliaments, and certainly not in the Commonwealth Parliament. These intelligent men have less class-feeling than some honorable members would think. They have no hatred against the employing class. They are aware that it is the system that is at fault, not the individuals who benefit from the system. Personally, I am an admirer of the tyrant, wherever he may be found. He has his value. I have often said, and I say again, that if I had a hand in the erection of monuments to eminent people I would erect

them to the tyrants of the world. I have no feeling of hatred towards the most avaricious capitalist or sweater. He makes men realize that there are faults in the social system under which they live. He awakens them from apathy, and causes them to realize the necessity for bringing about a more healthy condition of affairs. Many of those who condemn the Socialist programme clearly show that they have no knowledge of the subject. They merely appeal to the prejudice and the class-feeling of people. The preaching of reactionary doctrines never had any other effect than to lead the masses in the direction of democracy. I had a number of other points to make, but I will not deal with them to-day. I should require a couple of hours more to complete my points, but I will leave them for another opportunity. I have made a remark about the constitutional position. I wish to repeat it. It is a fact which honorable members opposite must realize—that the people of Australia elect their Parliament on the broadest franchise, and that nothing in the way of legislation can be done except with their approval. We must demand that every candidate who submits himself to the people shall state definitely what he proposes to do. The people should set their faces against the independent—the man who hides what he intends to do when he gets into Parliament, and who takes upon himself the privilege of declaring that he is to be the best judge of his actions as a representative. That is not how representative institutions should be conducted. It is not in accordance with the true principles of democratic government. I again ask this Government what they propose to do? They seem to have no policy except to appeal to class prejudices. The Government declare themselves to be anti-Socialists; but I hope the people will realize that it is not safe, especially at the present juncture, to intrust the administration of affairs to men who have no definite programme. There is safety only in intrusting the government to men who know what they want to do; because when a man has studied a subject, and knows what he wishes to achieve, he is less likely to fall into errors than are those who are driven along blindly. The Government having no policy in a concrete form, simply live on the vague misunderstanding of a word. They are supported in the country by the ideas of men like Mr. Walpole, who

has argued that marriage is a luxury, and who would deny to a working man the chance of going to a theatre or having a drink of beer perhaps to make him forget his miseries. Do the Government intend to appeal to the country on the policy that marriage is to be declared a luxury? They should declare what they mean, or it must be dragged out of them. I am sure that the honorable member for Wilmot, before he will consent to vote with the Government, will want to know what he is committing himself to. I do not think that he would be opposed to anything that could be shown to be for the general good. That is all that the party to which I belong is seeking. We have a right to be judged by our platform, and not by any prejudice created over the mere misunderstanding of a word. We have adopted the title of the Labour Party, not because it is a nice sounding term, but because it describes our aims. The very adoption of the word labour is a proof that we intend to use our powers in the interests of mankind—for the development of all that will promote the happiness of manhood and womanhood. That is the great aim which we have before us. We desire to so change the conditions under which society is governed, that men and women shall possess equally a good environment, to the end that we may be able to produce a race of whose qualities, physical and mental, we shall have just cause to be proud.

Mr. LEE (Cowper).—I do not suppose that a motion of no-confidence in the Government can be discussed without the introduction of personalities. The honorable member for Darling lifted this debate from the region of personalities, and carried us into the clouds, and it is now time for us to descend to earth. There were one or two matters on which he touched in the same manner as he did in his electioneering campaign. He tried to make his constituents believe that if the free-traders had their way they would impose a duty on seven or eight hundred articles, which are now free. But he forgot to tell them that the Tariff, as introduced by the right honorable member for Adelaide, was considerably modified by the free-traders.

Mr. TUDOR.—That is pretty rough on the protectionist half of the Ministry.

Mr. LEE.—The honorable member for Darling has a perfect right to give free-traders credit for what they do. We are quite prepared to stand our ground. We

have been able to defend our position. New South Wales has been dragged into this discussion a good deal, and very unnecessarily, I think. But she is quite able to look after her own finances. At the last general election, she showed the Labour Party that she intends to do without their aid, for she returned to power a party which is not at their domination. The Labour Party now comprise only a little over one-fourth of the Legislative Assembly, and therefore occupy a very different position from that which they used to hold. Their number has been increased at the expense of the then Ministerialists. The Opposition party at the time came back from the polls more powerful than ever, although they had lost several seats as the result of the splitting of votes.

Mr. PAGE.—Do not let it happen again.

Mr. WILKS.—Let us have a second ballot so that the majority may rule.

Mr. LEE.—It would be a very good thing if our Electoral Act provided for the holding of a second ballot. In this session very little legislation has been passed. We have had a debate on the Address-in-Reply and on two Ministerial statements, and now a vote of censure upon the Ministry is being discussed. The debate on the last Ministerial statement fizzled out because it awakened very little interest. The present debate is dragging itself wearily along. Personal explanations constitute its principal feature. Nearly every day an honorable member has to rise and make a personal explanation. That is a very peculiar way of carrying on a debate on a no-confidence motion. The chief charge against the Ministry is that they are a coalition. For the first time the free-traders and protectionists have sunk their fiscal differences for the purpose of carrying on the Government in a constitutional manner. It was certainly a great concession for the free-traders, as well as the protectionists, to agree to sink the fiscal issue.

Mr. BAMFORD.—When knocked out.

Mr. LEE.—There has been no sacrifice of principle on the part of the free-traders. We have, however, decided to sink our fiscal differences, and carry on the Government of the Commonwealth, as far as possible, in a constitutional manner.

Mr. PAGE.—The free-traders in the Labour Party are all right.

Mr. LEE.—I believe they are. When this session was opened, the House was divided as nearly as possible into three equal parties.

The then Prime Minister decided that such a state of things could not be allowed to continue; that he would not hold power at the bidding of any party which was not loyal.

Mr. TUDOR.—Why did not the honorable member support him and keep him in office?

Mr. LEE.—Why did not the Labour Party keep the honorable and learned member for Ballarat in office? At the earliest opportunity, the honorable and learned member made up his mind to test the feeling of the House, so that the Government of the Commonwealth could be carried on in a proper and constitutional manner. There is no act which reflects greater credit on that honorable and learned member than his decision not to hold office at the bidding of a party which was not loyal to him, and sitting behind him. The same position is taken up by the present Ministry, who do not wish to hold office without a majority at their back.

OPPOSITION MEMBERS.—Hear, hear!

Mr. LEE.—My honorable friends on the other side will see when the time comes that the Government have a majority behind them.

Mr. STORRER.—The honorable and learned member for Ballarat would not take office in the coalition Government.

Mr. LEE.—The honorable and learned member for Ballarat is the head of the Protectionist movement in Victoria. He considered that now that a truce had been declared, and a coalition formed, his duty was still to be ready to lead his forces if any great protectionist issue were raised.

Mr. WILKS.—He is the watchdog of the protectionists.

Mr. PAGE.—He is the watchdog of the Reid Ministry.

Mr. LEE.—The honorable and learned member for Ballarat is still leader of the Protectionist Party, and although a fiscal truce has been declared, there has not been one jot or tittle of principle given away by either party on this side.

Mr. PAGE.—They had nothing to give away.

Mr. LEE.—Nothing to give away! Why we have taken a leaf out of the book of the Labour Party. How have they been able to advance so much? Because the free-traders and the protectionists were continually fighting one another over the fiscal question. The Labour Party decided to sink the fiscal issue, and persuaded free-traders and protectionists to waive their

fiscal differences and fight under the banner of labour. And now, because we have sunk the fiscal question—

Mr. PAGE.—What an admission to make! The honorable member is the only man who has admitted that he has sunk the fiscal question.

Mr. LEE.—We have entered into a truce and the question of the Tariff is not to be raised during this Parliament. We have decided that, for the life of this Parliament, there shall be a coalition for the purpose of carrying on the Government in a constitutional manner. There were some honorable members who were not in favour of that proposal. The protectionist wing thought, after looking all round, that the wisest thing they could do would be to fall in with the Labour Party and form an alliance.

Mr. WILKS.—It is a "fall in" all right.

Mr. LEE.—It is a "fall in."

Mr. WILKS.—Mr. Anstey says it is a "fall in."

Mr. PAGE.—Who is he?

Mr. WILKS.—The honorable member's "boss" leader in Victoria.

Mr. LEE.—The protectionist wing considered that their wisest plan was not to invite the opposition of the Labour Party at the next general election, and therefore they decided to fall in with them as far as possible. I remember an alliance in New South Wales between the right honorable member for East Sydney and the Labour Party, who had been supporting his Government. At the general election he advised his free-trade supporters not to oppose labour candidates; in fact, he went so far as to ask me to go and support a labour candidate, which I did. But the very men whom he supported then, whose return he helped to secure, afterwards put him out of power. Those honorable members who think that they will escape opposition from the Labour Party are very much mistaken. I am sure that they will not lower their flag to save any man. They believe in their principles, and they have a right to insist that every man who receives their support shall sign their pledge. They have put their platform before the world, and every man who allies himself with the party should be ready to subscribe to their tenets. After the honorable and learned member for Ballarat retired from office the Labour Party took up the reins of Government, but existed as a Ministry on sufferance only.

Mr. PAGE.—The present Government are in exactly the same position.

Mr. LEE.—We shall soon find out whether or not that is so.

Mr. TUDOR.—The Prime Minister has stated that the Government can do no business unless the Opposition give him their assistance.

Mr. LEE.—The honorable and learned member for Ballarat said that he was prepared to give the late Government fair play, and he kept his promise. No vote of censure was moved during the whole of the time they were in office.

Mr. TUDOR.—They were stabbed in the back.

Mr. LEE.—We amended the Arbitration Bill, and improved it in every possible way, but the Labour Party were not content. They wished to have clause 48 recommitted, so that the amendment restricting the power of the Court to grant preference to unionists might be modified. They told honorable members that, unless the previous vote was reversed, they would resign office; but, with one or two exceptions, those honorable members who had voted in favour of the amendment remained true to their principles. The late Government chose their own battle-ground, and suffered a well-merited defeat. The Arbitration Bill, which was brought prominently before the electors at the last general election, has involved the fate of two Ministries, and we have yet to see how the present Government will fare. The measure has been greatly improved by the modification of the provisions with regard to the common rule, by the restrictions placed upon the power of the Court to grant preference to unionists, and by the removal of the agricultural industry beyond the scope of the measure. The best interests of the community would have been menaced if the agricultural industry had been brought under the operation of the Bill. I do not see how the Labour Party can reasonably object to the coalition formed by members on this side of the House, who have, in accordance with the understanding arrived at at the last election, sunk the fiscal issue.

Mr. WATKINS.—How did the honorable member secure his election?

Mr. LEE.—I stood as a straight-out free-trader.

Mr. WATKINS.—Then the honorable member did not sink the fiscal issue.

Mr. LEE.—I have agreed to sink the fiscal issue for the present, because I realize that it is of no use to run one's head against a wall. The Labour Party have sunk the fiscal issue.

Mr. PAGE.—Never.

Mr. LEE.—We have been told that it is intended to again raise that issue; but I do not believe that the Labour Party will fight under the protectionist banner.

Mr. WEBSTER.—The honorable member has sunk his electorate.

Mr. LEE.—I am not afraid to face the consequences of what I have done.

Mr. FULLER.—The honorable member for Gwydir will not have only Colonel Onslow to oppose him at the next election.

Mr. WEBSTER.—Perhaps the honorable and learned member will come up and fight me.

Mr. SPEAKER.—I am very sorry to again have to call attention to the remarks passing between honorable members across the Chamber. Such conversations are entirely out of order, and I shall have to mention the name of the next honorable member who offends. I should be extremely reluctant to take such an extreme course, and I hope that I shall not have occasion to do so.

Mr. LEE.—It has been stated during this debate that the free-traders have swallowed the protectionists, but I would point out that the Minister who holds the purse-strings is a protectionist, and that the Minister of Trade and Customs, and also the Minister who stands behind the guns, are of the same political faith. Therefore, I do not think that there is much swallowing in the case.

Mr. PAGE.—Where do the free-traders come in?

Mr. LEE.—One stands at the top of the tree. I do not think there is any danger of the protectionist members of the Ministry being called upon to act contrary to their principles, or of their suffering from their association with the free-traders any more than the members of the Labour Party will suffer owing to their connexion with the protectionists. In the eyes of the Labour Party it is apparently almost a crime for free-traders and protectionists to form a coalition. We have, however, joined forces in the interests of constitutional government, and we intend to do our best to defeat the efforts of the Labour Party to force their socialistic ideas upon the community. I am very much surprised that the Labour Party have entered into an alliance with the

Protectionist Party. That alliance has been brought about by the parliamentary representatives who belong to the party, but I do not think that it will be approved of by the labour organizations outside Parliament. If it is, we shall have a new set of conditions, and I think that the Labour Party will be those who will suffer most by the change. So long as the party remains distinct from the other parties in its aims and methods, it will be a power in the land; but if it allies itself with other parties, it will lose influence. The alliance which has been made is to last for this and the next Parliament; but honorable members have no right to make promises which will bind the members of next Parliament, because they do not know that they will be here then. Half of those who joined the alliance may not be returned. I do not pretend to be a prophet, but my words may nevertheless be true. We may have to go to the country very shortly.

Mr. WATKINS.—The honorable member will then have to consider his own chances of re-election.

Mr. LEE.—I consider them very seriously. We have to look at all these matters straight in the face. The motion for the appointment of a Commission to inquire into the operation of the Commonwealth Tariff, of which the honorable and learned member for Indi gave notice just prior to the moving of this motion of censure, was merely an electioneering move. Almost all the talk about the necessity for revising the Tariff has come from two or three of the protectionist representatives of Victoria. We do not hear anything about it from the protectionists of the other States. The terms of the honorable and learned member's motion, however, are so indefinite, that it might equally well have been brought forward by a free-trader. The free-traders are just as anxious as are the protectionists for a satisfactory Tariff.

Mr. STORRER.—Then why does the honorable member say that the giving of notice of the motion was a political move?

Mr. LEE.—Because it was done immediately before the moving of this motion of want of confidence. Although the honorable and learned member for Indi could have given notice of his motion months ago, he deferred doing so until the present time, so that if there happens to be an election he will be able to tell the electors that he was ready to do something for them. In my opinion, there should be no alteration of the Tariff until the constituencies have

spoken in regard to the matter. The honorable and learned member for Ballarat, who was at the time Prime Minister, let it be distinctly understood in Victoria prior to the late general elections that he declared for fiscal peace, and that position was afterwards accepted by the right honorable member for East Sydney and the honorable member for Bland. When the new House met, the three parties had agreed that in the interests of legislation the fiscal issue should be put on one side for a time. Now that there are only two parties in the House, the question is being brought forward again, so that if there is an appeal to the country, those who have given notices of motion may be able to profit by their action. The Prime Minister has been twitted for refraining from referring to the old-age pensions question when making his policy speech; but we must accept his statement that he did so through an oversight, and we know that the policy of the Government in regard to the matter was declared by the Attorney-General in another place, and subsequently by another Minister. The leader of the Opposition has stated that it was the intention of his party to provide for a Commonwealth old-age pensions scheme during the present Parliament, whether the States were satisfied or not, to use his own words. The Government, however, propose first to consult the States in the matter, which is the more reasonable course to take. At the present time New South Wales and Victoria, which contain two-thirds of the population of the Commonwealth, have old-age pensions systems in force, and if there is anything in the boast of the Labour Party that Queensland and Western Australia are under Labour control, I ask why do they not bring old-age pensions laws into force in those States? The old-age pensions system is a very difficult one for the Commonwealth to provide for, because, in order to obtain through the Customs House the £1,500,000 which would be necessary to establish it, £6,000,000 would have to be raised, in order to comply with the provision of the Constitution which requires that three-fourths of the Customs revenue raised by the Commonwealth shall be returned to the States. It would be preposterous to propose the levying of so much additional taxation, and the fact shows that the Labour Party are not in earnest when they speak about providing for Commonwealth old-age pensions without making preliminary arrangements with the States.

The honorable member for Barrier interjected, when the subject was discussed before, "Cannot we raise a land tax?" but I do not think that the Labour Party are prepared to go to the country in advocacy of the imposition of a land tax for the purpose of providing old-age pensions.

Mr. TUDOR.—I am.

Mr. LEE.—I think that the honorable member is the only one who would do so. It would be wrong to deprive the States of a means of revenue upon which they now so largely depend. The Commonwealth would have no right to step in and take from the States the right to impose taxation upon land. We hear a good deal about interference with States rights. If some persons had their way, there would be no States rights at all. The proposal of the Prime Minister to enter into an arrangement with the Treasurers of the States before providing for any Commonwealth old-age pensions system is the right one, and I am sure will be carried into effect if the States are agreeable to the establishment of a Commonwealth old-age pensions system. The Ministry are certainly doing right in refusing to impose direct taxation to provide for a Commonwealth old-age pensions system, and it would be unfair to increase the heavy Customs burdens which the people bear. Then, the leader of the Opposition considers that the Commonwealth should at once appoint a High Commissioner to represent it in London, without first conferring with the States. It must be remembered, however, that each of the States now maintains an Agent-General, and it is necessary to confer with them, before appointing a High Commissioner, to see whether it is not possible to get him to discharge the duties now performed by these Agents-General, and thus save expense. I believe that the establishment of the proposed Department of Agriculture would prove very beneficial to the Commonwealth. Such a Department would be able to impart useful knowledge to those engaged upon the soil.

Mr. WATKINS.—Would not that be Socialism?

Mr. LEE.—I do not think so. It would not take anything from the people, neither would it interfere with individual liberty. Instead of each State having a Department of Agriculture, and commercial agencies, I am of opinion that the Commonwealth should establish a central office, and control the whole business. The programme of the Government is a good one,

and I believe that they are able to give effect to it. They have a perfect right to the support of honorable members, and I am satisfied that when they are called upon to face the country, they will be returned by a very large majority. When the present Parliament opened, there were three parties in this House. Now there are only two parties, though they are of very nearly equal strength. In that respect, I believe that an improvement has been effected. I repeat that when the electors are called upon to express their opinions through the ballot-box, they will clearly demonstrate that the Ministry possesses the confidence of the country by adding to the strength of their supporters.

Mr. FULLER (Illawarra).—I had no idea that the attack upon the Government would fall so flat at this early stage of the debate. If that attack is to terminate with what has been said by members of the Opposition who have already addressed the House, it is one of the lamest that has ever been levelled against any Administration. Even the supporters of the honorable member for Bland have acknowledged that his speech was absolutely without vim and force. It has been urged that inasmuch as the honorable and learned member for Northern Melbourne, and the honorable and learned member for West Sydney—two ex-Ministers—had spoken, Ministers should have replied. But I would point out that there was nothing in their indictment for Ministers to reply to.

Mr. WATKINS.—Or defend?

Mr. FULLER.—The honorable member for Newcastle will have an opportunity of stating his own views presently. When the Prime Minister replied to the attack of the leader of the Opposition, there was nothing to be added by Ministerial supporters. Nothing that was said by the honorable and learned member for Northern Melbourne and the honorable and learned member for West Sydney calls for any comment, if I except one of the most scurrilous and disgraceful attacks on the part of the latter that is to be found in parliamentary history. The honorable and learned member has made his explanation, and that explanation has gone forth to the whole of Australia. Personally, I feel satisfied that when the time comes, the wharf labourers of West Sydney, who have a scrupulous regard for honesty, and do not believe in trickery, will deal with the honorable and learned member who resorted to such disgraceful tactics in the manner that he deserves. The honorable

and learned member for Corio also made a bitter personal attack upon the Prime Minister. Time after time during the course of his speech, I called upon him to produce the letter from Mr. T. A. Dibbs, the manager of the Commercial Bank, Sydney—one of the foremost financial institutions in New South Wales—in which the honorable and learned member declared it was stated that Mr. Reid had “cooked” the public accounts of that State. It is true that he did produce a letter from Mr. Dibbs, but it contained no such statement as had been attributed to him. Evidently the sole object of the honorable and learned member was to besmirch the name of the Prime Minister as much as possible. When I asked him to produce the letter stating that the accounts had been “cooked” he was unable to do so. These are the tactics to which Opposition members have resorted in supporting a motion of censure against the Government. In reality they have not attacked the present Administration. Their action has been animated by a paltry feeling of jealousy. They realize full well that they cannot rise to the heights of statesmanship to which the present Prime Minister has attained. They recognise their weakness, and that the only way in which they can drag his name in the mire is by adopting these despicable tactics.

Mr. HUME COOK.—Anybody would think that the honorable and learned member was serious.

Mr. FULLER.—I am serious, but I am not so anxious concerning the result of this motion, as is the honorable member. I am perfectly willing to face my constituents, because I have always acted a straightforward part; but the manner in which the honorable member and the tail of the Protectionist Party have acted will call for a great deal of explanation. Despite all the promises which have been made, the so-called alliance between honorable members opposite has not been consummated in the way that some people imagine, and I venture to say that no agreement to the contrary will prevent selected labour candidates from opposing their allies at the next election. Experience has shown that those who assist the Labour Party to effect liberal reforms, in the interests of the masses, are the first whom they stab and put down. The honorable member for Bourke is playing a very dangerous game. He is placing himself in the hands of a section which knows no party but its own. The whole history of the Labour Party in the New

South Wales Legislature shows that its members are always ready to support a Government in return for concessions. The Labour Party in this Parliament has no power to enter into an alliance with any other party. Any person who allies himself with it must carry out its ideals. Members like the honorable member for Bourke will yet receive their just reward for deserting the party with which they were previously associated. Honorable members opposite wish to know why we have not had speeches from more members of the Ministry, but I should like to learn why some of the big guns of the tail of the Protectionist Party on the Opposition cross benches have not yet spoken. So far, the honorable and learned member for Indi, the honorable member for Hume, and other members in the Opposition corner have remained silent as to their present position. I have not the slightest doubt that when some of these honorable members see fit to speak and to say whether they have become disciples of Tom Mann, members of the Ministry will be prepared to reply, and to put their position fairly before the people. We know that the disciple of Socialism to whom I have referred is at present being paid by a body, which was responsible for the return of the Labour Party, to lecture in various parts of Victoria and other States in support of Socialism. Honorable members in the Opposition corner who have joined the newly-formed alliance are in one of two positions: either they are disciples of the Socialism preached by Mr. Tom Mann—which was so prominently put before the House the other day by the honorable and learned member for Wannon—or they are not. The leader of the Opposition has publicly applauded the socialistic sentiments advocated by Mr. Mann, and by the *Queensland Worker*. He is the connecting link between Mr. Tom Mann and honorable members on the Opposition cross benches who have joined the alliance, and in the interests, not only of themselves, but of their constituents, these honorable members ought to declare their position in regard to the socialistic movement. The honorable member for Bourke, amongst others, should do so.

Mr. STORRER.—According to the honorable and learned member's argument the protectionists on the Government side must have become free-traders.

Mr. FULLER.—I do not say anything of the sort. I am supporting the coalition

because I believe that it was necessary for us to combine in the interests of constitutional and responsible government. I went before my constituents as a free-trader, and as such was returned to the State Parliament, as well as to the first Federal Parliament. But free-traders on entering the present Parliament recognised that they were in a minority, and had to consider the best position to take up, in view of the fact that they had been defeated on the fiscal issue. We have not given up our free-trade principles. Let not my honorable friend from Tasmania think that I, at any rate, have done so. We have entered upon this coalition for the life of the present Parliament, believing that it is necessary in order to secure responsible government in the interests of the people. The honorable and learned member for Northern Melbourne, when speaking in this House shortly after the last general election, said that now that we had a fiscal truce there was practically no difference between honorable members sitting behind the Deakin Government and those of the then Opposition. An honorable alliance between those honorable members was the only way in which to secure a return to responsible government.

Mr. HUME COOK.—If there be an alliance between the two sections supporting the Government, what are the terms on which it is based?

Mr. FULLER.—So far as I am concerned, the terms are that as long as the Ministry carries on constitutional and responsible government in a proper way, without raising the fiscal issue during the life of this Parliament, it will receive my support. As soon as this Parliament has expired I shall be perfectly free to go to my own or to any other constituency, and to fight, as I have done in the past, for the free-trade and other principles in which I believe.

Mr. HUME COOK.—Is that all?

Mr. FULLER.—It is. The honorable member for Darling, in the course of his speech this morning, said that honorable members on this side of the House were only the sham friends of the farmers, their true friends being the members of the Labour Party, and those at present in alliance with them.

Mr. WILKS.—The men who would give them a land tax.

Mr. FULLER.—I think that honorable members will acknowledge that I have endeavoured to do my duty to the farmers,

as well as other classes, of Australia ever since I entered this House. Where were those honorable members, who now profess so strong a desire to help the farmers and the pastoralists of Australia, when I appealed time after time to the House, a year or two ago, to secure a remission of the fodder duties, in order that the pastoralists and others in New South Wales and Queensland, who had suffered severely from the drought, and whose flocks were dying by thousands every day, might secure fodder with which to save the remnants of them? Where were the Labour Party, who now pose as the friends of the farmers, when I and the honorable member for Canobolas sought a revision of the fodder duties? Did they endeavour to assist us?

Mr. PAGE.—Yes.

Mr. FULLER.—One or two members of the Labour Party may have done so, but the party as a whole did not. At that time they were in possession of the Opposition cross-benches, and were driving the Barton Administration. They occupied a position of vast influence, but while they now pose as men who desire to pass legislation to assist the great farming and pastoral interests of Australia they never attempted then to exercise the great power they possessed to assist them. The assertion of the honorable member for Darling, that the Government and their supporters are sham friends of the farmers, reminds me that the party of which he is so strong a member has itself been guilty of a few shams. It will be remembered that when the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill was introduced by the Barton Government, the right honorable member for Adelaide, who was then Minister of Trade and Customs, resigned because the Cabinet refused to accept his view that it should also include certain navigation clauses. If the right honorable member was anything at all in that Administration, he was the spokesman of the Labour Party, and I think that the way in which that party subsequently stood by him redounds to its credit. Subsequently the Navigation Bill was introduced, and was submitted to a Royal Commission, but the Watson Administration proposed to insert these navigation clauses, which then formed part of that measure, in the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill. What was its object? The Government knew perfectly well that, as the labour representatives from Western Australia were strongly opposed to the inclusion of these clauses in the Bill,

there was no hope of carrying them. Every one was agreed that the proper course had been adopted in referring them to the Royal Commission on the Navigation Bill, but the Watson Government brought forward a proposal to embody them in the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill, in order that it might be whitewashed, together with its supporters, in the labour constituencies of Australia. The whole proposal was an absolute sham. The late Government knew that there was no likelihood of securing the insertion of those clauses. There was a second sham perpetrated by the late Administration in connexion with the preference clause. I may here say that so strongly was I supported by the trade unions in my constituency at the last election—so true a representative of their interests did they regard me—that, notwithstanding the great efforts made by the Labour Party, they gave me a “walk-over.” But in connexion with the preference clause, the unions desire to discard majority rule. The amendment of the honorable and learned member for Corinella, on which the late Government were defeated, simply provided that if a majority of those interested in common with the applicants, were in favour, preference could be granted; and majority rule has been a strong democratic point for years past. It is the system adopted by the Labour Party all over Australia in their political unions, and it is the system adopted by the Labour Party caucus in the House. Even if there be only a majority of one in the caucus all the rest of the members of the Labour Party, no matter what may be their individual opinions, must sink their convictions.

Mr. RONALD.—The honorable member is utterly incorrect.

Mr. FULLER.—If I am wrong, I am only saying what has been stated in this House time after time.

Mr. TUDOR.—By whom?

Mr. FULLER.—By numerous honorable members.

Mr. RONALD.—By men who know nothing about the matter.

Mr. FULLER.—Am I to understand that the majority do not rule in the labour caucus?

Mr. RONALD.—In the caucus a member has a free hand when his principles are at stake.

Mr. WILKS.—A free hand as to a vote of censure?

Mr. RONALD.—Yes.

Mr. FULLER.—I thought my adhesion to the great democratic principle of majority rule would bring me into favour, and not disfavour, with the more democratic of my constituents. But the services of the honorable and learned member for Darling Downs were brought into requisition, and an amendment was accepted by the late Prime Minister, which meant that a union with any political “trimmings” or character would not be able to take advantage of the Arbitration Court. Now we are told by the honorable member for Darling and others that, in consequence of the amendment of the honorable and learned member for Corinella having been accepted by the House in preference to the amendment of the late Prime Minister, trade unions will refuse to register under the Bill. But I say that the late Prime Minister and the late Government emasculated the Bill, from a trade union point of view, when they accepted the amendment of the honorable and learned member for Darling Downs. That, in my opinion, is sham No. 2. There is also another sham which was perpetrated by the Watson Government, supported by the Labour Party. That is in connexion with the employment of lawyers in the Arbitration Court. Those of us who have had close communication with the trade unions of Australia, as I have had in my constituency, know that one point insisted upon was that no lawyers should be employed in the Arbitration Court.

Mr. KELLY.—It is the second item on the Labour Party's programme.

Mr. FULLER.—I think that is so.

Mr. ROBINSON.—The late Government gave way to the honorable and learned member for Indi.

Mr. KELLY.—And sunk their principles.

Mr. FULLER.—But what was done by honorable members who are supposed to represent the labour political unions throughout Australia? The honorable and learned member for Darling Downs has shown himself to be a champion “bridge builder,” not only in this but in other matters which have come before Parliament. The services of that honorable and learned member were again brought into requisition, with the result that the Prime Minister accepted a disgraceful suggestion that lawyers should be allowed to appear in the Arbitration Court with the consent of the President. That is a nice position in which to put the President of a high judicial Court, which we trust will have the respect of the whole community.

If, with the consent of the President, lawyers were allowed to appear in a case which went contrary to the unions, we should find the President subject to the villification of every disappointed litigant, from one end of Australia to the other. The complaint made by the leader of the Opposition is that the programme of the Government is too short. The honorable member seems to think that a great many more measures ought to have been included; in fact, that the whole programme for this and the next session should have been fully outlined. But we have to remember that under ordinary circumstances this session cannot last much longer; and a sufficient number of proposals are put forward to fill up the available time. We must further recollect that if the motion before us fails we shall have to discuss the financial position of the Commonwealth. The leader of the Opposition, when making that complaint, mentioned some of the measures which, in his opinion, he considered the most necessary. It will be remembered that in the programme put forward by the Prime Minister, it was stated that before a High Commissioner was appointed, there would, in his opinion, have to be a consultation with the States Premiers; and, from my point of view, I think such a course highly desirable. The leader of the Opposition, in order to prove his case, referred honorable members to Canada; but he cannot have been aware that the Dominion has no States representatives in London, a High Commissioner representing the whole of the country. In Australia, on the other hand, each State has an Agent-General, and various commercial agents as well. As one who represents the dairy industry—one of the largest producing industries in Australia—I know how much has been suffered in the absence of a proper representation of Australia in London. At the same time, the Agents-General, more particularly Mr. Henry Copeland, whose decease we all so keenly regret, have done good work in the interests of the producers. While I am in favour of the appointment of a High Commissioner with the least possible delay, I think that, in the interests of economy, and the interests of the whole of the people, there ought to be a Conference between the Prime Minister and the Premiers of the States before a definite step is taken.

Mr. FISHER.—We have no power to do away with the States Agents-General.

Mr. FULLER.—Then there is all the more reason for consultation with the States Premiers. One or two hon-

orable members have referred to the suggested conference, and amongst them the honorable member for Darling, who seems to be of opinion that the Commonwealth Parliament Government, in their dealings with the States Governments, ought to take a high and mighty stand. I agree with the honorable member that the Federal Government should be superior to the various States Governments; but it should not be forgotten that we are yet in the early stages of the Federation, that we are merely laying the foundations at the present time, and we should be very careful indeed not to do anything which would cause friction between the different States. The leader of the Opposition next proceeded to fill up his programme with the subject of old-age pensions. It is remarkable that although the Labour Party have been strongly represented in the House since Federation was accomplished, for about three years, they did practically nothing in connexion with this matter which they now put forward so prominently.

Mr. WATSON.—We had not the power to do very much until quite recently.

Mr. FULLER.—When the honorable member, as leader of the Labour Party, sat on the Opposition cross-benches, he had a power which he did not possess as Prime Minister, and which he does not now possess as leader of the Opposition. The honorable gentleman was then in a position to drive the Ministry of the day in almost any direction he wished, and indeed he did so drive it.

Mr. McCAY.—The honorable member for Darwin had a motion dealing with the subject on the notice-paper all that time.

Mr. FULLER.—I believe that is so. I contend that this subject should not be dealt with without the consent of the States, because honorable members are aware that until the Braddon section of the Constitution is removed, £4 will have to be raised through the Customs for every £1 devoted to the payment of old-age pensions. The matter is for this reason not within the range of practical politics at the present time. However, the honorable member for Barrier has suggested a way out of the difficulty. The honorable member has said that the proper way in which to raise money to provide for old-age pensions is by a Federal land tax. I presume that the members of the Labour Party would not be bound by a suggestion from the honorable member for Barrier; but I

believe he has expressed the opinion of the whole of the members of the party. I know it is the opinion of the leader of the party, because, speaking at Young, on 28th November, 1903, on the subject of old-age pensions, the honorable member for Bland said—

The funds for such a purpose could be raised by the imposition of a tax on absentee landlords and direct taxation.

We shall, therefore, be justified in assuming that in connexion with this matter of old-age pensions, honorable members opposite, including the honorable members for Bourke, Hume, Indi, and others, are now in agreement with their leader, the honorable member for Bland, and are agreed that the proper way in which to raise money to provide for old-age pensions is by a system of Federal land taxation.

Mr. HUME COOK.—Where does the honorable and learned member get that?

Mr. FULLER.—I think it is about time that the farmers of the Hume, Indi, and Corio districts, and other portions of Victoria and New South Wales were made aware that this is the proposal which honorable members opposite are supporting in connexion with the establishment of old-age pensions.

Mr. HUGHES.—Are there none on the other side?

Mr. FULLER.—I do not know whether I should contradict the honorable and learned member or not, because his word is of such little value in this House at the present time that, so far as I am personally concerned, I do not propose to take any notice of his statements. After the explanations which the honorable and learned gentleman has been called upon to make within the last two or three days, I shall be very doubtful concerning any statement which he may make in the future.

Mr. HUGHES.—I thank the honorable and learned member.

Mr. FULLER.—On this subject of old-age pensions, I find that the honorable and learned member for Northern Melbourne, speaking on the Address-in-Reply at the opening of this Parliament, is reported, at page 297 of *Hansard*, to have made these remarks—

In connexion with this matter of old-age pensions, it does not need much logic to come to the conclusion that old-age pensions is not within the pale of practical politics at the present time.

Mr. McCAY.—Was that said this year?

Mr. FULLER.—Yes, this year. The honorable and learned member expressed himself so strongly on the subject, as to say that it was “not within the pale of practical politics”; and it appears to me that the Prime Minister was right in stating, as he has done time after time, that the matter has been put forward by honorable members opposite merely to gull the old people of Australia.

Mr. KELLY.—To what party does the honorable and learned member for Northern Melbourne belong? He does not belong to the caucus, and he does not belong to the honorable and learned member for Indi.

Mr. FULLER.—I think that the honorable and learned member occupies a very peculiar position in this House at the present time.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—All we can get out of the honorable and learned member is that it is his business.

Mr. FULLER.—At public meetings held in Melbourne, the honorable and learned member has praised the caucus and the labour pledge; he was a member of the Labour Administration, and though he has such an admiration for the labour pledge, when asked whether he had signed it or not, he said, “That is my business.”

Mr. MAUGER.—The honorable and learned gentleman said “No.”

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—He said “No,” and when I asked him why, the honorable and learned member said, “That is my business.”

Mr. FULLER.—The leader of the Opposition made use of these remarks—

Unless we hold out some hope to the people that there is something inherent in the Government to lighten their load, the people, instead of advancing, will go back.

The men who have developed Australia, and brought it to its present condition, have been the men who have gone on the land, the men who have opened up the country, and who have worked and developed our mines. These pioneers have struggled in many vicissitudes, in the midst of great privations and difficulties, in the work of developing the country. What prospect is held out to farmers, pastoralists, and others in this country by the views held by honorable gentlemen opposite in connexion with the socialistic principles which have been put forward, the proposal for a Federal land tax to meet old-age pensions, and the various disabilities, in connexion with the arbitration law in particular, which have been suggested?

Mr. FRAZER.—The honorable and learned member's leader promised them the cold southerly winds of the world's competition a little time ago, and he now offers them the warmth of his bosom.

Mr. FULLER.—I am very glad to have heard that nice little quotation from the honorable member for Kalgoorlie. I sincerely trust that now that the honorable member has left the cold strong winds of a bachelor life, he will shortly arrive at a better frame of mind. These are the hopes held out to pastoralists, farmers, and others, men who have to struggle, not in the market of Australia, but in the markets of the world. Our pastoralists, wheat-growers, dairy farmers, and others to-day are producing far more than we can consume, and we have to depend for the price of our produce on what it brings in the London market. We are handicapped by heavy freights; we have competitors within a few days' sail of that market, and we now have suggested additional disabilities, in the form of Federal land taxation, in addition to the States land taxes in operation at the present time.

Mr. HUME COOK.—Where does the honorable and learned member get that from?

Mr. FULLER.—Although I lost my seat in the New South Wales Parliament, partly by advocating a land and income tax in that State, because I believed, and still believe, in such a tax for State purposes, I am of opinion that the whole power of direct taxation should be left in the hands of the various States Governments, and that for Federal and national purposes we should raise money only through the Customs, on a revenue Tariff basis. I shall resist to the utmost of my power any attempt to subject the people of Australia to a Federal land tax, especially for the purpose for which it has been suggested by honorable members opposite. The honorable and learned member for Northern Melbourne said that the sooner a dissolution came the better it would be, so that the country could determine whether there was to be a sham or a real Arbitration Bill.

Mr. KELLY.—That was said after the Political Labour League had decided not to oppose him at the next election.

Mr. FULLER.—That, as the honorable member for Wentworth reminds me, was said after the honorable and learned member had an assurance that he would not be opposed by the Political Labour League. As far as I

can judge, according to a very great many honorable members, including the honorable and learned member for Northern Melbourne, a sham Arbitration Bill, from his point of view, would be one which would deal fairly and honestly by all sections of the community who would come under its jurisdiction; whilst a real Arbitration Bill, from his point of view, would be one which would operate specifically in the interests of a special section of the community, and hand over greater power to the political labour leagues. The honorable member for Melbourne Ports shakes his head at that statement. What is his position now? The other day he was a protectionist revivalist. Now he acknowledges himself to be a Socialist. I should like to know whether other honorable members associated with him are Socialists also. I have a few more words to say about the Arbitration Bill, because I have been brought rather prominently forward in connexion with it by reason of the action which has been taken in my constituency by one of the largest unions in Australia. In consequence of my vote in connexion with the preference clauses, the delegates of that union have unanimously condemned me. I feel sure that those delegates and the members of the union generally, when they come to consider the question and the circumstances surrounding it, and when they know how my vote was given, and what was done by the Government, and understand that the late Prime Minister himself said, that there was practically no difference between his own proposal and the amendment of the present Minister of Trade and Customs, will hold a different opinion.

Mr. WATSON.—I said that there was so great a difference that I would retire from office sooner than accept the amendment of the Minister of Defence.

Mr. FULLER.—I shall point out what the honorable member said directly. If I say anything that is not correct, I feel sure that he will give me credit for not attempting to misrepresent him, and I shall be very glad to be corrected. It has been wrongly represented to the unions of Australia that the question between the leader of the Opposition and the present Minister of Defence was one of the granting of preference to unionists. The question never came into the dispute in connexion with either of the proposals then before the Committee. The only question was that of the terms and conditions under which the Court

—to which power had already been given to grant preference to unionists—was to grant that preference. The honorable and learned member for Corinella, and practically all members, including the leader of the Opposition, thought that those terms and conditions should be set out on the face of the Bill. The amendment, which was adopted, read as follows:—

And provided further that no such preference should be directed to be given unless the application for such preference is, in the opinion of the Court, approved by a majority of those affected by the award who have interests in common with the applicants.

The present leader of the Opposition proposed to substitute for that amendment the following:—

The Court, before directing that preference shall be given to the members of an organization, shall be satisfied that the organization substantially represents the industry affected in point of numbers and competence of its members.

The honorable member for Darling is, perhaps, the most experienced trade unionist in this House, having, I understand, been president of the union which he represents for some fifteen years. He has said that in consequence of the amendment which was carried, his union will refuse to register. But he acknowledges that what applies to his union does not apply to all the unions in Australia. Knowing how numbers of shearers join that union from time to time, then cease to be members, and go back to their homes, and subsequently join again. I can, myself, see that there would be some difficulty in their case. The honorable member said there would be great difficulty, and I am quite prepared to accept his statement, because he is a man who has had great experience. But he admits that that difficulty would not apply to other unions. What difficulty would there be in the application of the amendment of the Minister of Defence to the coal-mining industry? What difficulty would there be in finding out whether there was a majority of the workers in favour of giving preference to unionists? There would be none whatever. Take the great coal-mining industry of Illawarra and Newcastle. Practically the whole of the men engaged in the trade belong to the union. If a dispute should occur in that trade, which extended beyond the limits of one State—and that would be the only kind of dispute to which this Bill could apply—there would be no difficulty in ascertaining the opinion of the majority of the men engaged in the industry.

But there is a further point. There are a large number of workers who think that their whole welfare depends upon the passage of the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill. We have an Arbitration Act in force in New South Wales which deals with all State disputes, and will continue to deal with them whether the Federal Bill be passed or not. The Federal measure is intended to deal with disputes of magnitude extending beyond the limits of a State. In the great coal-mining industry in which, as I have said, a large number of persons in my constituency are engaged, if a dispute should occur and should extend beyond the limits of the State, there would be no difficulty in proving the opinion of the majority of the workers. There would, indeed, be less difficulty in proving the opinion of the majority than in proving what was provided for in the proposal of the ex-Prime Minister—that the applicants “substantially represent” the majority. A majority is a simple clear thing that the smallest child in a public school could understand. All that the representatives of any industry would have to prove to the Court would be that they had the vote of a simple majority.

Mr. WATSON. — They would have to prove first of all that they were likely to be affected by an award.

Mr. FULLER.—But substantial representation as provided for in the honorable member's amendment would have to be argued about in every case that came before the Judge in every possible connexion. It would be a matter for judicial interpretation. It would be a matter of Judge-made law in each case brought before the Court. I should like to ask those honorable members who represent labour interests and labour constituencies, whether they want to put the workers—more particularly in the case of the workers in the coal fields of Australia who have to work in the bowels of the earth—in the position of having to take money out of their hard earnings, which are required for the benefit of their wives and children, in order to put it into the pockets of the lawyers? Do the representatives of labour constituencies wish that to be done.

Mr. FRAZER.—We would trust the Court where we would not trust the present Ministerialists.

Mr. FULLER.—I should be willing to trust the Court a good deal if it were properly constituted. I know of no reason

why, after our experience of judicial appointments in New South Wales, we should not have absolute trust in the Court.

Mr. FRAZER.—Does the honorable and learned member insinuate that the Court would not have been properly constituted had the Watson Government remained in power?

Mr. FULLER.—I never made that suggestion for a moment.

Mr. FRAZER.—Then, why did the honorable and learned member use the words "if it were properly constituted"?

Mr. FULLER.—That phrase casts no reflection on the late Government. Being a member of the legal profession, and having the privilege of knowing a good many of our judicial officers, I should be the last man in the world to suggest such a thing. In the debate on this question, the leader of the Opposition made these remarks, which may be found on page 4045 of *Hansard*—

The practice in nearly every case, in all the Arbitration Courts, has been to grant a preference only when the majority, reasonably ascertained, is in favour of such a preference. I am not so foolish as to anticipate that the practice laid down by the Arbitration Courts of New Zealand and New South Wales will be departed from by the Judge appointed to the Federal tribunal. Any one who imagines that the Judge in the Federal Court would lay down a new line of procedure—that he would grant preferences to unions which manifestly represented only a minority of those employed in the industry or in the district in respect of which the preference was asked—cannot have paid any attention to the general procedure under legislation of this kind.

As the honorable member very properly pointed out, the practice in the Arbitration Courts has been to grant a preference only when the majority has been reasonably ascertained. He further said—

The Government do not desire that preference shall be granted to minorities.

Feeling perfectly satisfied that that was the wish of the honorable member, and, I presume, of other members of his Administration, I cannot understand why they took such strong exception to the amendment of the honorable and learned member for Corinella.

Mr. WATSON.—Because it was unworkable.

Mr. FULLER.—It will be remembered that on various matters in connexion with the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill, the late Government had to back down. In fact, they had backed down on so many occasions, that they were tired of being defeated. They had to make a stand on some

question, and the amendment of the honorable and learned member for Corinella appeared to afford a favorable opportunity for them to make a stand. I feel that I am quite safe in saying that a number of the followers of the late Ministry did not approve of the action of its head on that occasion. We know that the late Ministry climbed down in connexion with, first, the amendment of the honorable and learned member for Darling Downs, and then the political nature of the unions. We also know that they climbed down in connexion with the question of lawyers appearing in the Arbitration Court and agreed to allow them to appear only with the consent of its president. I felt, as any honorable man must have felt, that the late Prime Minister was tired of this continual climbing down. He felt that the moving of this amendment by the honorable and learned member for Corinella furnished to him the opportunity to make a stand, which he did, although he practically said that there was very little difference between that amendment and his own. So far as I could see, there was about as much difference between the amendments as there is between Tweedledum and Tweedledee. When all these circumstances are pointed out in the various labour centres, where the unions have in some cases passed resolutions objecting to the action of their representatives here, in connexion with this Bill, it will not be a matter for the consideration of the delegates only, but also of the rank and file, who constitute those bodies. For example, the men who constitute the union in the Illawarra district—over 2,000 strong—are, as regards political and other matters, amongst the best informed class in the community. Many honorable members, if they went amongst those miners, would be surprised to find out what a grasp and knowledge they have of political matters. When I, who have hitherto enjoyed their confidence, and I believe their respect and esteem, point out to these Illawarra miners that the sole thing I did was not to vote against preference to unionists—

Mr. MAHON.—But to vote the Labour Government out.

Mr. FULLER.—Of course my vote had that result. When the Illawarra miners find that I voted on that occasion, not against preference to unionists, but as to the conditions on which it should be granted; when they know that all sides of this House, including the late Ministry, were agreed that some conditions

should be laid down, and that in the opinion of the late Prime Minister there was very little, if any, difference between the amendments—

Mr. WATSON.—That is not so.

Mr. FULLER.—I am relying on the honorable member's own words.

Mr. WATSON.—If the honorable and learned member will read a few sentences further on, he will find that I said that there was no substantial difference in the object aimed at, and that while one amendment was unworkable ours was workable.

Mr. FULLER.—I have not the report of the honorable member's speech here, so that I am unable to refer to that passage. When these facts, I repeat, are pointed out to the men who constitute the unions, who are able to think for themselves, and who recognise that some of us have stood firmly and faithfully by our pledges to them in the past, they will not be led away by the promoters of any political movement, but, on the contrary, will stand firm and fast by those representatives who on that occasion stood firm and fast by the great principle of majority rule.

Mr. WATKINS.—These same coal-miners have been out-voted by a majority of "blacklegs" before.

Mr. WILKS.—From Victoria.

Mr. WATKINS.—No; from Sydney.

Mr. FULLER.—The only other matter to which I wish to refer is the protectionist revival by honorable members who sit on the cross benches. The mere mention of the subject makes the honorable member for Melbourne Ports wake up. I hope that in their interests there will be a little revival in connexion with the protectionist cause; but I fail to see how it is to be obtained from the allies with whom they are joined. If the honorable member for Barrier and other honorable members, after the pledges which they have given to their constituents, and the manner in which they stood by those of us who, during the consideration of the Tariff, fought so resolutely for the reduction of duties upon tools and implements used in the mining fields, and against the imposition of duties upon timber required for mining operations, help those honorable members, it will surprise me very much indeed.

Mr. MAHON.—Well, the honorable and learned member will be surprised.

Mr. FULLER.—The honorable member for Coolgardie tells me that I will get a surprise, and therefore I am justified in asking him if the Labour Party is in the

future to be the Protectionist Party? Is that the surprise that we are going to get?

Mr. MAHON.—The honorable and learned member will know when the time comes.

Mr. FULLER.—Is the great Labour Party to cease to rule the destinies of Australia, and to become subservient to the honorable and learned member for Indi and the tail of the Protectionist Party? Can any one credit that statement? I do not for a moment. I know what are the aims and the objects of the Labour Party. I know how they have progressed in the past and what they are pressing forward to in the future, and it would surprise me very much if the interjection of the honorable member for Coolgardie should turn out to be a true statement of fact, and the Labour Party became the Protectionist Party. So far as I am concerned, I will support the Government on this occasion. I am not altogether enamoured of the alliance which has been come to, but I believe that it was necessary in the interests of good government, and the electors of Australia have declared in favour of a fiscal truce, for the time being, at any rate. Even the honorable member for Melbourne Ports went to the country pledged to the observance of a fiscal truce. Moreover, I represent a district whose people belong to two of the large producing interests of the Commonwealth—the dairying industry and the coal-mining industry. It is the producers on whom Australia depends, not upon the great cities of Melbourne and Sydney, which are mere parasites upon the country. The wealth of Australia is earned by her pastoralists, her farmers, her miners, and her other producers, who are spread over the face of the land, not by the few manufacturing industries on the banks of the Yarra and the Parramatta. That is shown very clearly when we get a severe drought, and the pastoral industry, for example, suffers. Therefore, anything that would cripple our primary resources would be one of the worst things that could happen to us. I believe, however, that the legislation proposed, and the socialistic doctrines promulgated, by the Labour Party, and those who support them—and their supporters now include the honorable and learned member for Indi, and the honorable members for Bourke and Hume—would, if put into force, be inimical to the best interests of Australia, and I shall, therefore, fight against it as much as I can.

Mr. RONALD (Southern Melbourne).—The fact that the present Administration do not possess the confidence of the House has been demonstrated continually during the debate by the state of the benches on the Ministerial side of the Chamber. When the first Parliament assembled in Athens, and on one side of the House were gathered the Prime Minister Necias and his supporters, and on the other side Alcibiades and his followers, we had, for the first time in history, two leaders of a political assembly sitting face to face, supported by the presence of their followers. But during the present debate the supporters of the Reid-McLean Administration might have been counted on the fingers of one hand. That state of things appears to me to make it unnecessary to try to prove that the Administration does not possess the confidence of the House. They are obviously at all times practically dependent on the Opposition to keep a House. There are, however, one or two other matters to which I wish to refer in the few minutes which remain before the adjournment—because I cannot be expected to finish my speech to-day. One of the facts that lie before us at the present time is that the three parties in this House are to all intents and purposes one party, and that that is why the present confusion exists. Every Government that has been in power since the Parliament met—and this is the third Administration which we have had—has put the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill in the forefront of its programme. The honorable and learned member for Ballarat brought in the Bill, and professed to be in favour of its principles; but if he had been true to those principles the measure would by this time have been placed on the statute-book. When he was defeated in Committee, however, on a question of detail, he resigned office in a pique, and the Watson Administration supplanted his own. That Government, in its turn, resigned because it was defeated on its proposal to grant preference to unionists, which it regarded of vital importance. Now we have the Reid-McLean Administration, and the question naturally suggests itself, “Will they make anything vital?” It will not reflect credit on the intelligence of the House if the three parties find themselves so much in general agreement—and almost every member of the House has declared that the measure is urgently needed—and cannot agree as to details. We are told that there is no opposition to the principles

embodied in the Bill, and that fact is borne out by the action of each party as it has come into power in turn, in declaring that the first measure on its programme would be the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill. What we really want to know is, are honorable members sincere in their professions of belief in the principle of conciliation and arbitration? Are they in earnest in the desire to settle industrial disputes amicably and peaceably by judicial authority?

Mr. MAUGER.—I do not think so.

Mr. RONALD.—I believe that the honorable member is right, and that beyond the shadow of a doubt what we have seen is sheer and unmitigated political hypocrisy. If honorable members are anxious for industrial conciliation and arbitration, why has there been all this waste of time over details? We have been here for many months, and have nothing to show as the result of our labours. The only point upon which we differ is as to who shall occupy the Treasury bench, and that fact is a reflection upon the earnestness and integrity of honorable members. If we were earnest in our desire to legislate in the best interests of the country, we should put an end to the present unseemly and un-Godly scramble for office. I could understand the last two Governments being displaced, if they were succeeded by a new Administration which was prepared to declare its utter disbelief in socialistic legislation, but I cannot understand any section of honorable members pretending to be in favour of the measure that has been before us since the beginning of the session, and making a dispute with regard to petty details a pretext for ousting the Government from office. Conciliation or no conciliation should be the issue before us.

Mr. McDONALD.—I do not wish to be included amongst those who have been scrambling for office.

Mr. RONALD.—The honorable member is like the Pharisee. He thanks God that he is not as other men are, and I might join him to that extent. I strongly deprecate the subversion of all other considerations to that of obtaining possession of the Treasury bench. The present Government is a sham. It came into office as the professed friend of the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill, after having ousted the previous Government, which placed that measure in the forefront of its programme.

Mr. McCAY.—The late Government insisted on going out of office.

Mr. RONALD.—We may have our own opinions with regard to the wisdom, or unwisdom, of the course adopted by the late Government, but I do not wish to enter into that question. As a matter of fact, the present Government is an anti-socialistic combination.

Mr. MAUGER.—What is Socialism?

Mr. RONALD.—The question "What is truth?" has never yet been answered, and the question "What is Socialism?" is not likely to elicit a satisfactory reply until men are supplied with consciences, as well as with the power of reasoning, and are able to appreciate mental and moral truths. The root of the word "Socialism" is the Greek word *socios*, meaning a friend, an ally. Therefore, Socialism means nothing else than an alliance, a friendship, a brotherhood, an association or co-operation for a given purpose. All Governments are in their very essence socialistic. If the words "Socialism" and "alliance" are to be regarded as synonymous, we should not seek for any special definition of the former term, because we are sufficiently familiar with the meaning of the latter. If honorable members in this House were divided into Socialists and anti-Socialists, the latter would eventually prove to be anarchists, because anti-Socialism and anarchy are practically identical. Those who are opposed to Socialism, or alliance for the purpose of maintaining law and order and good government—and the term is capable of no other definition—must needs be anarchists. I must protest against the references which have been made to paid agitators in the Labour Party, and to the engagement of Mr. Tom Mann as an organizer. We have been told that we have set a bad example, but we might be more reasonably charged with following a bad example. We have followed in the footsteps of the Employers' Federation, and we claim that, whilst one side is using its wealth to hire agitators, the Labour Party, which has no press to support it, would be very foolish indeed if it failed to take advantage of the services of a man who is so well fitted for the work of organization. So long as one class in the community is permitted to employ agitators, the other side cannot be blamed for following its example. A great deal has been said during the course of this debate—in order that it may be scattered far and wide—against the morality of this proceeding. As to the

morality of the teaching of our representative, I claim that it will compare very favorably indeed with the unseemly and dangerous instruction imparted by the paid agitator of the Employers' Federation. At any rate, we never acknowledge or countenance any attack upon the sanctity of the marriage tie. But the hired agitator of the Employers' Federation has descended to the lowest depths of immorality by declaring that marriage, which is the foundation of our family life, and the one institution in our civilization that is worth preserving, is a luxury which should be placed in the same category as long beers. That is the teaching of this moralist, this instructor in the ethics of politics. He has proclaimed to the world that the Labour Party is to be reprobated for all that is vile, because it will not indorse that sentiment. To me it is manifest that the present Administration do not possess the confidence of this House, and if for no other reason than is supplied by the programme which they have presented, they should be deposed. So far as the members of the Government are concerned individually, there are no men in this House whom I should be more pleased to see upon the Treasury bench. They are gentlemen of whom this Parliament or any other Legislature might well be proud. I find no fault with the *personnel* of the Cabinet, but I claim that it is possible to respect them without in any way agreeing with their political views. I very much deplore the washing of dirty political linen which has taken place during the course of this debate. Whatever our differences may be, I trust that they will always be differences of principle, and that our respect for each other will be maintained. In my opinion, the coalition between the avowed protectionists and the declared free-traders in this House is an unholy one. On the other hand, the alliance between the Labour Party and the liberal protectionists is a natural alliance, because their members have many things in common. The liberal protectionists are democrats. Personally I hope to see the day when the term "Labour Party" will disappear. "Democratic Party" would suit my taste far better. Nevertheless the word "labour" is associated with all that is honorable, and I have no objection to it. But there are those who do object to it, and I hope, as the result of this alliance, to see a new party spring into existence which will absorb both. We shall then have a clear line of demarcation between the democrats and the conservatives. Our alliance is not based upon a

mere negation; it is a positive alliance, whereas the coalition between honorable members opposite is based upon a pure negation. It is anti-labour. History demonstrates that no movement will ever make for the good of the community which is founded upon a mere negation. If we are to achieve any good, it must be by having something positive. What is there that is positive in the programme of the Government? Nothing but what has been taken out of the policy submitted by the Watson Administration. Some time ago, a very ludicrous advertisement was posted up all round Melbourne. It pictured a certain distinguished gentleman in a very unbecoming, not to say nude, state. Later on, his figure was obliterated, and the public were informed that he had gone to be clothed at a certain establishment in the city. The recollection of that advertisement leads me to say—speaking in a political sense—that he went to the bathing boxes of the Labour Party, stole their clothes, and came back dressed in arbitration breeches, a conciliation coat, a free-trade waistcoat, and a protectionist belltopper. The present Administration found the Labour Party bathing, and stole their clothes. Such a grotesque figure is not likely to commend himself to the people as one who is properly clothed, and in such a state of mind as to warrant him being charged with the conduct of the political affairs of the Commonwealth. Because he is so grotesquely arrayed I think he should be arrested, and a speedy termination put to his Ministerial existence. If I am a prophet as well as a parson, we shall find upon an appeal to the electors that the Government do not possess their confidence. The Ministerial programme is a miserable piece of patch-work, which contains nothing but that which has been filched from their predecessors in office.

Debate adjourned.

House adjourned at 3.59 p.m.

House of Representatives.

Tuesday, 27 September, 1904.

Mr. SPEAKER took the chair at 2.30 p.m., and read prayers.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

Motion (by Mr. REID) agreed to—

That Orders of the Day, Government business, Nos. 1 and 2, have precedence over all other business this day.

PRIVILEGE.

Sir JOHN FORREST (Swan).—I rise to a point of privilege. In the *Age* newspaper of Saturday last the following passage occurs in a report of a speech of the honorable member for Southern Melbourne:—

Last night Sir John Forrest had boasted of having introduced conciliation and arbitration into Western Australia, and had said that preference to unionism was the basic principle of his Bill. And yet this was the man who was opposing preference to unionism at the present time, with the desire to make the Bill null and void. Such unmitigated humbugging of the people whilst professing to be actuated by a regard for their welfare was shameful.

The honorable member's statement that I had said that "preference to unionism was the basic principle of my Bill" is incorrect, as my remarks were the very opposite of those attributed to me. They are reported at page 4857 of *Hansard*, as follows:—

I was the first man in Australia to introduce and pass a Conciliation and Arbitration Bill, brought up to date with the provisions of the Act then in force in New Zealand, with one or two exceptions.

Mr. GROOM.—With preference to unionists?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—No. That was not in the measure. I am opposed to preference to unionists, as being unnecessary and unfair. I do not think it was in the New Zealand Act at that time.

Mr. GROOM.—It was held to be.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I did not know that at the time. I do not think the State Parliament of Western Australia would have passed a Conciliation and Arbitration Bill giving one man an undue preference over another.

Mr. GROOM.—Has it passed it since?

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I may tell the honorable and learned member that even now, though the measure I passed has been amended, with the assistance of the Labour Party, which was not in existence in my day, and has been liberalized in some directions and brought up to date with the New Zealand Act, there is no preference to unionists in it, and the Court in Western Australia has refused to give preference to unionists.

Mr. FRAZER.—That is why they are amending the Bill again now.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I am not speaking of what is to be done, but of what has been done. I wrote to the honorable member for Southern Melbourne, pointing out to him—

Mr. McDONALD.—I rise to a point of order. The right honorable member commenced by saying that he wished to state a question of privilege; but he has not told the House whether he intends to conclude his speech with a motion. I do not know if it is his intention to conclude with a motion, but I ask if he will be in order in not doing so? If he continues his criticisms, and does not conclude with a motion, the honorable

member for Southern Melbourne will be prevented from replying to him, and other honorable members will be debarred from taking part in the discussion of the subject.

Mr. SPEAKER.—There are two or three courses, any one of which may be taken on a question of privilege. The right honorable member for Swan is well within his rights in stating to the House in such manner as he may desire, but at not too great a length—and he certainly has not yet occupied very much time—what the question of privilege is. It will be competent for him then to leave the honorable member for Southern Melbourne to make any rejoinder which he may desire to make, or the right honorable member may conclude with a motion. He is, however, entitled to state to the House, first of all, for its information what the question of privilege is which he desires to bring under its notice.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I wrote to the honorable member for Southern Melbourne, pointing out the error which he had made in attributing to me the statement that “preference to unionism was the basic principle of my Bill”; but, instead of replying that he had made an error, or had misunderstood my remarks, the answer which I received from him this morning states that he is surprised at my objection to his words, as he does not disclaim the report. The whole point of his remarks was that I had said that “preference to unionism was the basic principle of my Bill,” and that notwithstanding what I had said, I had, in this Chamber, opposed preference to unionism, the inference being, to use his own words, that I have been “humbugging the people, and that my conduct is shameful.” There is only one way in which the honorable member for Southern Melbourne can now act, and that is to express his regret at having altogether misrepresented me. When an honorable member misrepresents another, the only proper course for him to take is to say at once that he misunderstood him, or unknowingly and unintentionally misrepresented him. No one who has read the *Hansard* report of or listened to my remarks can doubt that I have been absolutely misrepresented by the honorable member. Such conduct is unworthy of a member of this House, and if the honorable member allows it to stand against him it will be simply scandalous.

Mr. SPEAKER.—The question raised by the right honorable member for Swan is not

one of privilege, nor is any further step necessary in connexion with it. The right honorable gentleman was perfectly entitled to make a personal explanation—

Sir JOHN FORREST.—That is what I intended to do. I should have said “personal explanation” instead of “point of privilege.”

Mr. SPEAKER.—If the honorable member for Southern Melbourne desires to make a rejoinder he is at liberty to do so.

Mr. RONALD (Southern Melbourne).—I received the right honorable member's communication, in the form of a note containing a quotation from a newspaper report, which, I may say, was not a verbatim report of what I said. It must have been known to the right honorable gentleman that the West Australian Bill was based upon the New Zealand Act, and that at the time the measure was passed, the Legislature had before it not only the New Zealand Act, which contained a provision for preference to unionists, but also the decisions of the Courts in support of such preference. Therefore, if the right honorable gentleman had desired to oppose the granting of preference, he should have indicated it upon the face of the Bill.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I believed that all references to preference had been omitted from my Bill.

Mr. RONALD.—I have looked up the decisions of the Courts—

Mr. SPEAKER.—I would remind the honorable member that the one point for explanation, and the only one, is in regard to the complaint of the right honorable member for Swan that the honorable member stated that he said a certain thing which the right honorable gentleman denies having uttered. We are not concerned with what was included in the Bill, or what was accomplished by that measure. The sole question is whether the honorable member did, or did not, make the statement attributed to him, and I should be glad if the honorable member would confine himself to that.

Mr. RONALD.—It is my intention to reply to the right honorable gentleman in my speech upon the motion of want of confidence. I shall content myself at present by stating that the report that I said that the right honorable member for Swan made preference to unionists the basic principle of the Bill is not correct. What I said was that preference to unionists was the basic principle of the Bill.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—If the honorable member had stated to the House at once that the newspaper report was incorrect the matter would have been ended.

SUPPLY BILL (No. 4).

POSTAL, TELEGRAPHIC, AND TELEPHONIC SERVICES: BREWERS' LICENCES: SUPPLY OF RIFLES TO CLUBS: SURPLUS REVENUE PAYABLE TO STATES: DUTY ON ADVERTISING MATTER.

Mr. SPEAKER reported the receipt of a message from His Excellency the Governor-General, recommending that an appropriation be made from the consolidated revenue for the purposes of this Bill.

In Committee of Supply:

Sir GEORGE TURNER (Balaclava — Treasurer).—I move—

That a sum not exceeding £430,421 be granted to His Majesty for or towards defraying the services of the year ending 30th June, 1905.

I had proposed to make the Budget statement last Tuesday, but other business intervened, and I was not in a position to carry out my original intention. Whatever our differences may be, the public servants and the public creditors must be paid, and, therefore, whilst it may seem a little extraordinary to interrupt the course of a no-confidence debate in order to ask for Supply, we must have the grant of Parliament to provide us with the money necessary to meet the payments which fall due at the end of the present month. Our present supply is exhausted, and we must have a further grant before the end of the month.

Mr. HIGGINS.—Will the Senate be able to pass the Bill?

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—I am anxious to pass the Bill through this Chamber to-day, in order that the Senate may have an opportunity to deal with it to-morrow. Honorable members will see that even if the Bill be passed to-morrow, a very short time will be left for carrying out the necessary arrangements. Our practice is as soon as the Royal Assent is given to the Supply Bill to send telegrams to the various officers, so that they may make all the necessary payments during the last two days of the month. The items in the schedule of the Bill are of the ordinary character. They do not comprise any debatable items, and the passing of the measure will not in any way deprive Parliament of an opportunity to discuss the balances of the votes. I regret that it is necessary to ask for further supply. Owing to circumstances over which he had no control, my predecessor was unable to make the Budget statement at the end of

July, and, therefore, it has been necessary to pass more monthly Supply Bills than has been altogether desirable. In my view, the Estimates should be brought down at the earliest possible moment. I do not know, however, that it is wise to begin their discussion very early in the session. I tried that plan once in Victoria, and it seemed almost as if we should have time for nothing else but the discussion of the Estimates during that session. At the same time, it is only right that honorable members should have an opportunity to peruse the Estimates at an early stage. I have satisfied myself, after consultation with the responsible officers, that nothing is now being asked for that cannot safely be granted by Parliament.

Mr. WATSON (Bland).—I admit that it is unusual to interrupt debate upon a motion of want of confidence with a proposal of this character, but I do not see any escape from the situation. We must meet the engagements of the Commonwealth, and in view of the assurance of the Treasurer that the Bill contains no items beyond those usually included in such measures, I think that we may safely agree to pass it.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE (Hume).—Honorable members have not had an opportunity of looking through the Bill.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—It was circulated on Friday night.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—At any rate, I have not had an opportunity of examining it. I presume, however, that the schedule includes items providing for ordinary expenditure such as salaries, and payments in connexion with works that are proceeding.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—Not payments in connexion with new works.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—No, but payments in connexion with works that are completed or are proceeding. I desire to refer to one or two works, in respect of which payments should have been made some time since. A number of works have been practically completed, and the contractors still remain unpaid.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—Those works are not included in the schedule of the Bill; they are dealt with in a separate Bill. Any payments that may be necessary under such contracts can be made out of the Treasurer's advance vote; there is plenty of money available.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Certain works have been carried out at Tumut, Cootamundra, and Albury, for which the contractors have not yet been paid. I have

endeavoured, during the past two or three months, but without success, to induce the Department of Home Affairs to take action in the matter.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—If the honorable member will submit the particulars to me, I shall have the cases investigated.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I have brought them under the notice of the Minister of Home Affairs. It is not fair to the contractors they should be kept out of the money to which they are entitled. Then, again, in connexion with the telephone service, I presume that there is money available to pay for those services and the salaries of the telephone attendants, and I wish to bring under notice an apparent absurdity in connexion with the arrangements in New South Wales. I rang up a country telephone office the other day from Sydney, and was informed that I could not be connected with the subscriber with whom I wished to communicate because the instrument which I was using was not registered. As a result I was compelled to walk three-quarters of a mile to the central office, where I was first required to pay 1s. 3d. for the transmission of the telephone message. I was then shown into a little bureau where I was called upon to drop threepence into a slot machine.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—With which station did the honorable member communicate when he was required to pay 1s. 3d.?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—That was the fee which I had to pay for communicating with Katoomba. The demand was made that I should place threepence in the slot as payment for the use of the bureau, making a total charge of 1s. 6d. I need scarcely remind honorable members that I could have despatched a telegram for ninepence. Personally, I should not complain of this, but the public complain of it very seriously. Some change must be made in the existing arrangement. It seems absurd that I should be required to pay 1s. 6d. for the transmission of a telephone message after being called upon to walk three-quarters of a mile to despatch it, instead of being permitted to use the nearest available instrument. If the Postal Department will not remedy the evil, this House should consider it, and deal with the Minister and officers who refuse to alter the present system. Not only is the Department at fault in this particular, but the service throughout is deficient. The method adopted in

connexion with the erection of telephones and the junction of branch lines with the main lines throughout New South Wales is monstrous. I have always conceived it to be the duty of the Government and the officers of the Department to accommodate the public as far as possible. Surely in the outlying and sparsely-populated districts where the telephone is a great convenience to the residents, we ought not to throw obstacles in the way of the erection of telephone lines, and then charge a high fee when persons wish to use them. In my own electorate, near Cootamundra, I know of one case where a telephone has been erected to within seventeen chains of a post-office. Great trouble was experienced by the residents—owing to the objections urged by the Department—in getting the line carried across an adjacent reserve. Now it cannot be used in consequence of the charges of the postal officials acting under instructions from the head office. I have no desire to deal with these instances in detail at the present stage, because I intend, within a very short time, to bring forward a number of specific cases in support of my statements. There is another matter which is a source of considerable inconvenience to residents in New South Wales. If a letter be posted in Melbourne, and only a penny stamp be affixed to it, the recipient in New South Wales is required to pay not only the additional postage required, but also a fine.

Mr. PAGE.—That is the true Federal spirit.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I do not think so. Business people and others in Victoria frequently post letters addressed to New South Wales upon which they affix a penny stamp. Upon their delivery, not only is the extra penny charged for postage, but a fine is exacted from the individual who receives them.

Mr. PAGE.—The Government in which the honorable member was a Minister passed the Act under which that charge is made.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I do not know that we did, but I think we adopted the system which had previously operated in Victoria—the penny postage system. The present practice affects a large number of people, and causes a great deal of friction. This condition of affairs should be speedily remedied. There is still another question to which I desire to direct attention, and concerning which the Minister of Trade and Customs may know something. I wish

to inquire whether anything has been done in the way of reimbursing Mr. Sandford the large sum of money which he was required to pay as duty upon old iron which, when crossing into New South Wales, was charged for as steel rails. This matter has been under consideration for a long time.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Yes, whilst the honorable member himself was a Minister.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—If my colleagues chose to divulge what took place in Cabinet, honorable members would know that I brought this matter forward upon six occasions.

Mr. REID.—Cabinet secrets.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—It is not a Cabinet secret, because the statement has been made openly.

Mr. HIGGINS.—Is not the case being tested? At the time we left office it was.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I was not aware of it. I recognise that it is a difficult matter to deal with. If I had had the power to do so, I should have dealt with it in a very summary fashion by remitting the amount of the duty. There was an entirely technical offence. These rails were imported to be, and were smelted down as old iron, and Mr. Sandford was charged duty upon them as if they were steel rails being imported into New South Wales. Perhaps the Minister of Trade and Customs can give me some information as to what is to be done in the matter. There is still another practice which is responsible for a great deal of friction—especially at Albury—at the present time. It has reference to certain licences which are being issued. I am not sure whether these licences are issued by the Commonwealth Government, but I believe that some of them are. What I wish to point out is that when an attempt is made by persons resident in New South Wales to work under these licences in Victoria, they are prevented from doing so, and are made the subjects of a prosecution.

Mr. McCAY.—To what licences does the honorable member refer?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Licences in respect of beer, spirits, and wines.

Mr. McCAY.—That is a State matter.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I think there is a Federal licence issued in connexion with beer. I know that Messrs. T. H. Mate and Co., of Albury, are subject to very serious inconvenience on account of the action of the police in Victoria in refusing

to allow them to sell their beer upon this side of the River Murray. Another question of very great importance has reference to the brewers' licences. The other day I saw a reference to this subject by the Premier of Victoria. Under the Excise Act power is given to persons to brew beer, and a Federal licence-fee is charged. In New South Wales a licence-fee of £30 annually is also charged in this connexion. The brewers of New South Wales are compelled to pay the two amounts, which aggregate either £45 or £55 a year. A test case was recently heard by the police magistrate at Cootamundra, who decided in favour of the brewer; but on appeal to the High Court, it was held that the licence-fee charged by the Commonwealth Government only covered the right to brew, and that the issue of licences to sell was under the control of the State Government. Thus, whereas, previously the one licensing fee enabled the brewers both to brew and to sell their beer, they are now called upon to pay a State as well as a Federal licence. The Premier of Victoria referred to this matter the other day—

Mr. GROOM.—He said that he would make the brewers pay.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—It seems to me a very hard case indeed for the brewer. If the licence-fee which was formerly charged by the State was sufficient, I fail to see why the amount should be increased. I believe that the passing of the law in the form in which it at present stands was the result of an accident.

Mr. McCAY.—Has not the High Court said that we cannot prevent the States Governments from imposing their charges?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—If we cannot do that, I say we should not impose another licence-fee. One charge or the other should not be levied.

Mr. HIGGINS.—Why not come to some understanding with the States in the same way that is proposed by the Government in connexion with old-age pensions?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—This matter constitutes a very serious trouble in New South Wales. The brewers all through New South Wales feel that they have a grievance, and, as the Premier of Victoria says, this will very shortly be an acute question in Victoria. If the States Governments will not do anything in the matter, I suggest that, in the case of other States following the same practice, communications should be opened up with

them in order to see whether some compromise or arrangement cannot be arrived at. If no arrangement can be made, it only remains to amend the law so that the charge made by the Federal Government may cease. There is another matter to which I desire to call attention. A few days ago I asked a question concerning a scheme submitted for the destruction of rabbits, which cause so much loss not only in New South Wales, but throughout Australia. On that occasion the Prime Minister said that any application in this connexion should be made to the States, and that he had received no communication on the subject. I urge the Prime Minister to make representations to the States, so that the matter may not be allowed to remain dormant. There is no doubt that a great deal of power may be exercised by the Commonwealth Prime Minister in the way of making representations to the States Governments; and there is no matter of greater importance to Australia than the destruction of the rabbits. If the Prime Minister were the representative of a country constituency in almost any part of Australia, he would know what a serious plague this is, especially in the western and northern areas of New South Wales and Victoria. Something effective should be done to remove a pest which has been devastating the colonies for very many years past. The question requires urgent attention, and while, in the absence of action by the States, I do not know whether the Federal Government can interfere, something ought to be done, and at once; and there is an opportunity at present. I hope the remarks I have made in regard to these two or three matters will not be allowed to go in at one ear and out of the other, because they are important, and worthy of the most careful consideration. I urge on the Government not to allow these matters to drift, but to act with vigour in their settlement.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK (Parramatta).—I echo the hope which the honorable member for Hume expressed a moment or two ago, that the remarks he has made will not be allowed to go in at one ear and out at the other, as, apparently, similar remarks have been treated during the last three and a half years. There is, however, scarcely anything new in the complaints made by the honorable member, because time and again I brought those matters under the notice of the Government of which the honorable member was a member.

Mr. GROOM.—The beer tax?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—That is the exception. I should welcome the honorable member as a most valuable ally on grievance day, were the position he takes not such a recent and sudden development on his part. However, the honorable member has told us that he was engaged in a death struggle with his colleagues while he was a member of the Government. We understand that, but for the fact that he was presiding over a Department as a member of that Government, he would have revolted concerning these matters long ago—that the Cabinet in which he sat presented one long course of grievance-mongering initiated by him. The House will, I think, welcome this revelation of the unhappy state of the Government so recently deceased, and be glad that the train of events has put an end to the honorable member's political misery in this regard.

Mr. WATSON.—We had similar revelations from the right honorable member for Swan.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—There is no doubt that we are only beginning to realize what an unhappy family that Government was.

Mr. WATSON.—The right honorable member for Swan was always in a minority.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—We are only beginning to realize how much it is to be desired, in the interests of Cabinet solidarity, that those warring members should not be tied together again.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—What about the coalition Cabinet?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I should imagine that differences in the coalition Government are very mild as compared with the fierce antagonism which prevailed throughout the whole period of the existence of the Government of which the honorable member was a member. I sincerely hope that no coalition Government, which may hereafter be formed, or may be in existence now, will witness this airing of individual grievances at the Cabinet table, and subsequently on the floor of the House. I make these remarks, because time after time, when a member of the Opposition, I belaboured honorable members on the Government side in respect of many of the matters to which the honorable member for Hume has referred. Mr. Sandford's rebate is, I believe, a matter three and a half years old, beginning, as it did, at the outset of the Commonwealth Government; and whoever is responsible—

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I am not.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Whoever is responsible, it reflects in the gravest way on the character of the Government that something has not been done to reach finality.

Mr. FISHER.—The case has been sent to the Court now in order to get a decision on the facts.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I was just about to refer to that matter. A week or two ago I saw Mr. Sandford, and he informed me the case was before the Court, and as it is *sub judice* I suppose we ought not to further discuss it.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I did not know the case was before the Court.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The honorable member apparently has had no communication with Mr. Sandford very recently. I understand, however, that Mr. Sandford is rather favorable to the present coalition Government.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—This is very amusing. I saw Mr. Sandford last week.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Perhaps the honorable member has heard of the attitude of Mr. Sandford, and hence the honorable member's mysterious development of intense sympathy with the interests of that gentleman. However, I shall say no more since the subject being before the Law Courts is taboo. I think there is a genuine grievance in the matter of the telephone service. In the case referred to by the honorable member for Hume, a man who goes into the post-office at Sydney and desires to telephone to Katoomba, Newcastle, Bathurst, Lithgow, or any place connected with a long-distance line, has to pay not only the schedule charge, but also an initial fee. A parallel case would be that of a man who was charged an initial fee for entering a store before he could either see or buy goods.

Mr. WATSON.—How long has that regulation been in operation?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—It has been in operation ever since the wonderful postal administration of the Commonwealth Government commenced.

Mr. WATSON.—And how long was it in operation previously?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—The regulation is something new.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—I think the regulation came into operation when the honorable member for Parramatta was Postmaster-General of New South Wales.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The honorable member for Eden-Monaro is quite wrong. The honorable member has heard me refer to this matter on numerous occasions during the last three years, and it is very singular that he should only now hazard that guess. But what does it matter how long the regulation has been in operation? The fact remains that before a person can take advantage of the telephone service he has to pay in order to be admitted into the telephone office; and such a regulation ought to be abolished at the earliest possible moment. We ought to remember that the conditions of the telephone and telegraph services have been completely altered since the reduction of the telegraph rates by this Parliament. State messages are now only 9d., while within certain defined districts messages may be sent for 6d.; and that means that where previously it paid a man to send a telephone message it does not pay him to do so now. The efforts of the Department seem to be directed to reducing the competition between the telephone and telegraph services; and that ought not to be. So far as I can see, it is inevitable that telegraphy must be confined more and more to trunk and long distance lines between the various States. Wherever the telephone is introduced and can compete successfully with the telegraph, the competition ought to be permitted; there ought to be no "cutting" between the two services. The present competition acts in a way which will be realized from an instance within my knowledge. Recently several fruit-growing centres in the county of Cumberland, New South Wales, were connected by telephone with the fruit markets in Sydney, but now they are not allowed to telephone unless they pay a fee of 9d. per message. Seeing that they can send a telegram for 6d. the telephone is of little use to them. This is a matter which ought to be looked into; and I urge the Postmaster-General to take some action in regard to this very real grievance.

Mr. MAHON.—Do they not have three minutes' conversation for 9d.?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Yes, they have. But when a fruit-grower uses the telephone he usually wishes to ascertain what is the price of fruit upon the market. If he can get that information for 6d. he prefers to use the telegraph rather than the telephone. The object of allowing the telephones to be used in this way was to give additional advantages. A person ought to be able to obtain the use of the telephone as cheaply as

the telegraph. I hope that my honorable friend will look into the matter, and see if he cannot alter a state of things which has already continued too long.

Mr. FISHER (Wide Bay).—It has been stated on the best authority that the Treasurer has submitted to the States Treasurers an estimate of the revenue to be received by them from the Commonwealth for the current year. Seeing that this Bill is not to be treated formally, I wish to ask the right honorable gentleman whether he is in a position to state officially the probable amount of revenue for the year. I think that it is only fair, now that the information has been given unofficially, that we should know it from the Treasurer at the earliest possible moment. The right honorable gentleman will agree with me that we are here as representatives, and the sooner we know the facts the better it will be for the States Governments. It will also enable honorable members to make their arrangements accordingly.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN (Eden-Monaro).—On the principle that honorable members should have their grievances redressed before we grant supply, I also desire to bring some facts under the notice of the Postmaster-General. In listening to the speeches of the honorable member for Parramatta and the honorable member for Hume, I, knowing them so well, could understand the reasons which actuated them in the remarks they made. But there are other people who suffer under the present telephone arrangements, and who appear to me to have quite as great a grievance as the persons alluded to by the honorable members. The trouble is brought about by the fact that it has always been held that the Post Office should be run upon a commercial basis, and that before the Department could grant to persons in an isolated portion of New South Wales, or any other State, the telephone facilities that they asked for, there should be a guarantee that the revenue would be sufficient to cover the expenses. There are springing up in various parts of the country new mining settlements, as at Yambulla and Pericoe, where hotels have been erected, where butchers' and bakers' shops thrive, and where people are building dwellings. The fields promise well, but, although repeated applications for telephone facilities have been made, the people are told that unless it can be shown that a telephone will pay from a commercial stand-point, or unless they are prepared to give a guarantee against loss, the work cannot be carried out.

Mr. MAHON.—An election is coming all right!

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—I should judge that that is so when I observe how comfortable the honorable member appears to be. All that I can say is, that while I have no desire to run the country to the cost of £50,000 for a general election, I am just as ready to face the people as is the honorable member who interjects. But, to make the grievance under which people in the back-blocks are suffering the sport of parties, is unworthy of us.

Mr. PAGE.—I rise to a point of order. Is the honorable member for Eden-Monaro in order in referring to a general election when he knows how it hurts the feelings of honorable members?

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—The honorable member must know that there is an easy way open to him to prevent the feelings of honorable members being outraged, and their purses being emptied in the manner suggested. I recommend him to take that course if he "feels bad" himself. Apart from that consideration, it is a remarkable circumstance that ex-Ministers who have had opportunities to remedy grievances should stand here and voice the grievances of their constituents. We have, for instance, the honorable member for Parramatta complaining of an arrangement, although he himself is responsible for a good deal of the resulting trouble, because it was inaugurated while he was Postmaster-General in New South Wales.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—No.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—I suppose the honorable member wishes to throw some blame on the honorable member for Macquarie, who is now Postmaster-General, but who has not yet had time to put his house in order. I will give the Postmaster-General this credit—that he has already intimated through the press that he is prepared to regard the matter of conferring telephone facilities from a different stand-point from that from which it was regarded by his predecessors. I believe that that is an intimation which will commend itself to every honorable member. As regards the Sandford matter and the rails that have been mentioned, I think it is time that the whole business was cleared up. I have every hope that something definite will be done. It appears to me to be very hard that a good citizen like Mr. Sandford should be told that he must go to the Court.

Mr. FISHER.—To ascertain facts of the case; that was Mr. Sandford's suggestion.

Mr. REID.—The law of the case.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—It seems to me that people ought not to have to go to the Courts to ascertain the facts of a case. They go to Court to get justice; and we ought not to force good citizens like Mr. Sandford—who has established a very large industry, and gives a considerable amount of employment—to go to Court if we can possibly avoid it. We ought to be anxious to give a man of his type every possible encouragement, but instead of that we appear to be endeavouring to discourage him. In regard to matters that have been alluded to by the honorable member for Hume, I have not much to say. While I was a member of the late Cabinet we were very happy. I should not mind if we were back in office again. I do not think that it is a good thing in our public life that ex-Ministers should bring before this House the worries and troubles that have occurred in Cabinet. If a Minister cannot stand by the acts of his colleagues the best thing he can do is to leave the Cabinet and fight the matter out upon the floor of the House. It is very hard that the people of this country, especially those resident in the back-blocks, should be made the sport of parties—and to a very large extent there can be no doubt that they are now in that position. I hope that when the present storm has blown over the Postmaster-General will take into consideration what has been said with regard to the telephones. We have lately read something in the newspapers with regard to the Pacific cable. We are informed that it entails an annual loss of something like £100,000 a year. Where cables are concerned, there is no question about working them on a commercial basis. I see that the Secretary to the Postmaster-General defends what has been done in regard to the Pacific cable. He says that there is a good reason for incurring the loss of £100,000 a year. But the Department declines to lose £10 a year in extending telephone facilities to people in the back-blocks of Queensland, New South Wales, or Western Australia, and refuses them what they ask for unless it can be shown that it will pay. All that I can say is that that matter ought to be looked into carefully. If the present Postmaster-General would but devote half the time to this matter which he devoted to watching me in this House a little time back, we should soon have an al-

teration. I trust that the honorable members for Maranoa and Coolgardie are false prophets, and that there is not going to be an election, and I hope that when this little storm is over the Postmaster-General will look into these matters, and will also see that the complaints I have made are dealt with.

Mr. BROWN (Canobolas).—It is very amusing to hear ex-Ministers complaining of the neglect of the Departments over which they have had control. Their experience while in office should be of value to the House now that they are in the cool shade of opposition for a little time. Ever since the Federal authorities took over the control of the Post and Telegraph Department this has been a stock grievance. On almost every application for ways and means this has been the one subject of grievance under consideration. It is strange that the honorable gentlemen who have been in charge of the Department were unable while they had control to rectify the grievances they discovered. Apparently during the time they had control of the Department they sat under them quite contented. I welcome their assistance in debating the subject from our side of the question, and I trust that it will result in the men on the land, and people in the country districts generally, getting some little consideration. I desire to ask the Treasurer whether any provision is made in the measure before us to meet the expenses of the Royal Commission which recently inquired into certain matters which occurred in New Guinea. If such provision is made in the Bill, I should be glad if the right honorable gentleman would inform the Committee as to what was the cost of the Commission. We should have some information upon the subject, and even if the vote for the Commission is not included in this proposal, it will be of some interest and value to the community if the right honorable gentleman will make a statement of its cost.

Mr. MAHON (Coolgardie).—Before the Bill passes, I hope the Ministry will be able to inform the House what is proposed to be done with the classification scheme of the Public Service Commissioner. In some cases the Public Service Commissioner has increased the salaries paid to officials, has transferred others from one grade to another, and in other cases removals are arranged for. I believe that certain post-offices have also been classified into various grades. I should like to know how soon the recommendations will be given

effect to, and whether the Government propose to give the House an early opportunity to discuss the classification scheme. In Western Australia the post-offices have all been graded on some plan of which I have never been able to find the principle. I do not agree with the grading there, and I think we should have an early opportunity of considering the whole matter. I hope the Treasurer will tell the Committee whether it is proposed to pay salaries, where there are increases according to the Commissioner's grading, from the date on which his report was laid on the table of the House. I believe it is the anticipation of a large number of public servants that they will receive the increases proposed from the time the report was tabled. I do not wish to say anything concerning the complaints as to telephone and postal facilities, except to express surprise at the remarks of the honorable member for Eden-Monaro, who was whip of the Government which passed the Post and Telegraph Act, and who advocated the section of the Act which compels the Postmaster-General to consider whether any new facilities asked for will pay their way.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The honorable member was merely indulging in an exercise of Yes-No.

Mr. MAHON.—I remember distinctly that the honorable member for Parramatta did question the wisdom of that provision when the Bill was going through Committee, but I have no recollection that the honorable member for Eden-Monaro ever said a word against it. The honorable member was the Government whip at the time, and did his utmost to carry the measure as submitted by the Ministry of the day. It is rather late now for the honorable member to come to this House and complain of the officials of the Department for carrying out the law as they find it. The honorable member has not been consistent, except in his inconsistencies, and possibly we may accept his action in this case as being consistent with what has gone before.

Mr. AUSTIN CHAPMAN.—Will the honorable member tell us about his threat about the galvanized iron, and what he was going to do?

Mr. MAHON.—I did not catch what the honorable member said; but if he requires any information from me I shall be able to give him some about the number of futile and unreasonable applications which he has made to the Department since he has been a member of the Federal Parliament. I

have some information for the honorable member on that subject whenever he desires it, and in all friendliness I advise him to keep very quiet as to his transactions with the Postal Department. I hope the Government will be able to tell us something about the Public Service Commissioner's classification scheme, the grading of the public servants, and also of various post offices.

Mr. CHANTER (Riverina). — I also wish to say a little about telephones. It appears to me that the cry for economic reform which was taken up by the press and spread throughout Australia paralyzed not only this Government, but preceding Governments to such an extent that they have attempted to go to the other extreme, and have done a great deal to injure the Post and Telegraph Department, which, perhaps more than any other in the Commonwealth, is closely connected with our social life. It is impossible to say on what grounds other than those of false economy this Department can be working. I have one or two instances to bring before the Committee. In one very important centre of a large wheat-growing district for years past a telephone line has been asked for to connect the two towns of Daysdale and Oaklands, which are twelve or thirteen miles apart. The honorable gentleman at the head of the Department very properly says that there is no necessity to be at the expense of erecting telegraph poles where the natural timber as it grows can be utilized, but honorable members will be surprised to hear that the officer employed to prepare estimates for this particular line suggests an expenditure of between £200 and £300. The people are perfectly willing to erect the line if they can only get the permission of the Department to do so, but Minister after Minister has absolutely refused to allow them to do this, except under impossible conditions. I am not blaming one Minister more than another, but the policy of the Department. All through New South Wales post and telegraph offices which have been in charge of efficient officers are being suddenly reduced in status and classed as non-official offices. The officer in charge of a post and telegraph office is withdrawn, an interested person in the town is put in charge of the telephone, and there is absolutely no secrecy for the messages which a trader or farmer or other person may send. Take, for instance, the town of Daysdale, which is situated between Corowa and Jerilderie. Although for very many years its post and telegraph office brought in a large amount

of revenue, still a considerable time ago the Department determined that it should be placed in charge of a non-official person. The whole district, by petition and otherwise, has protested against this action. I have protested to the Ministers personally, whom I have also asked by letter to comply with the wishes of the residents, but the request has been absolutely refused. It is intended to place the office in this town in charge of a trader.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Is it carried on at a loss?

Mr. CHANTER.—No; and I sent to the Department a letter, intimating that the rental of the premises would be reduced. The residents of a place meet the Department in every way they can in order that the post and telegraph office should be a paying concern: but the Department seems to have got into a groove from which it cannot be induced to depart. It is determined to establish non-official post and telegraph offices throughout the back portions of the States. I wish to know why certain advantages are being enjoyed by people resident in the cities at the cost of the people living in the back portions of the States; for the latter are being charged with the deficiency in the revenue. A telephone, for instance, was required to connect Warmatta with Berrigan. The residents of Warmatta, not acquainted with the intricacies of the bond drawn up by the Crown Law officers, willingly bound themselves to pay any deficiency on the line. There was an old-established post office at the place, and the Department absolutely came down on those persons, and demanded from them the deficiency on the working of not only the telephone but the post office. These grievances have been represented to the Department times without number. It almost makes one tired to go to the Department; it cannot be persuaded to move.

Mr. PAGE.—Perhaps the Department is tired.

Mr. CHANTER.—The Department is not too tired to do wrong in these matters, or to apply to the residents in the back portions of the States a different policy from that which they apply to those who live under more favoured conditions in the cities of the States. Take again, the difference in the postage; and on this point the Premier of Victoria and the Premier of New South Wales may have something to say. Re-

venue is being lost to New South Wales, and credited to Victoria. The postage per half-ounce is one penny in Victoria, and twopence in New South Wales. Day after day, letters are sent from Melbourne to towns near the border of New South Wales, and every unfortunate addressee, before he can receive his letter, has to pay a deficient postage of one penny, in addition to a fine of another penny. That grievance ought to be redressed as rapidly as possible. I should think that it could be remedied by adopting a kind of zone system. Then, again, take the services. Although two trains leave Melbourne daily for Echuca, still the mails for Moama and Deniliquin, on the other side of the river, are held in the Echuca post office until about half past two o'clock next day. Under this new-born regulation, although Moama and Deniliquin are distant only 150 and 200 miles respectively from Melbourne, it takes three days before one can get a reply to a communication from Melbourne. Surely it does not need a heaven-born statesman or administrator to grapple with these things quickly, and give some relief to the people concerned. What is the consequence to the border towns? The legitimate revenue of the various post-offices is decreasing, and the classification of the officers is being interfered with, simply because persons take letters across the river and lodge them in Victorian post-offices, in order to secure the benefit of the penny postage. That is not fair or just to the border towns of New South Wales, nor is it economical. This Department, I claim, should not be administered from the point of view of whether the revenue will defray the expenditure. It is intended to meet the convenience of the people of Australia, no matter where they live. I am quite sure that the residents in the cities are quite prepared to bear any little loss which may be incurred, in order to give the residents of the back blocks the convenience of communication, whether by telegram, letter, or telephone. I sincerely trust that the Postmaster-General will strike out a new policy, quite irrespective of departmental traditions, and see that justice is meted out to these people without further delay.

Mr. FULLER (Illawarra).—I had not an opportunity of hearing those honorable members who first discussed the question of telephonic communication, but I can thoroughly indorse the remarks made by the honorable member for Eden-Monaro, and later speakers. I was glad to notice that

the Postmaster-General had not been in office very long before he initiated a progressive policy, and proposes, among other changes, to utilize the trees and timber through the various districts where telephones are required by the residents. On different occasions I have had reason to complain of the administration of the post and telegraph office, more particularly in connexion with telephonic matters. I made a complaint once concerning the treatment of an application for telephonic communication to a place in the Camden district, called Yerranderie, at which there is now a fair-sized silver mine, employing a large number of men. It is absolutely necessary to the prosecution of the industry that quick communication should be had with the metropolis. I sincerely trust that the Postmaster-General will carry out his progressive policy in this instance. Hitherto the application has been blocked by reason of the large expense of erecting poles, and the requiring of a large guarantee, the order being that the line should pay from the start. Ever since the Federal Parliament first met I have repeatedly brought before the postal authorities proposals for the extension of telephonic communication to Illawarra, which is one of the most important industrial districts in Australia, containing as it does ten or a dozen coal mines in active work, some large smelting works, and a harbor at Port Kembla, where the State Government has spent thousands of pounds upon breakwaters, and where eventually about £750,000 is to be expended. But when I approached the first Federal Postmaster-General on the subject I was asked for a cash guarantee of £750. Now, what is everybody's business is nobody's business, and people will not put their hands in their pockets to pay these guarantees, although there were, and still are, men who are ready to carry out the work at their own expense if given the opportunity. The giving of telephonic communication to a district without first requiring a guarantee is not without precedent in New South Wales. The telephones from Sydney to Newcastle and from Sydney to Bathurst were erected without expense to the inhabitants of either of the towns named. The Illawarra district has to compete with the Newcastle district in the coal business, and as the Newcastle people were provided with telephonic facilities without guarantee or expense, I think that the Illawarra people should be similarly treated. I trust that

the Postmaster-General will, in the interests of an important district, have it connected with the metropolis by telephone at as early a date as is possible.

Mr. PAGE (Maranoa).—I am very sorry indeed that the honorable member for Eden-Monaro has so repeatedly referred to the prospect of an early dissolution and a general election. I, for one, am not desirous of anything of the kind.

Sir GEORGE TURNER.—There is no provision in the Bill for it.

Mr. PAGE.—It is certainly a very strange thing for the Government to be asking for supply when a motion of want of confidence is before the House, though, no doubt, the Minister has no official knowledge of the likelihood of a dissolution. I wish to bring under the notice of the Minister of Trade and Customs the following letter which I have received:—

Chamber of Commerce, Rockhampton,
22nd September, 1904.

Dear Sir,

I have the honour, by direction, to send you a copy of a resolution adopted by my chamber to-day, viz.:—

"That, in the opinion of this chamber, the imposition of duties on market reports, catalogues, price lists, &c., is inimical to the best interests of trade, and a serious obstruction to business, and the Government of the Commonwealth be respectfully asked to reconsider the regulation relating thereto, with a view to its immediate withdrawal."

In transmitting this resolution, I am to say that the chamber find the regulation in its operation is proving a serious obstruction to business, and the resolution has been sent to the Minister of Trade and Customs, Melbourne. I am also directed to ask your support towards securing the withdrawal of this regulation.

I have the honour to be, Dear Sir,

Your obedient servant,

(Sgd.) THOMAS PARKER,
Secretary.

Mr. R. EDWARDS.—I got that matter settled a fortnight ago.

Mr. PAGE.—I should like to know from the Minister of Trade and Customs if the regulation which is complained of has been rescinded?

Mr. McLEAN.—Circulars which are clearly in the nature of advertisements are now dutiable, while publications conveying information regarding the state of the Home markets are not.

Mr. PAGE.—I am very pleased that that arrangement has been come to. Advertising matter no doubt should be dutiable, but trade and market reports and catalogues should be free; because it is necessary for our people to have them, in order that they

may order what goods they require from the old country. I wish, also, to bring under the notice of the Postmaster-General the differences between the allowances granted to officers of his Department who are located in western Queensland. In one office which I have in my mind, one officer receives less than £100 a year, another £160 a year, and a third £200 a year, while the postmaster gets over £300 and a house to live in.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Are there any official postmasters in the honorable member's electorate who receive only £36 a year?

Mr. PAGE.—No. If a man has been three years in the service of the Commonwealth, and has reached the age of twenty-one years, he is entitled, under the Public Service Act, to a salary of £110 per annum.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I know a case in which a person who has been seven years in the service is not paid that salary.

Mr. PAGE.—Then the right honorable member is neglecting his duty as a representative of Western Australia in not bringing the matter before the House. If such a state of things existed in my electorate, honorable members would have heard about it three or four years ago.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I have been trying for two years to get matters righted.

Mr. PAGE.—The honorable member ought to have done something when he was in a Ministry. The system of which I complain affords another illustration of the proverb about greasing the fat sow. Three of the four men to whom I have referred stay at the same hotel, and pay 25s. a week each for their board, although the man whose salary is less than £100 a year receives only £11 a year in allowances, while the postmaster is given an allowance of £30 a year. Then in another place in my electorate, the line repairer, who is paid less than any other officer in the local office, has a wife and four children, and receives an allowance of £11 a year, while the postmaster, who is a single man, receives an allowance of £30 a year. What fairness is there in such an arrangement? The loaf of bread which the poor man buys costs him as much as is paid by the man who is getting a higher salary. I do not know on what principle these allowances have been fixed, and, although I have repeatedly asked the Department for an explanation, all I can learn is that they have been fixed by regulation, and that when a man's pay is increased his allowance will

be increased. But the man who needs a large allowance is the man who is receiving a small salary. I should like to give some of those who have framed the regulations a taste of their own physic. Let them take their wives and children to the back-blocks of Queensland, where the only vegetables they would see would be those which they, if very lucky, grew themselves. Let them experience all the trouble and monotony of a pioneer's life, day after day, month after month, and year after year, and see if they would then think that £11 a year is enough. At any rate, I do not see the fairness of giving one man an allowance of £11, and a fellow-officer an allowance of £30. I am sorry, so far as the motion of want of confidence is concerned, that Mr. Speaker cannot accept the suggestion of the *Argus*, and take a secret ballot on it, instead of a division of the House. If that were done, there would be an overwhelming majority against it. If it is defeated, I intend to divide the House on the question whether the monstrous regulation to which I have referred should remain unaltered. I hope that the Minister of Home Affairs will bring this matter under the notice of the Public Service Commissioner. It is of no use for me to go to the Commissioner. He would ask me to state a specific case, and then it would be a case of "good-bye" to the officer who made the complaint. Political influence is bad enough, but social influence is worse, and many public servants in western Queensland believe that social influence has brought about the results which are now the cause of complaint. As many honorable members know, the conditions of life up in the Gulf country are not of the most attractive character. The temperature ranges from 112 to 116 degrees in the shade for the greater part of four or five months in the year, and the means of communication are very far from perfect. At the best of times many people receive only one mail a week, and during the drought period they could not rely upon even a weekly service. The mail used to arrive once a fortnight, or once a month, or even less frequently. Men who have to submit to such conditions are deserving of some consideration, and the poorly-paid men are entitled to allowances on a more liberal scale than those granted to more highly-paid servants. I hope that the Minister will confer with the Commissioner with a view to framing regulations which will be more equitable in their operation than those now in force.

Mr. FOWLER (Perth). — I am constrained to swell the chorus of complaints with regard to the management of the Telephone Department. Our telephone arrangements require to be brought up-to-date. In other countries telephone facilities are being extended much more rapidly and at much smaller cost than in our case.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—We are better off than a good many people.

Mr. FOWLER.—There is plenty of room for improvement in Western Australia.

Mr. CONROY.—Is not that the fault of the Act?

Mr. FOWLER.—No. I believe that the administration is at fault, and I shall endeavour to show honorable members that the regulations are sometimes of an unduly rigid character. In my electorate there is a town which has sprung into existence within the last few years, and is rapidly becoming an important business centre. About two miles away there is an older settlement, a quiet little village, to which telephone communication was extended in the good old days when money was abundant, and faithful electors were rewarded for their services by an obliging Administration.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I do not think that was done.

Mr. FOWLER.—I do not think that I am overstating the case. The residents in the smaller town possess all the advantages conferred by a telephone office, whilst the inhabitants of the larger and much more important centre are compelled to pay double rates because it is less than three miles distant from the older settlement. I believe that there is an absolutely rigid rule in the Department that no telephone office shall be established within less than three miles of an existing office. I wish to protest against any rule of this kind. The Department which relies upon such a rule confesses its inability to deal with every case on its merits. Local conditions should be taken into account. The honorable member for Maranoa referred to the question of allowances under the classification scheme of the Public Service Commissioner. I quite agree with his remarks. I would point out, further, that in Western Australia the Public Service Commissioner and his inspectors have totally ignored the local conditions. The scale of payments to public servants in Western Australia is upon practically the same basis as that adopted in the other States. In some respects, perhaps, the Western Australian public servants are worse off in the matter of actual salary,

and when local conditions are taken into account they are undoubtedly placed at a great disadvantage. Even under the most favorable conditions—such as obtain in the coastal settlements—the cost of living is at least 25 per cent. higher than in the centres of population in the eastern States. That is a matter which should receive consideration at the hands of the Commissioner. I hope that if the Government survive the present crisis they will afford honorable members an early opportunity to criticise the proposals of the Commissioner, which require to be very closely examined. The officers of the various Departments are precluded from offering criticisms, but I have received a formidable number of complaints, which, for the most part, seem to be reasonable, and I hope that an opportunity will be given for their further consideration.

Mr. JOHNSON (Lang).—I am glad that this discussion has taken place upon the question of the establishment of telephonic communication, even though it may, to some extent, anticipate debate upon a motion dealing with the same subject, which I had placed upon the business-paper. I have frequently had occasion to draw attention to the need which exists for providing telephonic facilities in my own electorate, and ever since I have been a member of this Parliament I have been endeavouring to secure the establishment of a telephone office at a place called Miranda. As evidencing the difficulties which are placed in the way of reasonable telephonic extension, I may mention that Miranda is distant from Sydney only about thirteen miles. Under the existing system, city and suburban rates are charged within a radius of ten miles of the metropolis. Beyond that distance a special charge is levied. In some instances, however, the ten-miles limit is exceeded without any extra charge being imposed. I know of one line which extends twelve and a half miles from Sydney, and upon which the city and suburban rates are charged. In the case of Miranda, an additional half-mile only would require to be covered. I obtained a guarantee of twenty subscribers from residents in the vicinity, provided that they could obtain telephonic communication at the city and suburban rates. Although the local post-office is situated within a few hundred yards of a private telephone wire, I have been unable to obtain that brief extension during the whole time that I have occupied a seat in this House. Unfortunately, it has been customary for previous Postmasters-General

to rely too much upon the reports of the departmental officers without taking the trouble to personally investigate individual applications, and to deal with them upon their merits. The trouble with departmental officers is that, whenever they are called upon for reports, they base their estimates upon the most elaborate schemes imaginable. I am glad that in the present Postmaster-General, we have a practical man of keen common sense and business ability, who is prepared to disregard these elaborate reports, and to so utilize existing facilities as to provide cheap telephonic communication wherever it is possible to do so. In the case of Miranda, notwithstanding that I had obtained a guarantee of twenty subscribers, upon the basis of the city and suburban rates, the departmental officer reported, as the result of his investigation, that there would not be half-a-dozen calls a week there, although the locality is thickly populated. When I tell honorable members that it is a place which is visited by hundreds of people every week, upon the very face of it his report is absurd. I trust that when the Estimates-in-Chief are under consideration, provision will be made for telephonic extension, and for giving effect to a cheaper system than that which has been hitherto adopted.

Mr. DAVID THOMSON (Capricornia).—I have received a resolution from the Rockhampton Chamber of Commerce, similar to that to which the honorable member for Maranoa has directed attention. It reads—

That in the opinion of this Chamber the imposition of duties on market reports, catalogues, price lists, &c., is inimical to the best interests of trade, and a serious obstruction to business, and the Government of the Commonwealth should be respectfully asked to reconsider the regulation relating thereto, with a view to its immediate withdrawal.

In my opinion it is absolutely monstrous that any tax whatever should be imposed upon market reports and catalogues, which are intended to encourage trade in the country. I would urge the Minister of Trade and Customs to withdraw the particular regulation dealing with these publications.

Mr. CULPIN (Brisbane).—I desire to direct attention to what I conceive to be a gross injustice, resulting from the stringent manner in which the regulations of the Postal Department are administered. At Paddington, Brisbane, a telegraph employé was entitled to six months' leave of absence on full pay. This leave was granted to

him; but, owing to departmental requirements, he continued to discharge his duties, and in the interim was attacked with an illness to which he succumbed. His widow, very naturally, applied to the Department for the salary represented by his six months' leave of absence. The Department, however, in its iron-bound way, replied, "Oh he is not now a member of the service, and we cannot help you." I claim that it will be an outrage if nothing is done for this poor woman.

Mr. SKENE (Grampians).—It seems to me a matter of regret that the Postmaster-General has not been longer in office, so that we might criticise him more severely in respect to many of these matters. It is a remarkable thing that, whenever a Government attempts to conduct its Departments upon commercial lines, it does so in the most cast-iron fashion. It seeks to make an absolute profit upon everything, whereas, whenever a business house wishes to expand its operations, it is usually content for a time to sustain a loss. I have even heard of a business in Melbourne, in which £1,000 per annum was lost in one department, but made up in another department; and in departing from more elastic methods of this description, officers under Government control make a very great mistake. The justification for Government management is the opportunity it presents to develop the country. Conveniences given to people in country districts have the effect of gathering population; and in some of the later discovered wheat areas of Victoria. I know, from my own experience, that there is a considerable trouble in obtaining proper postal facilities. I frequently have applications made to me in this regard, but the conditions are so strict and strange that, in some cases, the people cannot understand them. In many cases there may be applications from places which are not likely to extend, but wherever there seems to be a likelihood of growth, the system of guarantees might be done away with. Sums of £5 to £20 seem somewhat large to very small collections of people, but amount to little in the working of a big department; and if a great undertaking pays on the whole, it ought not to be expected to pay in every little detail. I merely voice the opinions expressed around me in this regard; and I know that the present conditions, if they are not arousing great dissatisfaction, are regarded by the people as pin pricks, resulting from a penny-

wise and pound-foolish method of business. Most of these matters we know will right themselves; big rivers are made up by little rivulets, and we cannot expect a postal system in small outlying places to pay from the outset. But if, as I say, the whole system pays, we might very well be liberal to people who live far out in the country. That is the spirit in which the Post Office should be administered; we should not wait until there is sufficient population to make a service pay. People could, under such conditions, see to the mail service for themselves. In my own young days I have had to carry the mails from station to station. I hope, however, we have got beyond those primitive conditions. Only to-day a case was brought under my notice in which people in an outlying district are asked for a guarantee of £20, and there are many similar instances. I am glad to hear that the Postmaster-General is prepared to take a liberal view of the matter, and if he does so he will give great satisfaction to the people of the Continent.

Mr. MALONEY (Melbourne).—I desire to bring under the notice of the Treasurer the fact that, in answer to a deputation a short time ago, a distinct promise was given by the Premier of Victoria, and by the Prime Minister, that overtime would be abolished in the Government Printing Office. I understand that, so far as the State Government are concerned, overtime has been stopped, but that under the Federal Government men are working twelve and fourteen hours a day. In view of the dearth of employment amongst compositors, whose calling has almost been removed from the category of trades, owing to the invention of the linotype, such a system is all the more unjustifiable. I ask the Treasurer to, as far as possible, see that no overtime is worked, at all events in Victoria, where the register of the Government Labour Bureau shows that many people are in want of employment. I should like to take an early opportunity to say that, when the Military Estimates are under consideration, I shall give my vote for such an increase of expenditure as will make the coal resources of the sister State of New South Wales absolutely secure. In military matters, when nation fights nation, coal is almost more valuable than powder and shot. We know how helpless Australia would be if our coal resources ever got into the hands of an enemy, and with the "yellow peril"—that terrible evil which

threatens Australia more than it can any European country—we ought to take early steps in order to make ourselves secure in this regard. I am sorry to say that, in the Postal Department, one of the most infamous systems of sweating was brought under the notice of the House, but, thanks to the late Postmaster-General, the subletting of contracts has, I believe, been permanently stopped. In order that there may be no doubt about the matter, I trust the Treasurer will represent to his colleague, the Postmaster-General, that it is absolutely necessary that the men who do the work of carrying the mails of Australia shall be adequately paid, and not robbed, as they have been in too many cases in the past. In the case of the mail from Yarra Glen to Torlangi, the pittance which was offered to the contractor was an insult to an intelligent man. As to the telephones, I do not think the expressions used by honorable members can fail to influence the Postmaster-General in making some change in the management. With a nationalized system of telephones, such large sums ought not to be demanded. In Sweden and Norway telephones of the highest type are supplied at a cost immeasurably less than that charged in any of the Australian capitals. Another ground of complaint worthy of attention is that the officers who look after the compilation of the rolls—and this may be most interesting to us all in a few short weeks—are at the beck and call of their superiors in the Postal Department. An officer may be in the midst of the work of making up a roll, and yet he may be transferred to another place; and I have heard of a case in which such an officer, who, I may say, is unknown to me personally, was shifted without rhyme or reason by a superior official, who, I am credibly informed, has an animus against myself. In this case wrong information was given in three separate instances—as, for instance, the date the officer left—but I do not desire to refer further to the matter or to get any one into trouble. I do not know what may be taking place in the other States, but I know that in Victoria officers engaged in compiling the rolls may, at the behest of a superior officer in the Department, be compelled to leave the work half finished. I need say no more, because I believe the Minister is devoting some attention to this matter, and I hope that the result will prove more beneficial in the matter of the rolls than has the administration in the past.

Mr. WEBSTER (Gwydir).—I do not rise for the purpose of merely re-echoing the sentiments which have been given expression to by various country representatives in connexion with the troubles of the people who have to eke out an existence on the arid lands of a large portion of the Commonwealth. Unless we give some postal conveniences to people who are building up this country for those who are to follow—unless we, in the initiatory stages, give them some encouragement, so that they may successfully settle on the soil—we shall be lacking in our duty to those who are engaged in this valuable work. The postal, telegraphic, and telephonic system is practically the nerve centre of our commercial and social life; there is no doubt it has more to do with bringing men together in all the affairs of life than has any other convenience, either of the State or of the Commonwealth. And because so much depends upon the expedition with which this service is rendered, consideration should be given to the people who live in the country districts. As to the system which the Postmaster-General now proposes to extend, I have very grave doubts whether his idea will be successful in practice. I fear that the life of the wires would be very much shortened by bush fires and other destructive agencies which prevail in the country districts if they were put upon trees through the bush. Apart from that consideration, it is absolutely essential that the regulations which appertain to the extension of telephones in the sparsely-populated portions of Australia should be liberalized. But it is generally known that the right honorable gentleman who at present occupies the office of Treasurer insists upon conducting affairs of this kind on a strictly financial basis. I do not blame him altogether. But still, it is idle to talk of liberalizing the telephone system while we have at the Treasury, a gentleman who is well known to be so tight fisted. Whilst his policy may be beneficially applied to most of the services of the Commonwealth, there are cases such as that with which we are now dealing to which reasonable consideration should be applied, having in view the fact that the extension of facilities would benefit not only the people concerned, but also, indirectly, the Commonwealth as a whole. The present system of administration has surprised people in the country districts. Before the establishment of the Common-

wealth, they had not the same difficulty in obtaining consideration to their requests, simply because the people who administered the law in the States understood the difficulties, and knew the advantages that would accrue to the State from a liberal administration. It has been stated that in other countries the telephone service has been cheapened. That is a fact. No one can deny that in England, in Germany, and in Sweden, the people get cheaper telephonic communication than we have in Australia. But the reason for that has not been given. It has been found, from experience, that the system which prevails in Australia to-day is not a sound one. In the countries I have mentioned, what is called the toll system has been inaugurated. A person having a telephone is allowed to make so many calls per annum at a given price, but for every call over and above the specified number a toll is charged, equivalent, we will say, to a penny for each call. By that means, those who use the telephone very largely are made to pay for the use which they get from the instrument, and the authorities are thereby enabled to grant concessions to those who do not require to use the instrument to such an extent. At the present time, I am authoritatively informed, a great expenditure is necessitated by the large number of frivolous messages that are passed along the telephone wires by gossiping persons—either men or women—who happen to have telephones on their premises, which they use for the purpose of arranging visits, sending invitations, and chatting with their friends. Under the toll system, such persons would get the full value for their money; but for every message that they sent along the wires, over and above the specified number, they would be required to make a payment at a very low toll. By the adoption of that system, a great deal of the time of the switch operators that is now occupied in attending to persons who desire to send frivolous messages would be saved. At the present time we have Mrs. Jones sending a telephone message to Mrs. Kilpatrick, who lives in the same street, telling her that her daughter is coming along by-and-by. Messages of that kind increase the cost of administration by reason of the time of the switch attendants being taken up, and inconvenience persons who desire to use the telephone for what may be regarded as more useful purposes. The present system prevents the use of the telephone expeditiously by business people

for business purposes. I am perfectly well aware that a system such as I recommend would not be viewed with favour by the large business houses, but it must be remembered that every message that a business man sends across the telephone probably saves him what he would otherwise have to spend upon a telegram sent at the price stipulated by the regulations. When they get the telephone they consider they are entitled to unlimited use of it at a minimum of cost. I say that the same principle should be applied by the Department; there should be a liberal concession with regard to the number of messages which might be sent for a given sum, but for all above that number a toll should be imposed, if it is to be possible for us to give effect to the desire expressed by honorable members who have already spoken to extend to the people in remote parts of the Commonwealth these conveniences of civilization. The honorable members for Hume and Riverina have spoken of the irritation arising under the penny postage system existing in Victoria in connexion with letters transmitted to people just over the border. I see no immediate remedy for that. I think that of all the Departments of the State the Post and Telegraph Department is the one that should not be run on a commercial basis. It should be administered on a practical business-like basis, due regard being paid to the service which is to be rendered to the people. I am of opinion that the time is not far distant when we should adopt an Inter-State penny postage system. That will be the only cure for the disabilities existing as between Victoria and the other States.

Mr. PAGE.—Where are we going to raise the revenue from?

Mr. WEBSTER. — That is a question which I did not expect my honorable friend to trouble about. I have no doubt that the Treasurer will provide the money if honorable members will pass the necessary measure to give effect to Inter-State penny postage. I think that this is a concession which might well be expected from the Commonwealth Government in addition to cheaper telephonic communication. I am aware that the adoption of such a system would result in a loss of revenue if the matter is considered from the point of view of £ s. d. But if considered from the stand-point of the settlement of people upon the land, and the providing of facilities which will tend to

build up the great Commonwealth we all desire to see established, there can be no doubt that the adoption of such a system would result in distinct advantage. The Prime Minister who met this Parliament, the honorable gentleman who succeeded him, and, I believe, also the present Prime Minister, are agreed that the States Governments should bring in some kind of land legislation which would better attain the settlement of the people on the land than past legislation has done. I direct the attention of the present Prime Minister to the fact that a new Government has recently assumed office in New South Wales, and since they are anxious to bring about reform and an amendment of the law, we might advantageously make an appeal to them in the interests of closer settlement and the populating of the Commonwealth. I therefore ask the right honorable gentleman to enter into correspondence with the Premier of New South Wales, asking him to induce his land Minister to adopt a rational progressive system in place of the retrogressive system he has formulated and placed before the people of that State. If the system at present proposed by the Government of New South Wales is carried out all our talk on this subject will be of no avail. I hope that the present Postmaster-General, of whom so much is expected, will take into consideration the whole question of telephonic communication. I hope that the honorable gentleman will consider the report which has been formulated by a conference of the officers of his Department, indicating a proper commercial method of administering the telephone service. I do not desire now to delay honorable members by making quotations from the report, but at some later period I shall go into the matter more fully, believing, as I do, that what is suggested would be the means of relieving the Minister of numerous applications which it is impossible for him to grant, and also of relieving honorable members generally of persistent applications by constituents to secure telegraphic and telephonic extensions.

Mr. WILKINSON (Moreton).—I have no desire to delay the passage of the motion, but there are one or two little matters to which I should like to direct attention. I do not think that this is either the time or the place in which to ventilate individual grievances. I suppose that almost every member of the Committee could refer to a

number of such grievances, but I have always found Ministers and the Public Service Commissioner also ready to listen to matters of that kind, and the departmental offices are the places in which to ventilate such matters, unless they affect large bodies of men, when I think an honorable member is justified in directing the attention of the House as well as of the Minister to them. I must pay my tribute of commendation to what I think is a step in the right direction, taken by the honorable gentleman now at the head of the Post and Telegraph Department, in making a legitimate endeavour to cheapen the means of communication in the country districts by a modern system. I sometimes think that we attach too much importance to the £ s. d. aspect of the question, and lose sight of the indirect advantages to be gained by making life in the country districts more attractive. It has become customary for politicians to speak of "settling people on the land," but one of the effects of the policy which has obtained in nearly all of the States in the past has been to settle people in the land. Those who have, in the first instance, gone out into the country districts to develop them have worked themselves to death, with but very little return for their labour. It is the people who come after them who reap the benefits of their pioneering efforts. Although there may be some little direct loss on the working of the great Departments which tend to make the conditions of life in the country better, there is an indirect gain which more than counterbalances that loss. If we make the conditions of life of people who go into isolated and remote districts better and more comfortable than they have been made in the past, there will be inducements to the rising generation to go into those districts, and we shall not find so many of them desiring to secure appointments in the Railway Department, the Police Force, and the other public Departments. I suppose that one of the greatest hardships of a member of the Commonwealth, or of a State Parliament, is to have to deal with the number of applications which are made to him to secure employment for some person in the State or Commonwealth Departments. The reverse of that should be the case. The greater attraction should be in the direction of country occupation. The rule that applies in business should be applied in dealing with this matter. If a man has a small business, and a mono-

Mr. Wilkinson.

poly of a certain line, he may demand what profit he likes, but if he wishes to build up a business with a large number of customers, he will be guided by the old adage, of "small profits and quick returns." Once the spirit of travelling is induced, persons who otherwise would not travel, will be tempted to make many journeys. Introduce a country youth or maiden to the attractions of Melbourne or some other city, and the visit will be repeated. If conveniences for the people are provided, and they are accustomed to the use of them, they will command an increasing number of patrons. And so I think it will be with the telephone system. The Postmaster-General is considering a very wise proposal, namely, to connect various centres by cheap lines with remote districts. When an application is made for telephonic or telegraphic communication from a centre to an outlying district, a guarantee is asked from those persons who reside in the immediate neighbourhood of the proposed convenience, although they are not the only persons who will benefit from its establishment. Supposing that, on its own application, Roma, say, situated at a distance of 300 miles to the westward, is connected with Brisbane; it is not Roma alone which benefits from the connexion, because Brisbane also benefits. Yet a guarantee is asked from only the persons who are located immediately round the centre from which the application is received. Railway communication with a country district benefits not only that country district, but also the terminus with which it has been connected. If a line connects several parts which are benefited by it, why should not the residents of those places be asked to join with the applicants in the guarantee? That result can be achieved by making the expense of the line a tax upon the whole community, instead of upon the very few persons who ask for the convenience. Once the convenience has been used, an ever-increasing number of users will be found, and although the return from each subscriber may be smaller than it is, still in the aggregate the return will be very much larger. That is, I think, the way to make the Department pay. Several honorable members have referred to the difference between the charge for a telephonic message, and the charge for a telegraphic message. They have lost sight of the fact that when a man pays a fee of ninepence for speaking through the telephone for three minutes, he pays for the

reply as well as the message, so that a fair comparison cannot be made without including the sum of sixpence for the reply to a telegram. The charges for telephonic communication are too high. By lowering them the volume of business would be increased to a very great extent, and in the aggregate a larger revenue would be derived from that branch. In some country districts, especially across the great plains, where a tree is not to be seen for perhaps fifty or sixty miles, wooden or iron posts are necessary. But in the coastal districts of Queensland, and, I believe, of New South Wales, the idea of the Postmaster-General could be carried out very well. It has been urged that a considerable amount of supervision would be required, in consequence of bush fires occurring, and wild animals running against the wires, and breaking the circuit. As far as the eastern part of Australia is concerned, I do not think that there is very much in that objection. If the suggested plan is carried out, many places which under the guarantee system are cut off from communication with centres of population will be able to obtain these conveniences. I shall have another opportunity to discuss this question fully when we reach the Estimates if a dissolution does not take place in the meantime. I wish to bring a matter under the notice of the Minister of Defence. There is a misapprehension existing in the minds of a good many members of rifle clubs with regard to the issue of the new magazine rifles. A regulation has been made whereby a member of a rifle club may obtain one of these rifles as his own property. If a man pays £1 annually for three years, and makes himself efficient, no further payment is required; but if he is not efficient he is required to pay a further sum of 15s. 9d. I know that the supply of these rifles has been somewhat limited, but there is an impression in the minds of many men that only one rifle is available for purchase to each club. Three rifles have been sent to each club in Queensland, and in some cases have been supplied to the officers—the president, vice-president, and secretary. It is thought that because the rifles have been issued to the club, the officers are entitled to the use of them. I take it that it was intended by the Department that any member of a rifle club should be allowed to use the rifles. Unless a rifle is in charge of one man, and is well taken care of, it will be worth little at the end of twelve months. In my opinion, the officers of a

rifle club are wise in keeping these rifles under their own supervision rather than allowing any member of the club to use them at his own sweet will. I would point out to the Minister that if he would allow the members of the rifle clubs to purchase their own rifles, a valuable Defence Force would be armed, not at the cost of the Department, but at the cost of private individuals, and an immense sum would be saved. If a man does very much shooting, the barrel of his rifle will be practically worn out at the end of three years, and I understand that a new barrel can be put on the old stock at a cost of from 15s. 6d. to £1 1s. If the rifle clubs were supplied with rifles, the barrels would require to be renewed at the end of three years, and that would create a further charge on the Department. But if every member of a rifle club were to own his own rifle, he would defray the cost of renewing the barrel. I should like the Minister to seriously consider what saving might be effected in that branch of the Defence Force. I think it will be an important part of the Defence Force when Australia's hour of need arises.

Mr. McCAY.—It has begun to cost a good deal of money, and that shows that it is getting on.

Mr. WILKINSON.—If the Commonwealth has to supply every man who is willing to go to its defence, with a rifle, it will cost a lot more. But if it is made possible for thousands of rifle club men to buy their own rifles, a saving will be effected, not only in the first instance, but when the time comes for renewing the barrels. Tens of thousands of men will be induced to buy their own rifles, and so reduce the cost of defending the Commonwealth.

Mr. DAVID THOMSON.—Will they do that?

Mr. WILKINSON.—I am satisfied that thousands of them are prepared to buy their own rifles. I have a few matters to bring under the Minister of Trade and Customs' notice. I wish to remove a misapprehension which has existed for a considerable time with regard to the reduction of the duty upon timber which is largely used in the manufacture of butter boxes. Some reflection has been cast on the honorable member for Maranoa, because of a vote which he gave when that item in the Tariff was under consideration. It is well known to a good many honorable members, that the imposition of a lower duty was carried against the Government by a majority of one vote, through a mistake on the part of

the honorable member for Mernda. The honorable member for Maranoa has been blamed considerably for that decision; but the fact is that the lower duty was carried through a mistaken vote of the honorable member for Mernda, who had intended to vote the other way. New Zealand has put an export duty upon timber such as has hitherto been used in Victoria for the manufacture of butter boxes, and the Victorians are therefore turning their attention to Queensland as a source of supply. The representatives of that State assured them when the Tariff was under consideration that in Queensland there is an unlimited supply of timber superior to that which has been obtained from New Zealand. The matter is now occupying the attention of the Government of Queensland, and I ask the Minister for Trade and Customs to meet sympathetically any proposal which they may make, with a view to bring about the use of Queensland pine for the manufacture of the butter boxes used in the Victorian export trade. It would be a big thing for the Commonwealth if that timber were so used, because there is an unlimited supply of it. At the present time all the butter which is exported from Queensland is packed in boxes made of Queensland pine, and although it is not bringing in the London market prices as high as are obtained for Victorian butter, that is due to the fact that Queensland needs a proper dairying Act, and a proper system of grading before exportation. I have corresponded with all of the leading Queensland butter manufacturers on the subject, and I have placed most of their replies on record in *Hansard*. They say that, although in times of drought, when it has been impossible to bring timber to the mills, they have imported New Zealand timber, as soon as supplies of the local and northern New South Wales pine were available, they have used it again, a fact which shows that in their opinion it is more suitable than the imported pine. I am sufficiently a protectionist to believe that when we can give preference to a local natural product, or a product which is partly natural and partly artificial, we should do so. A very large business in Queensland pine could be developed if its use were encouraged, and in this way a good deal of the friction between the State and the Commonwealth which has been engendered during the last few years might be removed. Unfortunately the States are beginning to think that the legislation and administration of the Com-

Mr. Wilkinson.

monwealth has been inimical to their interests, and it is about time that we showed them that the contrary is the case, and that we are more than willing to work hand in hand with them in the development of the resources of the Continent.

Mr. SYDNEY SMITH (Macquarie—Postmaster-General).—Most of the matters to which reference has been made by honorable members arose before I took office, but I shall give early attention to them. I shall have a summary made of the complaints which are recorded in *Hansard*, and cause full inquiries to be instituted in regard to them. I am very pleased that the proposal which I put forward the other day, to use fences and trees for the support of telephone wires, in order to give the people in the country districts cheaper telephonic communication, has received such favourable notice from honorable members. When I took office I found a large number of applications for telephonic communication from country districts awaiting action; but the cost of procuring and erecting poles would, in many districts, be so large as to make it impossible for the Department to do what is asked. In some cases the erection of poles would cost as much as £20 a mile. Moreover, if it were found that the line did not pay, it would not be worth while to remove those poles to other places, so that the loss to the Department would be very heavy. If, however, the wire was supported on trees and fences, the expense of erecting it would be very little, and should the line prove unprofitable the wire could be removed to another district without much loss to the Department. I have, therefore, given directions in the cases which have come under my notice that they be referred back to ascertain the possibility of utilizing trees and fences for the carriage of the wire, and when they are again reported upon I shall do what I can, having regard to the public interest, to give communication to those who are asking for it. I am fully aware of the disadvantages under which country people live. It is, for instance, impossible in many cases for them to procure a daily paper containing market reports and other information necessary for the proper carrying on of their business, while, should sickness occur, it is difficult for them to obtain the services of a medical man. Therefore, if cheaper means of providing telephonic communication can be devised, I shall do all I can to give outlying districts the advantage of them. I shall also endeavour to impress

upon the residents of country districts the need of assisting the Department in the matter of supervision. If an inspector has to be sent some fifty miles from a centre of population to supervise the erection of telephone wires and their maintenance, the cost is considerable; but I feel sure that in many districts the residents themselves will be only too pleased to undertake this work and the erection of the wires at a cheap rate. It should also be possible for the Department to instruct them in the manner of repairing wires, so that if a circuit were broken by the fall of a tree through a bush fire, the trouble could easily be set right. With regard to other matters of administration, although the honorable member for Gwydir says that he expects great things from me, I do not profess to be any better than my predecessors, but I shall do the best I can to give every facility to people both in the country and in the cities in their dealings with the Department, so that its operations may be as beneficial as possible to the Commonwealth at large. I further promise that any matters which honorable members bring under my notice shall receive my personal attention.

Mr. McCAY (Corinella—Minister of Defence).—The honorable member for Moreton asked a question with regard to the magazine rifles issued to members of rifle clubs. Such weapons can be obtained in three ways. Last November authority was given for the sale of 750 magazine rifles to members of rifle clubs for cash at £3 15s. 9d. each, and of that number a proportion was allotted to Queensland. No great advantage was taken of the opportunities presented to acquire these weapons for cash. In March last authority was given for the sale of a further 1,000 magazine rifles to members of rifle clubs, upon the deferred payment system referred to by the honorable member for Moreton. Of this number 100 were allotted to Queensland. The opportunities thus presented have been availed of with a fair amount of freedom. I propose to inquire what number of rifles have been sold under the cash system, and if the circumstances justify the transfer I shall add the rifles for which cash purchasers are not forthcoming to those which are being offered under the deferred payment system, which is preferred for very obvious reasons. Perhaps we all have a sufficient element of the Micawber spirit in us to lead us to prefer paying twelve months hence rather than forthwith. Besides the rifles to which I have referred, 2,910 maga-

zine rifles are being issued to the rifle clubs on loan, the clubs finding guarantors that the rifles shall be properly looked after, and that any damage resulting from misuse or neglect shall be paid for. Of the 2,910 rifles 320 have been allotted to Queensland. The intention is that the rifles issued to the clubs on loan shall be available to all the members, notwithstanding the obvious objection that they will thereby become more liable to damage than if they were placed in charge of particular individuals. It was never intended that the president, vice-president, and secretary of a club should, by virtue of their offices, appropriate the only three rifles sent. Honorable members will see that we must retain a sufficient number of magazine rifles under the immediate control of the Department to provide for the equipment of our first line of defence upon a war footing. Five thousand additional rifles have been ordered, and will shortly be delivered. The first 1,000 are on their way out here now.

Mr. MALONEY.—Does the Minister know that the Victorian Government was swindled in connexion with the rifles sent to them?

Mr. McCAY.—The rifles on order are the new short barrelled magazine rifles now being used in the British Army, and I do not think that there can be any swindle in connexion with them.

Mr. MALONEY.—But the Minister did not make any inquiry?

Mr. McCAY.—I think we may leave all matters of ancient history and mythology for discussion during the want-of-confidence debate. I am merely telling the honorable member of the existing circumstances. When these additional rifles come to hand, I shall—if I am on hand myself—probably be able to supply some more weapons for use by members of rifle clubs. I desire to offer them every facility. That is all the information which I have been able to obtain on the short notice given me this afternoon, and I trust that it will satisfy the honorable member.

Question resolved in the affirmative.

Resolution reported and adopted.

Motion (by Sir GEORGE TURNER) agreed to—

That the Standing Orders be suspended in order to enable all steps to be taken to obtain Supply, and to pass a Supply Bill through all its stages without delay.

In Committee of Ways and Means:

Motion (by Sir GEORGE TURNER) proposed—

That towards making good the Supply granted to His Majesty for the services of the year

ending 30th June, 1905, a sum not exceeding £430,421 be granted out of the Consolidated Revenue Fund.

Mr. FISHER (Wide Bay). — I should like to know if the Treasurer has any objection to furnish the House with the information for which I asked at an earlier stage?

Sir GEORGE TURNER (Balaclava—Treasurer).—I cannot possibly do as the honorable member desires. The only information I have given to the Treasurers has been in regard to the approximate amount of surplus they are likely to receive during the current financial year.

Mr. FISHER.—That is quite right.

Sir GEORGE TURNER. — I thought that I could not do less, in view of the fact that the first three months of the year had practically elapsed, and that the Treasurers were pressing me to give them some idea as to what they might expect to receive back from the Commonwealth. If, however, I had given them any further information as to the anticipated receipts and expenditure, I should have supplied them with a forecast of the Budget statement, and I do not think that that would have been in order. The Treasurers have been told as nearly as possible the amounts that they are likely to receive from the Commonwealth, and upon that information they will be able to base their estimates for the year.

Mr. FISHER (Wide Bay).—I quite agree with the action of the Treasurer; but I think that this is the proper place in which a public announcement should be made regarding the matter. The right honorable gentleman is to be congratulated upon having advised the Treasurers as soon as possible with regard to the approximate revenue they are likely to receive.

Question resolved in the affirmative.

Resolution reported and adopted.

Ordered—

That Sir George Turner do prepare and bring in a Bill to carry out the foregoing resolutions.

Bill presented by Sir GEORGE TURNER, and passed through all its stages.

PAPER.

Mr. DUGALD THOMSON laid upon the table the following paper:—

Return as to temporary employés in the Public Service during the year 1903-4.

MOTION OF WANT OF CONFIDENCE.

Debate resumed from 23rd September (*vide* page 4916), on motion by Mr. WATSON —

That the present Administration does not possess the confidence of this House.

Mr. RONALD (Southern Melbourne).—I propose to first address myself to the question raised by the right honorable member for Swan, as to the principle of preference to unionists being embodied in the Conciliation and Arbitration Acts passed by the States. The right honorable gentleman has affirmed that preference to unionists was not provided for in the Western Australian Act, and that, therefore, he is not guilty of any inconsistency in claiming to be the pioneer of conciliation and arbitration legislation in Western Australia, and at the present juncture opposing preference to unionists. I am sorry that the right honorable member is not present. That, however, is not my fault. I have taken the trouble to examine this matter very closely, so as to make sure of the ground upon which I stand. The position is that the Western Australian Arbitration Act is modelled upon the New Zealand Act. That was admitted by the right honorable member for Swan, when, as Premier of the Western State, he submitted his Bill to Parliament. In delivering judgment in an appeal by the plumbers of Christchurch, New Zealand, Chief Justice Stout said—

In construing this Act, the aim of the statute cannot be ignored. It does not, as I have said, propose to provide a means of settling disputes between employers and non-associated workmen.

I am of opinion that the Court, having power to determine the status of workmen and the class of persons to be employed, has power to declare that trades unionists shall have a preference over workmen not belonging to a trades union.

The opinion therefore is clearly held—not only by Chief Justice Stout, but by his colleagues, whose judgments are recorded in the same volume from which I have quoted—that preference to unionists, by implication, is embodied in the New Zealand Act. There can, therefore, be no doubt whatever, that preference to unionists is contained by implication in the Western Australian Act. That conclusion has been acted upon by the New Zealand Court, a tribunal which is altogether above any bias of which we may be suspected. Upon the other hand, I must admit that the Western Australian Supreme Court has declared that preference to unionists is not contained in

the Act. That decision, however, was arrived at subsequent to the judgment given by the New Zealand Court; and when the right honorable member for Swan, as head of the Western Australian Government, submitted the first Conciliation and Arbitration Bill there, he did so under the impression that it contained the principle of preference to unionists. Again I say that he is grossly inconsistent, in that he attempted to make the Western Australian Bill workable by granting a preference to unionists, whereas he is now endeavouring to render the Commonwealth Conciliation and Arbitration Bill null and void by destroying that very principle. If he objects to my deductions, I will point to parallels which confirm my argument that a principle to be contained in a Bill does not require to be definitely expressed upon its face. In support of that statement, I would cite one of the most interesting illustrations contained in history. I will illustrate what I mean by the great doctrine of the Christian theology. The doctrine of the Trinity, for example, is held by all Christian nations. It has been affirmed by all Courts of law to which an appeal has been made—and there have been many such cases—that that doctrine is embodied in Biblical theology. Yet we may search the Bible throughout, and we shall find no trace of it. It was first referred to in the time of Tertullian. It is implied in the teaching of the Scriptures. It has never been disputed that it is contained in the Scriptures, and yet it is never specifically mentioned there. Similarly, I contend that in the New South Wales Arbitration Act, the principle of extending a preference to unionists is contained. The same remark is applicable to both the Western Australian and the New Zealand Acts; but in the latter the principle has been substantiated and made visible by the decision of the Supreme Court. The right honorable member for Swan must have known that, because the Bill which he introduced was a slavish copy of the New Zealand Act—a piece of political plagiarism. In following the New Zealand statute, he must have known that he was granting a preference to unionists, and, therefore, it ill becomes him, at this hour, to turn round and declare that we are endeavouring to place him in a false position. He wishes to make it appear that he is a paragon of consistency, and that he is still the champion of Conciliation and Arbitration. We are all pleased to know that he has been a pioneer of advanced socialistic

legislation. I have simply to say *facilis descensus avernii*—it is easy to descend. Evil communications corrupt good manners; and, therefore, he has gone down very rapidly. If ever the right honorable member had any leaning towards labour, or any sympathy with the working classes, he seems now to have abandoned it, and to have abandoned it for ever. I maintain that what I stated outside the House was perfectly correct, and I repeat that statement without fear of contradiction. There was, it is true, a slight inaccuracy in the report, which represented me as saying that the right honorable member had declared that preference to unionists was the basic principle of the Arbitration Bill; whereas, it was I who affirmed that preference to unionists was the basic principle of the Bill, and that the right honorable member, in following the New Zealand Act, had wittingly, or unwittingly, incorporated that principle in the measure which he introduced into Western Australia. The right honorable member must know that I have treated him fairly, and have not taken advantage of any quibble. Again, I affirm, without fear of contradiction, that, by implication, preference is given in the New Zealand Act, and the Western Australian Act is a slavish imitation of the New Zealand Act. The New South Wales Act is exactly the same.

Mr. MAUGER.—The New South Wales Act states that there shall be preference to unionists.

Mr. RONALD.—That is so. While the New South Wales Act explicitly states that preference shall be given to unionists, the Western Australian Act copies the New Zealand Act by giving preference by implication. The New Zealand Court has held that the New Zealand Act does not seek to treat with unassociated employes or employers, but only with associated employers and associated employes, or, in other words, with unionists. That Act would be without purpose or reason for its existence unless it dealt with associated men; and therefore it takes no cognizance of unassociated individuals.

Mr. JOHNSON.—There was no intention to imply what the honorable member suggests.

Mr. RONALD.—But the decision by Chief Justice Stout was given before the Western Australian Act was passed. It was before Parliament when the Bill, modelled on the New Zealand legislation, was passed. The right honorable

member for Swan then had before him, not only the New Zealand Act, but the decision of the Court under that Act. Either the right honorable member was in absolute ignorance in regard to the decision in New Zealand, or he knew that that decision had been given; and if he knew of the decision he must have known that he was providing in that Bill for preference to unionists.

Mr. JOHNSON.—The right honorable member has expressly disclaimed any such intention.

Mr. RONALD.—The right honorable member for Swan is on the horns of a dilemma, and I cannot help him. The fact remains that that New Zealand decision was given before the Western Australian Bill was passed, and the right honorable member had not only the New Zealand Act, but the decision under that Act to guide him. If the right honorable member cannot read plain Anglo-Saxon, it is too late in life to begin to instruct him. Preference to unionists is the very essence of the measure before this Parliament. Without preference, the Bill will never work; it is a bundle of contradictions, illogical and absurd. I defy the wit and cunning of man to give us a workable Arbitration Bill which does not provide for preference to unionists.

Mr. MAUGER.—That means giving power to the Court to give preference.

Mr. RONALD.—Yes; that is a point I wish to make very clear and explicit, namely, that the Court must be empowered to give preference where there is a substantial majority of those concerned in favour of preference. Unions must be recognised—we cannot treat with men as units. Moreover, I should like to point out to those who are so much opposed to preference, that employers are a united people. In a mining company, there may be 1,000 shareholders represented by three directors and when dealing with the directors, we are dealing indirectly with the 1,000, or it may be 10,000 shareholders.

Mr. MAUGER.—Just as in the case of a brewing company.

Mr. RONALD.—Yes, or any other company. There is unionism of employers, just as much as there is unionism of employés. We cannot get rid of unionism, and an Arbitration Bill is absolutely impossible, unless the principle of unionism is recognised. I marvel at men being so utterly illogical and unreasonable as not to see that companies—railway companies, mining companies, or any associations of men—are bound to be unions or otherwise they can have no

locus standi under an Arbitration Bill. I am glad that preference to unionism has been made a vital principle—a principle for which we shall fight and insist on establishing. With preference to unionists the Bill will be a workable measure and may be an instrument by the means of which disputes will be settled; but it cannot be of the slightest value so long as there is not preference to unionists either explicit or implied. I am quite prepared to trust the Court in the matter knowing that individuals can have no *locus standi*—that they must appear as unions and trades unions at that. But I want to go further in discussing the question whether the present Government have the confidence of the House. In the first place I refer to the very strange circumstances in which we are assembled—the strange conflict of parties. The honorable and learned member for Ballarat, humorously and gracefully—for everything he does has grace in it—described the state of the House by a quotation from Gilbert's Yarn of the Nancy Bell, in *Bab Ballads*. The honorable and learned member said that the position reminded him of a survivor of the *Nancy Bell*, the story of which begins as follows:—

'Twas on the shores that round our coast
From Deal to Ramsgate span,
That I found alone on a piece of stone
An elderly naval man.

His hair was weedy, his beard was long,
And needy and long was he,
And I heard this wight on the shore recite,
In a singular minor key:

"Oh, I am cook and a captain bold,
And the mate of the *Nancy* brig,
And a bo'sun tight, and a midshipmite,
And the crew of the captain's gig."

The honorable and learned member told how this old tar exhausted all his shipmates by eating them up, and only the cook and he were left. The delicate question arose as to which should eat the other.

"Then only the cook and me was left,
And the delicate question, 'Which
Of us two goes to the kettle?' arose,
And we argued it out as sich."

The cook argued that whereas he could cook, and the surviving shipmate could not, the latter ought to go to the pot, and, finally,

"For I loved that cook as a brother, I did,
And the cook he worshipped me;
But we'd both be blowed if we'd either be stowed
In the other chap's hold, you see."

The difficult situation was humorously stated by the ex-Prime Minister, who proved himself not only poetic but prophetic.

Mr. BAMFORD.—Which is the cook?

Mr. RONALD.—The prophecy was fulfilled, because the honorable and learned member for Ballarat, though he objected to be “stowed away in the other chap’s hold,” has been eaten up: he is simply assimilated and consumed by the man with the larger capacity.

Mr. BAMFORD.—Does the honorable member mean to say that the Prime Minister is a cannibal?

Mr. RONALD.—“Boa constrictor” would perhaps be a better term. But while that is all very good and very humorous, and expresses very happily the situation at the present time, and while we are all very sorry for the honorable and learned member for Ballarat—who thought that he was going to be the one survivor, but who finds himself consumed or swallowed up by others—we are very anxious indeed to have in power a Government that shall possess the confidence of this House. And it should possess the confidence of the House in virtue of the measures which it brings before Parliament. I maintain that the present Government has not the confidence of the House, because it has nothing in its programme to justify the confidence of any one. The Government has simply filched and stolen its programme from its predecessors. It has not originated a single new idea to recommend it to the country or to the House.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—It is not very enterprising thieving, either.

Mr. RONALD.—It is not enterprising thieving which the Government has done. There might have been some attempt to disguise the origin of their measures, but there is none. If the Government had wished to possess the confidence of the House, there are many burning questions that could have been taken up. There is, for instance, the question regarding which the honorable member for Hume has given notice of motion to-day. I allude to preferential trade. I cannot for a moment suppose that such a good protectionist as my honorable friend the Minister for Trade and Customs is, can acquiesce in ignoring this question. For years and years protection has had one of its best friends in him, and I cannot think that at this stage he will go back upon the convictions of years. One might have expected, seeing that this is a kind of eclectic Cabinet or combination of protectionists and free-traders, that out of deference to the presence of such a staunch good protectionist as the honorable gentleman in

the Cabinet, there would have been some reference to the great doctrine of preferential trade in the Prime Minister’s speech and in the programme which he has put before the country. But what have we? Our idea of preferential trade is not the reduction of duties in the interests of the mother country, but the raising of duties against the foreigner. In that way we should give a preference to the mother country. There is all the difference in the world between our idea and that of the head of the Government.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The honorable member’s idea means more protection.

Mr. RONALD.—Our idea means preference to the mother country, but the idea of honorable members opposite involves no preference whatever. If preference is to be logical, or if it is ever to commend itself to the people, it must be extended by increasing duties against the foreigner, and not by decreasing duties upon British commodities. Indeed, our Customs duties are so low that there is scarcely anything to decrease. We have almost reached the irreducible minimum. To reduce our duties lower than they are would be to reach a *reductio ad absurdum*. There is only one system of preference possible, and this is to raise duties against the foreigner. That is a policy which, I believe, would commend itself to all rational logical protectionists. But from these protectionists who are ready to rush into an alliance with avowed free-traders, we can never expect any preferential trade that is worthy of the name. The present Government never had, and therefore cannot forfeit, the confidence of this House. They have come into existence by a side wind—by a kind of political fluke—by taking advantage of an accident in our political history. I believe that those who desire to stand in favour with their constituents would do well to recognise that fact, and to tell the Government straight away that they do not possess the confidence of the House. If we have arrived at a *cul-de-sac*, and if affairs are unworkable by means of the present House, the sooner we go back to our constituents, and say to them, “You must decide; we want an arbitrator in this matter; it is a form of arbitration which we cannot settle for ourselves, and the country must settle it for us”—the sooner we do that, the better it will be. I wish to say a word or two about the difference between a positive and a negative alliance. A positive alliance or association, in my

opinion, is an alliance amongst men who differ in details, but who are agreed on general principles; or, it is an alliance of men for the purpose of attaining a certain well-defined end. A political alliance of Members of Parliament can only be an alliance for the purpose of carrying out a determined, well-defined policy. That is the kind of positive alliance that has been formed between the members of the party with which I am associated—the Labour Party—and the Liberal Protectionists. Ours is a positive policy for the purpose of attaining a certain well-defined end.

Mr. EWING.—What is the end?

Mr. RONALD.—The end is to legislate for “the greatest happiness of the greatest number.”

Mr. McLEAN.—Does that apply when the greatest number are non-unionists?

Mr. RONALD.—If the greatest number of workers are non-unionists, it only proves that the greatest number are fools; because their interests certainly lie in the direction of unionism. But I was proceeding to show that a negative alliance on the other hand is a combination of men who are simply brought together to “down” some other party, who have no defined end in view, and have nothing original of their own in the way of a policy. They simply have a negative or destructive purpose—that of “downing” some other party. That is the kind of combination which has brought the present Ministry together. The supporters of the Government have nothing in common. They cannot have. Take the Prime Minister. I grant that he has made a study of fiscalism from the free-trade stand-point.

Mr. LIDDELL.—What principles have the members of the new alliance in common?

Mr. RONALD.—I am coming to that. The Prime Minister may be quoted as an authority on fiscalism from the free-trade stand-point. Whether he has gone to the best sources for information, and whether his conclusions are logical and valid, are other points. But that he is an authority on that subject I am prepared to grant. But take him away from fiscalism, and what does he know of politics? Where has he ever made a speech on any social or political subject that would commend itself to any one? He is a man of fourth or fifth or tenth rate order on any other topic than that. He is a man of one idea, and one idea only, and that is fiscalism. Therefore, when honorable members oppo-

site sink the fiscal issue, they sink the whole ship. It is a case of *Hamlet* with the Prince of Denmark left out. Then take those who have joined the right honorable gentleman as protectionists. They also are men of one idea. They have no general knowledge of politics, though they may have a knowledge of protection.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—If the Prime Minister is a third-rate man perhaps the honorable member will classify himself.

Mr. RONALD.—I leave that to the honorable member for Parramatta to do, and I do not suppose that his opinion of me will have very much weight.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I can assure the honorable member I should not put him in the same category with the Prime Minister, whether third or thirteenth.

Mr. RONALD.—If the honorable member will permit me to proceed, I desire to say that the combination opposite is a negative combination. There is nothing positive in its policy, and it exists entirely for the purpose of “downing” a third party, and to pose as anti-socialistic. The only way in which to successfully oppose any political party with which you do not agree is to supply an opposing force, the expulsive power of a new affection in the minds of the people. To defeat a party we must have first of all what I would call the expulsive power of a new political idea. We must bring forward some new idea calculated to drive out of the minds of the people some error which has found root there. If honorable members opposite believe that some kind of socialistic maggot has got into the craniums of the people who have sent us here to give expression to our views by legislation, their only way to remedy that condition of affairs is to find this new expulsive power; new ideas and a new policy that will take the place of what is erroneous in our policy. That being so, I ask where are the expulsive forces in the policy of the present Government. Is there an original idea in anything they have put before us? Their policy speaks for itself in its baldness, bareness, and barrenness. It is bald, barren, and bare of any original ideas. So far as good legislation is concerned, we have nothing to hope for and nothing to expect from this combination. The predecessors of the present Government had a positive, well-defined policy. We knew where we were going and what we wanted. The only positive matter in the policy of the present Government is that which has been filched

from their predecessors, and it is put forward merely as a subterfuge to enable them to hold office, without doing anything for the good of the country. Theirs is a *laissez faire* policy, or, as a friend of mine used to put it, a policy "more lazy than fair." If honorable gentlemen opposite had any intention of doing anything good for the country, they would have brought in some measure which would have filled the blank, and would not have taken up the position of carrying through a Bill in which they do not believe. As I have said before, they have dealt with the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill in such a way that it is now like a ship sent to sea with an explosive in her hold, so that when she goes a certain distance it will blow her up and sink her. They have put a clause in the Bill which will render it absolutely worthless, and what is worse than all, they are perfectly conscious of what they are doing, and their object is only to betray the people that they may be able later on to turn round and tell them that a conciliation and arbitration law is of no use for the settlement of disputes, and that it only creates disputes and strikes. Preference to unionists is what I am arguing for, and it is the only point of difference between honorable members on either side. Still it is to be found in the models of an Arbitration and Conciliation Bill which we have in the Acts in force in Western Australia, New South Wales, and New Zealand. I say that without it our Bill is not worth the paper on which it is written. It is because we know what we have to expect from the present Government that we affirm that they have not the confidence of the House. Beyond all doubt, the great majority of honorable members on both sides were returned at the last election for the express purpose of carrying a Conciliation and Arbitration Bill. Here we have been wrangling over minor matters, and have not shown any earnestness or zeal for the welfare of the people by placing on the statute-book a measure calculated to settle the disputes which may arise between capital and labour. I do not know that I should try to anticipate any further action on the part of the Ministry. Whatever the subsequent fate of the Ministry may be, it need not enter into our calculations. We are here in the place in which it is required of us to speak what we believe, and I have no hesitation in reiterating that the present Ministry has demonstrated, and is still demonstrating that it has not the confidence of the House. It does not represent one-third of the mem-

bers of the House, and by its policy it has shown that it has no initiatory power. It has had an opportunity to bring forward a positive policy that would commend itself to the intelligence of the people, and it has utterly failed to take advantage of that opportunity. It has simply adopted a part of the policy of its predecessors, and has in no way sought to improve upon it. Whatever the fate of the Government may be as the result of the coming division, I cannot say, but I earnestly hope that it will be speedily consigned to the shades of opposition, where it will be unable to make a farce of Commonwealth legislation and administration. We are at present seeking for legislation that will settle our industrial disputes, and bring about industrial peace. The very essence of our existence as a Parliament is the pledge to carry out a measure to that end. Instead of proceeding to enact such legislation, we are wrangling, and are not in earnest. I hope that the charge of want of sincerity which may be levelled against us, will shortly be removed by the advent of a Government, whether we have to go to the country for it, or can get it from this House, that will show that it is in earnest, and bent upon business, and that will not seek to make a sham of what is recognised to be the one method by means of which we can right what is wrong. make our country peaceful, and work out the greatest happiness to the greatest number. As the right honorable member for Swan is now present, I repeat that the Bill of which he claimed to be the father, contains preference to unionists. I refer the right honorable gentleman to the decision of the Chief Justice of New Zealand. I maintain that he did not know what were the contents of his own Bill, or he would have known that by implication, as Chief Justice Stout put it, it is intended to be a means of settling disputes between employers and employes, and not between employers and persons who are not associated with any union. I hope that Chief Justice Stout's decision will be carefully read by the right honorable member for Swan, who will then see that he has made a mistake, and that he did not know what were the contents of his Bill. He gave to Western Australia a measure which is more far-reaching in its provisions than he has suspected. We intend to follow the good example of Western Australia, and New South Wales, and have preference to unionists implied, if not expressed, in our

Bill, otherwise it would be absolutely useless. I do not intend to detain the House much longer. I have referred to the cry of anti-Socialists which has been raised here against us, and shown, I think, to the satisfaction of every thinking man, that, as His Majesty the King has said, we are all Socialists nowadays. That is not an idle passing remark, but an observation of one who sees the great forces at work. Inasmuch as men seek everywhere for legislative remedies against the evils which are upon us, to that extent they are Socialists. I have also referred to the combination which is positive in this House. I have spoken of the unholy alliance which has sprung up between men who have nothing in common, and everything at variance, between ultra protectionists, and ultra free-traders, who have sunk their personal convictions for the purpose of "downing" a third party. I hope that we shall have a speedy end to this alliance, and that we shall get into a rarer atmosphere with a positive policy. We have to call in a third party to determine the points at issue. We have to appeal to the electors, not because we differ, but because we are so much agreed. We have all professed to be in favour of conciliation and arbitration, and it is because we are in such close touch that there is no line of demarcation. I long to see the day when we shall have, on the one hand, a straight, consistent, logical conservative policy, and, on the other hand, a straight, consistent, logical democratic policy. I long to see the day when we shall have a clear line of demarcation, when men shall be divided by principle, and not by self-seeking or mercenary motives. Measures, and not men, I repeat, must be the determining factor. When a party is prepared to come forward with measures which will commend themselves to the intelligence, the conscience, and the reason of men, then we shall find the electors on their side. But while a party has no remedies for the ills around us, then they will always be in a chronic minority, as they ought to be. We require measures, not men, to determine who shall rule. Under the present system one class of men get into power by a side wind and by accident, when there are no clear issues before the country. There is no issue before the country at the present time. We are suffering here, not because we comprise three parties, but because we form one party. We are suffering here because we are all agreed, or profess to be agreed, that conciliation and arbitration is a right and

Mr. Ronald.

proper principle to enact. If men were logical they would see that once we start upon a course of conciliation and arbitration there can be no possible halting place until we land ourselves in unionism. The employers are in union. If a dispute were to arise on the railways of a State the Commissioners as a party would represent the State before the Court, and unless the railway men were in a union they would stand as units. Unions must in the very nature of things exist, and we cannot have a Conciliation and Arbitration Court without them. They are the prime requisite, the first step towards conciliation. Unless the Court is empowered, by implication, as in Western Australia, if not by express words, to grant preference to unionists—

Sir JOHN FORREST.—No.

Mr. RONALD.—The right honorable member sets himself up against the collective wisdom of the Supreme Court of New Zealand.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—We have a decision to the contrary by the Supreme Court of Western Australia.

Mr. RONALD.—The right honorable member has admitted that the Act of Western Australia was modelled on the lines of the New Zealand Act, and the New Zealand Court decided that the power to grant preference to unionists is conferred upon the Court, and yet he declares that no such power is contained in the Act of Western Australia.

Where ignorance is bliss,
'Tis folly to be wise.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—The Supreme Court of Western Australia has ruled against that view.

Mr. RONALD.—The right honorable member will find that the power is contained in the Act, whenever an appeal is made to the High Court of Australia. All sane men and impartial Judges will affirm that the power to grant preference to unionists is possessed by the Arbitration Court of Western Australia, although the right honorable member does not seem to know that it is. We hail with delight the opportunity of putting an issue before the people, because it is utterly absurd to conceive of any negative alliance. Our industries are languishing, and our streets are crowded with the unemployed. I was not a party to any fiscal truce. In my constituency, perhaps more than in any other in the Commonwealth, employment is reduced by one-third through the operation of the Tariff, which is "neither fish, flesh, nor good red herring."

Fiscal truce or no fiscal truce, it is high time that Parliament set itself to see if something cannot be done to counteract the baneful influences which were at work when the Tariff was being framed. This will never be done so long as the present Government are in power. Their idea of preference is the reduction of duties in favour of the mother country, whereas our idea—and the sooner it is known the better—is the raising of duties against the foreigner. The latter is the only preference which would be found to be of any value, and it is urgently needed. I believe that at the present time there is some indication that if that assurance were given to the mother country, it would help the cause there. We are very gratified that the honorable member for Hume has given notice of his motion. The division on it will show who are the protectionists and who are the free-traders in this House; who are the friends of Australian industry, and who are the foreign traders. I shall be very much surprised if some of the very pronounced protectionists who now sit on the Treasury benches, having joined a free-trade Ministry, go back on their professions in favour of preferential duties. In any case, the debate will clear the air, and I hail with delight the prospect of a division on the question. It will settle, once and for all, whether a man can sit with a free-trade Government and vote free-trade, and yet represent a protectionist constituency, which is an anomaly and a contradiction.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—Yet the honorable member voted to oust a protectionist Government.

Mr. RONALD.—The right honorable member has said a great deal about our alliance. He has twitted the Labour Party with being a patchwork party, and has said that we have as many free-traders as protectionists in our ranks, which he maintains is as anomalous as the position of the present Ministerial party. But there is a great difference between the alliance of the Labour Party and that of the Government Party. The members of the Labour alliance have many things in common; but honorable members opposite have nothing in common, except that they are opposed to the Labour Party. Take our friends who have come over to us, the Liberal Protectionists. They are the men who have been the pioneers of industrial legislation in Victoria.

Mr. McCAY.—What about the honorable and learned member for Ballarat and the Treasurer?

Mr. RONALD.—The honorable and learned member for Ballarat has not come over to us. I was referring to the honorable member for Melbourne Ports, than whom no man in the country has been a closer student of the exact literature of industrialism and fiscalism. He is a man who would be a host in himself anywhere, so far as information is concerned, and he speaks as one having authority. We are glad to find that a man of his convictions is in harmony with us. I told him years ago that he would ultimately find a resting place with the Labour Party, because their aims and objects were in harmony with his own. The honorable member for Bourke also is a very active, energetic, progressive, up-to-date young man. We have weeded out some of the fossils. We did not expect that they would keep pace with the times, and join the new party. We have acquired the men whose future is before them, while we have left those whose future—to use an Irishism—is behind them. Our ideas are those of the young men, and the flowing tide is with us, while honorable members opposite are being borne back by the ebb-tide. If our alliance goes to the country, and works unitedly, we shall show Australia that there are but two political parties—the Progressives and the Retrogressives, the Liberals and the Conservatives, or the Labour members and the Conservatives. I care not what terms may be adopted, so long as we are divided into parties by measures, without consideration of personnel. With us there is no craving for office, no thirsting for position. We are here in the place where we are required of conscience to speak the truth, to say what we think should be done in the interests of the community. We have no desire to displace Ministers merely for the sake of doing so. What we wish is to see measures placed on the statute-book which will redound to the credit of those who have framed them, and will benefit the people whom we represent. If such measures are to be passed, this House must naturally be divided into two parties—the progressives and the retrogressives. So far as the present Government are concerned, they have not yet had time to commit themselves to important acts of administration; but no doubt if they are left in office long enough, their administration will be on a par with the

administration of some of the Ministers elsewhere. Although the policy of a White Australia has not met with any organized opposition in this Chamber, we know that some honorable members who had not the courage to denounce it, or to vote against it, nevertheless dislike it, and when legislation has not the sympathy of those intrusted with its administration, opportunities will be taken to make it null and void. I shall not enter into the case of the six hatters, or of the six potters, but I know that when a measure is administered by one who is not in sympathy with it, it is sure to be badly administered. I am glad that in this Administration we have a protectionist in charge of a protectionist Tariff. For twelve or fifteen years in Victoria, prior to Federation, although we had a far-reaching protectionist Tariff, we had ultra-free-traders administering it. I am glad that to that extent the Government have shown a desire to harmonize the administration with the spirit of the law, although I do not know that their action has been strictly in accord with free-trade principles. I do not know how the Prime Minister can consent to have the Customs Department administered by a colleague of whose policy he does not approve. I trust that the good feeling hitherto exhibited during this debate will continue, and that honorable members will persevere in their efforts to maintain a high standard of debate. We live in a rarer atmosphere than do the politicians of the States, and we should leave old feuds behind us. The representatives of Victoria have had their differences, but have shown mutual respect, and have refrained from those personal recriminations which have been indulged in by representatives of New South Wales. I hope that the right honorable member for Swan will see the error of his ways, and that he will realize that, in order to be consistent, he must renounce his allegiance to the Government, and vote in favour of giving preference to unionists. The Labour Party have been bitterly attacked by the right honorable member for Swan for having thrown obstacles in the way of the passing of the Kalgoorlie to Port Augusta Railway Survey Bill.

Mr. FISHER.—That is an election squib.

Mr. RONALD.—No doubt it is, and it will be assessed at its proper worth in Western Australia. I would remind the right honorable member for Swan that he was in office for three years, and yet did nothing to promote the survey of the proposed railway.

He has reproached the honorable member for Coolgardie with having failed to use his influence with the leader of the Opposition to induce him to stay his hand in regard to the want-of-confidence motion, until the measure referred to had been passed. If the matter was so urgent as represented, the right honorable gentleman should have taken action whilst he was a Minister. I venture to say that the present Government will not bestir themselves very much in the matter, because there is a great conflict of opinion amongst Ministers regarding the desirability of constructing the railway. I have no desire to prolong this debate. I am very anxious to know how the vote will go. I believe that noses have been counted, and that one honorable member holds the fate of this Parliament in his hands. We are all anxious to see how that honorable member will cast his vote, and I trust that we shall speedily obtain the desired information. The sooner we have a good thunderstorm to clear the political atmosphere, the sooner shall we get rid of the confusion which now exists, not because of our declared differences, but on account of our professed agreement. In my student days, I was told that if men were logical and could agree with regard to their definitions, it was quite impossible for them to differ; they were bound to come into agreement if they were logical. I would urgently appeal to honorable members to consider whether the interests of the community would be best served by permitting the present Government to remain in office. I have no hesitation in saying that they should not be allowed to remain there for one day longer, because they have given absolutely no indication that they are capable of initiating legislation calculated to improve the present condition of affairs.

Mr. WILKS.—They are only a job lot.

Mr. RONALD.—I am glad that that expression has fallen from the honorable member, because it conveys what I should like to say myself. No combination can be a sound one that contains such an out-and-out free-trader as the Prime Minister, and such a pronounced protectionist as the Minister of Trade and Customs.

Mr. KELLY.—What about the honorable member for Melbourne Ports, and the honorable and learned member for West Sydney?

Mr. RONALD.—They have never been colleagues in a Ministry. Besides, those honorable members have many things in common. Apart from mere fiscalism, there are many

points upon which democrats can agree. In the case of the Conservatives, however, the position is very different. There is nothing else upon which they can agree, except it be a mere negation of the platform of the Labour Party. The honorable and learned member for West Sydney and the honorable member for Melbourne Ports, are as far apart as the poles upon the fiscal issue, but are well able to agree upon most other matters. We have read in text books of extremes meeting. That is not a mere figure of speech—it is a fact.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Will the honorable member produce his authority?

Mr. RONALD.—I can point to many instances in which extremes meet. I maintain that it is quite possible for men entertaining widely different views upon the question of free-trade *versus* protection to be perfectly at one in regard to working for the happiness of the greatest number. But I would remind honorable members opposite of the great radical distinction between the Labour Party and their own combination. In the Labour Party we are prepared to sink the fiscal issue. I am not prepared to sacrifice my deep-rooted protectionist principles, and the honorable and learned member for West Sydney is not willing to forego his own fiscal views. We can agree to differ upon questions of that kind. The free-trade members in the Labour Party are prepared to say to their protectionist friends, "You prove to us that any reduction of the existing Tariff will act disastrously to labour interests, and we are ready to look into the matter."

Mr. WILKS.—How does the honorable member intend to prove it?

Mr. RONALD.—I think that the matter can be easily proved. The present state of established industries will soon demonstrate that the existing Tariff is working disastrously. There is only one remedy to apply, and that remedy is to be found in a return to a national protective policy. Those protectionists who have allied themselves with the present Administration have no hope of improving existing conditions, by securing an increase in the Tariff duties, because they constitute a minority of the coalition, and must continue to do so. The protectionists have some hope of salvation from us, but they have none from those who have gone over to the camp of the enemy. There is all the difference in the world between trying to take up a neutral position in any combination, and going straight over to the enemy. Our protectionist friends who have

allied themselves with the Labour Party have done so to assist the protectionist cause, whereas those who have associated themselves with the free-traders opposite, have surrendered their protectionist principles. They can never hope for a revision of the Tariff from the party which is at present in power. I am very sorry that such advocates of protection, as our highly-esteemed and respected Treasurer, and the Minister of Trade and Customs, should have gone back upon the convictions of a life-time. I am perfectly certain that, so far as any good which they can render to the protectionist cause is concerned, they will soon discover that they might just as well be avowed free-traders. I feel sorry that the old system which compelled men upon accepting Ministerial office, to go before their constituents no longer exists, because I am perfectly certain that had it been operative, protectionist constituencies would never have indorsed the action of these gentlemen in joining a Free-trade Ministry. I believe that, at the coming election, protectionist electors will once more assert themselves by declaring that they do not believe in a man attempting to serve two masters. I repeat that the present Administration does not possess the confidence of this House, and I do not believe that it possesses the confidence of the country. At any rate, I am prepared to take the responsibility of my action in voting against it. I believe that, as the result of a general election, we shall obtain the services of a Government which will give legislative effect to the desires and aspirations of the people.

Mr. LIDDELL (Hunter).—As you are aware, sir, I do not often trouble the House, and when I do speak I never detain honorable members at any great length. But this particular crisis is an occasion on which I feel it to be my duty, not only to myself, but to my constituents and to the Commonwealth, to express my opinion. We have just listened to a very lengthy, clear, lucid, and terse speech from the honorable and reverend member for Southern Melbourne. I waited many hours this afternoon in the hope of finding some point in the honorable member's remarks on which I might hang some observations of my own, but I must confess that, after listening to him from start to finish, I have failed, with one exception. The honorable member spoke of the honorable member for Bourke, and the honorable member for Melbourne Ports, as if they were his friends

and brothers. Does the honorable member recollect the position those honorable members took up during the election? Does he remember how they then abused the Labour Party? And yet on this occasion we find honorable members opposite joining forces, and becoming as it were "heavenly twins."

Mr. TUDOR.—Can the honorable member remember the Minister of Customs abusing the Prime Minister?

Mr. BAMFORD.—And *vice versa*.

Mr. LIDDELL.—I shall deal with that matter later. Just now, only by chance, I picked up a *Hansard* from the table, and at the first page I opened, I found the following remarks by the honorable member for Melbourne Ports:—

The idea in the mind of free-traders that we are only anxious to avail ourselves of this opportunity for the purpose of obtaining increased protection without making any concessions is altogether erroneous. We are prepared, after due and careful consideration, to make concessions to the old country, and I am sure that, by mutual concessions and mutual consideration, a great deal can be done to foster, not only the industries and agriculture of the Commonwealth, but also the industries and agriculture of the old country.

Mr. MAUGER.—Hear, hear! I have nothing to withdraw.

Mr. LIDDELL.—I ask the honorable member for Melbourne Ports how he can reconcile those remarks with the abuse that he heaped on the leader of this Government, because he was not satisfied with the attitude of the right honorable gentleman on the question of preferential trade? I wish to say that I have no objection, from a constitutional point of view, to the submission of the motion now before the House. The leader of the Opposition—the leader of the Labour Party—has a perfect right to take up the attitude he has assumed, so far as constitutional usage is concerned. But I protest against the indecent haste with which that motion has been submitted. I protest against the uselessness and the iniquity of the motion. I protest against its uselessness, because we know that the leader of the Opposition cannot possibly succeed. Do not the members of the so-called Liberal-Labour alliance base their hopes on the vote of one single honorable member? Do they imagine for one moment that that honorable member is going to vote with them?

Mr. GROOM.—He might vote the other way.

Mr. LIDDELL.—The honorable member publicly stated that he would not vote with the Labour Party.

Mr. GROOM.—When?

Mr. MAUGER.—He said he would vote for a dissolution.

Mr. LIDDELL.—I believe he said he would vote for a dissolution; but I do not care for whom he votes, because I am satisfied that there are honorable members on the benches opposite who are particularly anxious that there should not be a dissolution.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Hear, hear! And honorable members on these benches too.

Mr. LIDDELL.—Honorable members opposite know that the success of the motion would sound the knell of their own political deaths. They know well that the dangerous weapons with which they seek to hurl us from these benches will but recoil on themselves. I am satisfied that whatever their interests, or the interests of their constituents may be, they will, if they are wise men, make an effort to avoid, by some means, the overthrow of the Government. That is a duty they owe, not only to themselves, but to the country. The overthrow of this Government after so brief a term, led, as that Government is, by one of the greatest statesmen of our age, and representing, as it does, the majority of the people of Australia, would be little short of a national calamity. I believe that in making that statement I am voicing the thoughts and wishes of the majority of the people of Australia. But what I feel most is that this mixed marriage—this alliance between the Labour Party and the so-called Protectionist-Liberal Party—is simply an insult to public taste, against which I, must protest. Why one party to this alliance should give to themselves the name of "Liberal" I do not know, seeing that the honorable members on the Government side are the liberals in this Parliament. A great many honorable members on this side, including myself, are satisfied—and I know a great many on the Opposition side are satisfied—that when the last elections were fought, the country decided that the Tariff question should be given a rest.

Mr. McDONALD.—Nonsense!

Mr. LIDDELL.—I claim that what I say is not nonsense.

Mr. WILKS.—The Labour Party always give the Tariff question a rest, for their own safety.

Mr. LIDDELL.—I believe that the honorable member for Hume, the honorable and learned member for Darling Downs, and, further, the honorable member for

Melbourne Ports, have pronounced in favour of a rest from fiscal strife. In support of that statement, I ask honorable members to give me their attention for a few minutes while I quote from *Hansard*; and a better proof I do not think could be asked. I shall quote, first of all, from a speech by that grand old warrior, the honorable member for Hume, a gentleman on whose opinions and word we can all rely. The honorable member said—

The Government do not propose to raise the fiscal issue, but I intend to maintain my principles.

He said that in a manly way, and I admire him for his manliness.

At the same time, I shall adhere to the statement of the Prime Minister that fiscal peace is to be preserved.

That was the pronouncement of the honorable member for Hume. It is recorded in *Hansard* at page 535. The remark was made during his speech on the Address-in-Reply. Now let me turn to what was said by the honorable and learned member for Darling Downs. I will condemn him out of his own mouth. He said on the 15th March of this year, as reported in *Hansard*, page 538—

Another question which has been definitely settled so far as Queensland is concerned—

he spoke for the whole of his State—

is that there shall be no alteration of the Tariff.

What could be plainer than that? He went on—

I believe that the whole of Australia regarded the issue as being whether the Tariff was to remain settled, at least during the book-keeping period.

Then the honorable and learned member said that the then leader of the Opposition—the present Prime Minister—asked—

for the decision of the people, and he has obtained a decision which is clear, beyond all doubt. Could anything be plainer than that? Further, he said—

I think that the people have declared that it is desirable that, until the book-keeping period has closed, we should adhere to the existing Tariff.

Now let me take the honorable member for Melbourne Ports. I will quote something which he said during his election campaign. I suppose he did not think that it would be brought up against him. After saying that the Federal Tariff had adversely affected some trades—he was probably alluding to the hat trade—the honorable member continued—

While recognising this, he also recognised there was infinitely more to be gained by a period of rest than by re-opening the Tariff question. The

protectionists were anxious to give the new Tariff a five years' trial, but that was what the free-traders were afraid of.

That was said in December last. One might travel through the length and breadth of New South Wales, and, although there is a small sprinkling of protectionists there, the almost universal opinion—although we have been, as it were, cheated out of our birthright and subjected to a high protectionist Tariff that we did not want—is that the Tariff question should be given a rest. The Sydney Chamber of Manufactures at a meeting of the Council, presided over by Mr. O. C. Beale, the High Priest of protection, discussed the possibility of the re-opening of the Tariff, and it is reported that he said—

The consensus of opinion, so far as the New South Wales Chamber is concerned, was in favour of leaving the Tariff alone for the present, in order to enable the Coalition Ministry to proceed with the legislation of the Commonwealth upon the terms outlined by the Reid-McLean Ministry.

Mr. GROOM.—The same chamber, at a joint meeting in Brisbane, assented to a resolution in favour of the re-opening of the Tariff question, and Mr. Beale presided.

Mr. LIDDELL.—I think I have conclusively proved by the quotations which I have made, and by my arguments, that it was practically agreed that we should have fiscal peace. I wish to know why the question has been re-opened?

Mr. MAUGER.—Because there is no peace.

Mr. LIDDELL.—I do not ask for an answer from the Opposition benches, because I know that I should not get a correct one. But I will give the answer. I am perfectly satisfied that this question has been re-opened at this particular time by ambitious politicians who are anxious for place—who are fighting for place—who are determined to gain their ends by any legitimate means that may be open to them.

Mr. WILKS.—Or otherwise.

Mr. LIDDELL.—I ask honorable members opposite whether they have treated the people who sent them here fairly? I ask whether they are doing their duty? I do not think so. Not only is the small Tariff re-opening party at fault in my opinion, but I also think that the Labour Party are not doing their duty by the people whom they represent. Neither are they acting up to their principles. In proof of that statement, I will quote a remark made by

the leader of the Opposition on the 4th March, as reported in *Hansard*, page 188. The honorable member said—

So far as the Labour Party are concerned we regard it as useless to think of taking a share of the responsibility of Government unless we have in this Chamber a majority of members who are prepared to abide by the programme which we have put before the country.

If that was the position taken up by the leader of the Labour Party, then I ask him: Why do we find his party to-day forming an alliance with a few protectionists with the object of turning the present Government out of office? Furthermore, I object to the Labour Party on the ground that, instead of standing alone, they are constantly obliged to form alliances with other parties.

Mr. THOMAS.—What is the honorable member's own leader doing at present?

Mr. LIDDELL.—He is doing a service to the country. I consider that the Labour Party is, in this connexion, little better than a parasite.

Mr. WEBSTER.—A parasite?

Mr. LIDDELL.—Yes; for the benefit of those who do not know what a parasite is, I will endeavour to explain. It is a plant which has not sufficient strength to grow by itself, and is therefore obliged to fasten on to some other plant, and by that means raise itself above the level of the ground to seek air and light. And, strange to say, the plant to which it clings is eventually crushed, and perishes by the action of the parasite. I can promise the protectionist members of this alliance—this unnatural and unholy alliance—that they will eventually be crushed by the Labour Party, which has allied itself with them.

Mr. MAUGER.—I suppose the honorable member is very sorry for that?

Mr. LIDDELL.—I am, sorry for my country. Let us hark back a little to see what really has been the action of the Labour Party, which boasts that it represents the working men of Australia, that its object is the greatest good of the greatest number, and that in its view the welfare of the people is the supreme law. The members of that party came into power by accident; they professed themselves reluctant to take office. They did not represent a majority in this Parliament, but a minority; and, notwithstanding that fact, they took office. Notwithstanding also the pronouncement of the leader of the party, that they would never dream of taking the responsibilities of office unless they had a majority, they took office.

Mr. STORRER.—They were able to keep a quorum, and the present Government was not.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—What an interjection to come all the way from Tasmania!

Mr. LIDDELL.—It came from so far away that unfortunately I did not catch it. They threw themselves upon the mercy of this House. They said they did not seek office, and that, in fact, they were very sorry to get there. I believe that they were very sorry to get there.

Mr. ROBINSON.—They were sorry to leave there.

Mr. LIDDELL.—I believe they were sorry to get there, because in their old rôle of parasite they were very much happier leaning on the other members of the Opposition. Being forced into a position of power and responsibility, they were obliged to make the most of it. They have claimed that while in office they did everything they should have done, but now that they are out of office we are beginning to see that they did certain things which they had no right to do. I ask the members of this party who profess to legislate not for one class in particular but to secure the greatest good for the greatest number, why, in putting the law into action in the case of the six potters, they prosecuted the employer instead of prosecuting the men?

Mr. PAGE.—If it is not right, why does not the Prime Minister call his dogs off?

Mr. WILKS.—Honorable members opposite said that the Prime Minister instituted the prosecution.

Mr. LIDDELL.—I should like to notice one or two remarks which were made by the leader of the Opposition on Sunday night.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Sunday night?

Mr. LIDDELL.—For my part, I do not approve of these Sunday night political meetings. I do not think it is at all dignified for a member of this honorable House, holding the position of the honorable member for Bland, to address people politically on Sundays.

Mr. MAUGER.—Does the honorable member think it worse than Sunday dinners?

Mr. LIDDELL.—I think it is almost worse than pleasant Sunday afternoons.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Does the honorable member for Melbourne Ports believe in it?

Mr. MAUGER.—No, I do not; but I think there are a great many things worse.

Mr. SPEAKER.—The honorable member for Hunter will please take his seat. On several occasions to-day I have called the

House to order on account of conversations carried on across the Chamber. Last week also I twice called the attention of the House to the same thing. I do trust that honorable members will not compel me to do, what I am most reluctant to do, and that is to name those who persist in transgressing the Standing Orders.

Mr. LIDDELL.—I have alluded to the Labour Party as a parasite party. And I have warned the small Protectionist Party opposite that they will probably be crushed by the Labour Party. In view of my allusion, I ask honorable members to listen to these statements made by the leader of the Opposition. He said—

If we were to have got anything at all, the only possible method was by an alliance, whether tacit or expressed, with one or other of the older and more numerous parties.

There is the parasitic theory, as honorable members will see. The Labour Party cannot get on without support from some other party.

Mr. THOMAS.—Just as the Prime Minister cannot get on without the support of the honorable member for Gippsland.

Mr. LIDDELL.—The right honorable gentleman is very well able to get on as he is. The leader of the Opposition further said—

In a fight of this description, I am willing to accept the assistance of any man—

the honorable gentleman does not care what man, or what party he belongs to, whether he is a free-trader or a protectionist, he is perfectly satisfied. He further said—

I am willing to accept the assistance of any man, inside or outside, who was against the common enemy.

I should like honorable members opposite to listen to this, because it will probably come home to them—

We are, it is true, bound to use our influence to prevent opposition by our party to those who are allied with us.

But hear this statesmanlike proposition?

But that does not prevent us using our influence in favour of any man whom the organizations may decide to bring forward.

On one hand, he promises his support to honorable members who are with him in this unholy alliance, while, on the other, he shows that it is not at all necessary for him to support them when the elections come on. Further on, he said—

With regard to the tobacco monopoly, a Royal Commission is to be proposed, and my own view is that the arguments for the nationalization of that monopoly are so overwhelming that I have no fear as to the finding of that Commission.

Mr. WILKS.—Is the alliance in favour of that?

Mr. SPEAKER.—The honorable member for Dalley is out of order.

Mr. LIDDELL.—This brings me to the discussion of one of the planks of the Labour Party, which is the nationalization of what are practically paying industries. The members of the Labour Party, when they get into power—if they ever do—propose to pick out some industry which men, by lifelong energy and the expenditure of their brains and capital, have worked up into a paying concern, and take it over for the purpose of assisting the State. Mark you, these are the men who are going to legislate for the whole people, and not for a particular class. And what do they propose to do in this particular instance? They actually propose to take over the whole tobacco industry, with the object of providing for old-age pensions. Who is it that old-age pensions are going to assist, if it is not the Labour Party? It is the men who form the Labour Party who will ultimately require the most assistance, if legislation is allowed to go on in the course which they wish it to take. I believe that honorable members will admit that in Australia we are supplied by excellent firms with excellent tobacco. No better tobacco can be found in any part of the world than that which we are here privileged to smoke. I speak from experience, having tried tobacco in various other parts of the world. Honorable members will not find in any other part of the world that wages in the industry are higher than they are here.

Mr. MAUGER.—They are shockingly bad here; the honorable member cannot know what they are, or he would not say that.

Mr. LIDDELL.—On the best authority I am in a position to say that the wages paid in the tobacco industry in Australia are exceedingly good.

Mr. MAUGER.—The employés are not getting a living wage.

Mr. LIDDELL.—I can inform honorable members of a country where the wages in the industry are exceedingly bad, and where the industry is run by the Government.

Mr. MAUGER.—What are the rates of wages in the industry here?

Mr. LIDDELL.—I may come to them by-and-by. We can get in Australia the best tobacco that can be obtained anywhere, and it can be purchased at a reasonable

price, whilst the men and women working in the trade are not sweated.

Mr. MAUGER.—Can the honorable member give us the men's wages? I shall be able to get them for him to-morrow.

Mr. LIDDELL.—I have them all here, but it does not suit me to give them just now. Let us take the example of the monopoly of the tobacco industry in France. There the tobacco supplied is the worst to be found in the world; it is almost unsmokeable. Not only that, but you have to pay a high price for it, and the people who are employed in its manufacture and sale are ground down, whilst the industry is used as a political weapon by the Government of the country. It was the idea of Napoleon I. to place the tobacco industry under the Government, so as to give the Minister of the Interior great power. To-day the Minister has this power. He has the power to take over all shops giving a profit of over £40 a year. The prefects in various districts have the right to give licences for shops which make less than that; but any shop making a profit of over £40 a year is placed in the gift of the Minister of the Interior. It is very easy to see how the nationalization of such a trade as that places great power in the hands of politicians. Of course, I shall be told that if the State runs this industry it will do away with all political influence. That has not proved to be the case in countries such as France and Italy. We have a very good example of the political influence which exists in the case of State-run industries. We were obliged to put our railways in the hands of Commissioners, in order to avoid political interference. I claim that an industry which is nationalized and run by the Government is not managed with the same business ability as a private industry is, because so much depends upon personal effort. In the case of State-run industries the management is not so good as it ought to be. Take, for example, the railways and the Post and Telegraph Department. I claim that our railways are far from being up-to-date, because, for one reason, no refreshment cars are attached to the trains. I am satisfied that if any private companies were running these railways, and there was anything like competition, such a state of things would not be allowed to exist. Again, before we undertake to build a railway into any part of this country we require to be satisfied that it will pay when built. Private companies do not wait in order to find out whether rail-

ways are likely to pay, but they form an idea as to whether they will pay in the future, and by that means they open up new country. Furthermore, we should have a series of light railways, which would act as feeders to our trunk lines. Under private management they would have been constructed long ago. The Post and Telegraph Department is conducted in the same way. Only this afternoon, we had to listen for hours to an outpouring of complaints against the telephone system and the management of the Post Office. I am sure that if these Departments had been in the hands of private companies we should not have heard those complaints, because the grievances would have been redressed long ago.

Mr. THOMAS.—Were there no complaints against the telephones when they were privately-owned in Melbourne?

Mr. LIDDELL.—In Melbourne we have an example of a tramway system which is privately owned.

Mr. THOMAS.—But the honorable member was talking of telephones.

Mr. LIDDELL.—We have heard a great many complaints against the tramway system here, and we have also heard it very highly praised.

Mr. TUDOR.—By whom?

Mr. LIDDELL.—In the House the other day we heard that system praised, as well as criticised. I think it proves that an industry which is run by the State is not so satisfactory as one which is run by a private company.

Mr. SPENCE.—Is the honorable member in favour of selling the railways?

Mr. LIDDELL.—No. In looking at the platform of the Labour Party—it is, of course, a very excellent one, and contains some very good planks—I notice that the first item is "The maintenance of a White Australia." I do not see why the Labour Party should particularly claim that as part of their platform, seeing that it is favoured throughout the length and breadth of this land. Another plank in their platform is "Compulsory arbitration." We have had an example of their compulsory arbitration. We know that it is their object, if possible, to compel all men to enter unions, and that if they once get men into unions they can compel them to vote just as they wish. That is the chief objection I have to the clause relating to preference to unionists. I have always been in favour of arbitration, but I had no idea that the Labour Party would seek to use

the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill as they have done, and make it a weapon which would eventually destroy themselves. I notice that a plank in their fighting platform excludes lawyers—

Compulsory arbitration to settle industrial pursuits with provision for the exclusion of the legal profession.

I fail to understand that addition. If the legal profession is to be excluded, why should not the medical profession be excluded? Of course, I shall be met with the cry immediately that there is no greater union in the world than the medical profession.

HONORABLE MEMBERS.—Hear, hear.

Mr. LIDDELL.—I thought so. I claim that the medical profession is not a close union in the sense in which the unions of working men are, because there is no law which will bind men to any particular action. We see every day instances in which members of the medical profession please themselves, and nobody can stop them. Another plank in this platform is, "A citizen military force and an Australian-owned navy." I am in favour of a citizen military force, but I am not at all in favour of cutting down the Estimates as the Labour Party have attempted to do. I believe that every man in Australia should be taught to use a rifle. But it is of no advantage for a man to be able to use a rifle unless he is accustomed to some sort of control. And discipline cannot possibly be maintained unless we have a permanent standing force. The object of the Labour Party appears to be to do away with the permanent standing army, and to simply have a number of civilian rifle corps. I distinctly object to the action of the Labour Party in cutting down the Military Estimates, and endeavouring to destroy the cadet movement. I believe that their object was not to encourage cadets, but simply to encourage rifle clubs.

Mr. PAGE.—Who did that?

Mr. LIDDELL.—I believe that the honorable member was in favour of cutting down that vote. I certainly think that the cadets should be encouraged, so that our youths when they arrive at manhood may be accustomed to use a weapon. I protest strongly against the domination of the Labour Party.

Mr. THOMAS.—And we protest against the domination of the honorable member's party.

Mr. LIDDELL.—We have now a representative Government, led by a man whose ability is undoubted, and who is a statesman.

Mr. THOMAS.—What was his opinion of the Minister of Trade and Customs during the general elections?

Mr. LIDDELL.—The position of the honorable member for Gippsland shows the strength of the party on this side. We have here a party made up of—

Mr. PAGE.—Odds and ends.

Mr. LIDDELL.—We have here a party made up of both free-traders and protectionists. I protest most earnestly against this waste of public time and public money. We have been in session for many months. In the space of ten months we have had three Governments, and we are no further ahead now than we were at the beginning of that period. If we have a dissolution at the present moment it will cost the country a large sum, which, as trade is, cannot very well be spared. I think that nothing could be worse for the country at the present time than a dissolution of this House.

Mr. CULPIN (Brisbane).—I wish to say a few words to the House on the subject of the Prime Minister's policy. Hitherto very little has been said about it, but I shall direct my attention immediately to it. It is a very simple policy, but it has been put forward by a complex Ministry. It is, too, a new policy for Australia as a whole, and a new policy also for this Federal Parliament, but it is nevertheless indorsed by the advanced members of the Prime Minister's party, such as the honorable and learned member for Wannon, the honorable members for Flinders, New England, and Parramatta, and the right honorable member for Swan. We have not heard a word of indorsement from the honorable and learned members for Ballarat and Bendigo, nor from the honorable members for Eden-Monaro and Laanecoorie. Neither has the honorable member for Oxley indorsed it, though we may perhaps yet hear something from him in regard to it, because for eight years he lived in a State where a similar policy was in force. He lived in Queensland from 1893 to 1901, when he entered the Federal Parliament and came to Melbourne. Since then he has not had much to do with a policy of this kind, though about a month ago he went to Queensland and attended the funeral obsequies of the remnants of the party which had supported a similar policy in Queensland. He is,

therefore, well fitted to assist the Prime Minister of the Commonwealth at the present time. I intend to place before the House the causes which impelled the adoption of a similar policy in Queensland in 1893. The Liberal Party, which was led by Sir Samuel Griffith, was, in 1888, opposed by Sir Thomas McIlwraith, until something very like a dead-lock occurred. This was overcome by a coalition, which adopted a policy similar to that enunciated by the right honorable member for East Sydney. That policy was followed by what came to be known as the continuous Government, from 1893 until its death from inanition in 1903. That continuous Government was in its youth lively enough, but it committed excesses from which the State of Queensland still suffers. The paltry sum of £333,000 which the honorable and learned member for Corio says that the right honorable member for East Sydney placed on the wrong side of his balance-sheet, is a trifle compared with the money which the continuous Government in Queensland played with and dissipated. Their conduct in that and other matters was responsible for bringing the Labour Party into existence in 1893. That party spared no effort to denounce the misapplication of public funds by the Government, and to cover up its sin and shame the Government adopted the policy which has been adopted by the right honorable member for East Sydney—"Down the Labour Party." The constituency which I have the honour to represent forms part of a State which has experienced sad results from the coalition of factors similar to the parties which have come together to support the present Government. My attention was first drawn to politics in Queensland in 1893. The then Government, which subsequently became known as the continuous Government, from the fact that, with variations, it continued in office from 1888 to 1903, was due to a compact between a former Government and the Opposition to combine and divide the spoils. There remained in existence, however, a remnant which did not bow the knee to Baal. A measure for the abolition of kanaka labour had been passed in Queensland in 1888, but it was repealed as soon as the continuous Government came into office. The most serious trouble which resulted to the State, however, was due to the financial operations of the Government. It had no difficulty in persuading Parliament that huge borrowing was necessary, the effect

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of which is the present heavy debt of the State. Whereas Victoria owes only £47 per head of her population, Queensland has a debt of nearly £80 per head. In 1881, before the continuous Government came into power, the debt of Queensland was only £13,250,000, whereas in 1891 it had increased to £29,500,000.

Mr. SPEAKER.—Does the honorable member intend to connect these remarks with the motion before the Chair?

Mr. CULPIN.—I certainly do. I am about to show how the difference—over £16,000,000—was spent, and why the Labour Party came into existence. Many honorable members think that the money was spent for the benefit of the people of Queensland. That is a mistake. It was not so spent, but was applied to a purpose of which the public had no idea. In 1891 the Government of Queensland received from loans and ordinary revenue £6,269,181, and spent only £5,836,847. Therefore, there was a surplus, somewhere, of £432,344. In 1892 the Government received from loans and revenue £6,907,985, and spent only £5,306,276, leaving a surplus, somewhere, of £1,601,709. In 1893 and 1894 the same kind of thing went on, and during the four years mentioned, a cash surplus of £3,007,755 was accumulated. Honorable members may regard that as a satisfactory result, but in view of the purpose to which the money was applied, there was no cause for congratulation. The Government placed that money in the hands of the Queensland National Bank.

Mr. PAGE.—Was that a coalition Government?

Mr. CULPIN.—It was the continuous Government.

Mr. PAGE.—But was it a coalition Government?

Mr. McCAY.—It was an alliance Government.

Mr. CULPIN.—It was a Government formed by the coalition of the McIlwraith and Griffith parties. In 1892 the Queensland National Bank held £1,403,000 of Government money.

Mr. SPEAKER.—I would remind the honorable member that the question before the Chair is "that the present Administration does not possess the confidence of this House." I have waited for some time in order to discover a possible connexion between the state of the finances of Queensland ten years ago and the question before the Chair, but I have not been able

to do so. I trust that the honorable member will confine his remarks to the subject of the motion.

Mr. PAGE.—I believe that the honorable member wishes to connect his remarks with the motion by showing what was done by a coalition Government in Queensland and what is likely to result from our having a coalition Government in this Parliament.

Mr. SPEAKER.—I have been listening to the honorable member for some minutes, with a view to discovering a connexion between his remarks and the subject of the motion, and I have not yet been able to perceive it.

Mr. CULPIN.—As I stated at the outset, my intention is to show that the object of the present Government is identical with that of the continuous Government in Queensland in 1893. It is possible that considerations similar to those which brought about the adoption of that policy by the Queensland Government may be actuating the present Government. As Ministers have declared that it is their policy to "down" the Labour Party, I think that I am justified in showing how the Queensland Government, which had a similar object, conducted its business. After having acted in such a manner as to bring the Labour Party into prominence, they afterwards tried to destroy it, but the Labour Party triumphed. I hope the same result will follow here. We have a perfect right to do our best to bring about the defeat of the present Government. Until the Labour Party in Queensland occupied the Opposition benches in sufficient force to make their influence felt, the Government continued to place their surplus funds in the hands of the Queensland National Bank. In 1892, the total liabilities of the bank amounted to £8,250,000, of which £1,250,000 was due to the Government. In 1893, the total liabilities stood at the same figure, but the cash deposited by the Government represented £2,250,000. In 1894, the total liabilities still amounted to £8,000,000, whilst the indebtedness to the Government amounted to £3,125,000. In 1895 the total liabilities remained the same, but no less than £3,564,000 was owing to the Government. Just before the Labour Party came into prominence, the Queensland Government sent home £600,000, which was placed in the Queensland National Bank in London for the purpose of paying interest on loans, but the bank retained it, and devoted it to other purposes.

Mr. SPEAKER.—I am very reluctant to interfere with any honorable member whilst he is addressing the House, but I am bound by the rules which I have to administer to see that the subject-matter of honorable members' speeches has some connexion with the question under discussion. I cannot discover any relationship between the subject which the honorable member is now discussing and the motion before the Chair.

Mr. CULPIN.—I had just about concluded my remarks upon that branch of my argument. I desire to point out that the policy of the present Government is identical with that which was adopted by the Queensland continuous Government, after it had pursued a most shameful course of conduct. When the Prime Minister outlined his policy, he also defined what he meant by the terms "labour" and "worker." It has frequently been asserted, as a reproach to the Labour Party, by persons who know better but who wish to appear ignorant, that it does not include professional men. As a matter of fact, that statement was recently made by the *Daily Mail*, a newspaper which is published in Brisbane, and which is gradually taking the place of the *Brisbane Courier*. It does not contain a particle of truth. Honorable members will perhaps pardon me if I refer to the definition of "working classes" which was given by the Prime Minister, because it is practically identical with that which I gave to the *Melbourne Herald* on the 11th July. He says—

The working classes include practically every class, because all, except idlers or parasites, are workers.

My definition of the term reads—

Exclude loafers, and you have a very simple problem. When you have cleared off the loafers and idlers, be they poor or wealthy, you have a mass who, in the main, are all working men. Starting with the Prime Minister, every member of Parliament who fulfils his parliamentary duties is a worker; but every man who, being elected to Parliament, evades his duties on the plea that business elsewhere takes him away, is a loafer, as far as Parliament is concerned. The rich man loafing is a loafer, the rich man with an honest profession, honestly attending to it, is a worker.

It will be noted that while the two definitions begin in the same way, my definition makes some progress. The Prime Minister does not belong to a progressive party, and consequently his definition makes no progress. The right honorable gentleman

again indulged in definitions in the manifesto which he issued to the people of East Sydney. He said—

With us the term "labour" and the term "worker" have a broad and generous meaning. They are not the badges of a class or section, but the designation of the whole community.

But the very next quotation which I shall make from the utterances of the right honorable gentleman is strangely at variance with that sentiment. In addressing the Kyneton farmers he is reported to have said—

The time had come when it devolved upon him to stand right across the path of the Labour Party.

The continuous Government of Queensland said the same thing until it died. It was a person of the same stamp as the honorable member for Parramatta, the honorable member for Flinders, and the honorable member for Oxley, who asked George Stephenson what would happen to his locomotive if a cow were to stand right across the railway line? The answer of the inventor, it will be recollected, merely expressed fear for the cow. Similarly I think that in the present state of politics the locomotive will not wait for the cow. Then, again, the right honorable member for Swan declared that the Labour Party is attempting to deprive people of their property. Who believes him? Nobody. I ask the honorable member for Eden-Monaro, the honorable and learned member for Bendigo, and the honorable and learned member for Ballarat, whether they indorse his statement? Possibly it might be supported by as numerous a band as the defunct politicians whose funeral the honorable member for Oxley attended. In the Queensland Parliament, of seventy-two members, a remnant of seventeen supporters of the late continuous Government, remains. In reference to this question, I wish to quote the following passage from the *Age* :—

The two parties of liberalism and labour, which formerly invariably went to defeat under their divided flags, have achieved, in union, a notable victory. The Ministerialists have gained eight seats, having increased in numbers from thirteen to twenty-one; while the labour members in the new Parliament are thirty-five, as against twenty-three in the old House. Thus has come to an abrupt end one of the longest periods of Tory class domination of which Australian history furnishes any record. The old conservative party, which favours the policy of a black Queensland, and advocates the selling of vast tracts of land for nominal sums to large capitalistic syndicates; whose favorite plan of adjusting the finances is to impose what is virtually a heavy poll tax upon the working men, in order to keep up an extra-

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gant bureaucratic Civil Service; and whose idea of encouraging national progress is to offer concessions for the building of private railways on the rotten land grant system—such a party can no longer rule the destinies of the northern State now that it is brought face to face with a united Liberal-Labour combination. The lesson should not be lost upon Federal politicians and their supporters in the constituencies. Substantial achievements are only possible for liberals of all kinds when they march together under a flag of practical politics.

The honorable and learned member for Ballarat has been making "copy" for the newspapers. One of the remnants of that continuous Government who has been pensioned off in the nominee Chamber in Queensland, was in Victoria, and interviewed the honorable and learned member, as thus reported :—

Speaking with Mr. Deakin, the Queensland visitor was able to show very plainly what the effect has been in Queensland of the Act abolishing Polynesian labour. . . . Mr. Deakin's reply was—"See the kind of men Queensland has sent to represent it."

Mr. DEAKIN.—Has the honorable member got my telegram, in which I corrected that statement, and which was published in the *Courier*?

Mr. CULPIN.—As to the telegram, the newspaper extract is as follows :—

We yesterday received a telegram from Mr. Deakin which reads as follows :—

I hope honorable members will all pay attention to this.

"My remarks to Mr. Annear, reported in your paper of 17th, followed, and related to his statement that Queensland now regretted exclusion of kanaka labour, and had no relevance unless that is understood."

That I think was understood. The extract I read gives the exact information, and the honorable and learned member need not have troubled to send a correction. But the honorable and learned member wanted to make it appear that he corrected the statement—that is what he wanted.

Mr. MAUGER.—No, no; there is no doubt about the honorable and learned member's views on a White Australia.

Sir JOHN FORREST.—I think the honorable member for Brisbane is "off the rails" there.

Mr. CULPIN.—There is another contribution from this gentleman, to which he attaches no name—a statement which could only have been made by a vile cur, and it is a pity it was published. I intend to read the statement and also the names the writer mentions in the paragraph, and if there are any of those honorable members present, I hope they will repudiate

having had anything to do with the matter. I say that this paragraph was communicated by a vile cur—if the communication was made to Mr. Annear, who is reported to have said—

The Queensland representatives, with one or two exceptions, seemed to have but little influence in the House. Prominent legislators had remarked to Mr. Annear—

The prominent legislators mentioned in the paragraph are Mr. Richard Edwards, Mr. George Reid, Mr. Deakin, and Sir John Forrest. I now give the paragraph referred to—

Prominent legislators had remarked to Mr. Annear—"Surely a city like Brisbane could have sent a representative whom we might really take seriously."

As to the refusal to recommit clause 48 of the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill, the Prime Minister and the honorable member for New England stated that the amendment inserted had the same effect as the amendment which the honorable member for Bland intended to submit. That is a very misleading statement, and I ought not to allow the debate to conclude without offering a contradiction. The inserted amendment practically amounts to the same thing as though every member of this House had to be returned by an absolute majority of the electors in his constituency, whereas the amendment of the honorable member for Bland, instead of providing for an absolute majority, would be something like a proposal, which appears in the following newspaper extract—

The membership of the Wages Board in the shirt-making trade having expired by effluxion of time, the Minister of Labour has nominated the following persons to fill the vacancies:—Employers, Agnes Crawford, Ellen Eckersall, Charles McIntyre, R. A. Pryor, Thos. Stephens; Employes: Josephine Fogarty, Ada Gould, Elizabeth Kerrigan, Margaret M. Powell, Marie Stellner. If either employers or employes desire to object, one-fifth of the trade must do so within twenty-one days.

That is a reasonable proposal, the like of which I think might very well have been adopted.

Mr. FULLER.—Does the honorable member not believe in majority rule?

Mr. CULPIN.—I do, and so does the honorable and learned member for Illawarra. But that honorable and learned member would not believe in majority rule if it were necessary for him to be elected by an absolute majority of the electors in his constituency.

Mr. FULLER.—I always have been.

Mr. CULPIN.—By an absolute majority of the electors?

Mr. FULLER.—Yes; I had no opposition last time.

Mr. CULPIN.—I want to draw attention to an admirable statement made by the honorable and learned member for Ballarat on the question of a White Australia. It is as follows:—

A White Australia goes further than the preservation of the complexion of the people whose homes are here. It means the multiplying of those homes, so that we shall be strong enough to use and defend the whole of this Commonwealth. It means the maintenance of conditions of life fit for a white man and a white woman. It means equal laws and equal opportunities for all, and protection against the under-paid labour of other lands. It means social justice, so far as we can establish it, and the payment of fair wages. A White Australia means a civilization whose foundations are built in healthy lives, lived in honest toil, under circumstances that do not imply degradation. A White Australia means protection. We protect ourselves from armed aggression. Why not protect ourselves from aggression by commercial means? We protect ourselves against undesirable aliens; why not protect ourselves against the productions of the undesirable aliens' labour? Unless a White Australia is to have no more than a surface complexion, it must represent a policy which goes down to the roots of the national life from which the whole of our social system and political organization must spring.

On the other hand, we have the half-Minister, who represents Gippsland, anxious to shift the Chinese to Queensland. We do not want them.

Mr. McLEAN.—That is not correct.

Mr. CULPIN.—I am pleased to hear the honorable gentleman deny having made any statement of that kind. I really had not noticed the denial previously, and am pleased to accept it. But if that were done, what kind of a White Australia should we have in a few years under the Reid-McLean Ministry? I intended to say that, and I say it now, notwithstanding the honorable gentleman's denial. On paper it will "read" yellow, and "ma'clean" up piebald. I have given two or three quotations to show what this White Australia business means. The quotations made by the honorable and learned member for Indi, in his speech a little while ago, are important, in that connexion. He quoted the Prime Minister to the following effect:—

What is the hope of the great manufactures of Australia? How are we going to manufacture cheaply or to compete with the cheap labour of other countries? How are we going to compete with these under-paid, sweated countries until our own labour is under-paid and sweated too? In the plenitude of time, when our millions become

tens of millions, we shall have a crop of misery which will solve the difficulty in regard to cheap manufactures.

When that quotation was made, the honorable member for Parramatta said that it was a shameful one. Does he reiterate that remark?

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I did not say that, but it does not matter.

Mr. CULPIN.—The honorable member said something very like it.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Very like it.

Mr. CULPIN.—The honorable member spoke about reading the context

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Hear, hear.

Mr. CULPIN.—I have looked up the speech, because I wanted to see what kind of context it was which would alter the meaning of such words. The context is as follows:—

Will the erection of a fence solve it? Never.

I do not see how that alters the meaning of the passage in any way. But I have since come across something else that the Prime Minister said when he was in Queensland. I will quote it directly. In the same speech as that from which the honorable and learned member for Indi quoted, the right honorable gentleman said—

When there was a strike in an American factory what was the cure? A ship-load of these people from the south of Europe.

And I am sure from the context that that is what he meant. It is disgraceful to preach such a doctrine as that as a cure for strikes, and it shows that the right honorable gentleman does not believe in conciliation and arbitration.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Does the honorable member suggest that the Prime Minister favoured that remedy?

Mr. CULPIN.—He suggested it. Speaking at Toowoomba on 16th March, 1901, the Prime Minister again expressed his mind on this subject. He said—

He did not expect a protectionist to support him, and if he did he would call him a political humbug and a shuffler.

Mr. FRAZER.—Is the Minister of Trade and Customs listening?

Mr. CULPIN.—I wonder what the honorable member for Oxley says to that. In his appeal to the electors the honorable member said—

I am entirely in accord with the principles of conciliation and arbitration in industrial disputes; old-age pensions; such a Tariff as will not only meet the needs of the Commonwealth, but foster and encourage our local industries.

In the same speech as that from which I have already quoted, and which was delivered at Toowoomba, the Prime Minister spoke of fostering and encouraging our local industries. He said—

Let the Commonwealth Government establish the industries, and then they would be sure that the wages would be paid, and the proper hours kept, and no one could sweat any one or get the profit out of them.

Again, at a meeting at the exhibition at Brisbane during the same tour, he said—

Why not ask the Commonwealth Government to establish industries of the kind the country wanted, and employ men and give them fair wages with no sweating and no middleman's profit? They said that protection set up a standard of wages, but let them go to Victoria and try it. They could set it up in their factories, and then they saw how much they were paying and where the money went, and that the people working in the factories would be treated fairly, and that the State would have to bear the burden. He looked upon the records of the factories system in older nations, and he saw nothing in them to excite his enthusiasm. Still less did he see anything in them that he wished to transplant to this fair land of Australia.

Then the Prime Minister went on to talk of the New York slums, and of the woollen mills crowded with young children, and he said—

The best way to express their horror at such a result was to vote against the policy which created it.

One would imagine from hearing him talk thus that there was no sweating of that kind in free-trade England. But if we compare the labour conditions in England and America I think we shall have no doubt that those in England are the worse of the two. The man who raves about such things being the result of protection, when they exist also in free-trade England, is the man who is killing industrial legislation in Australia. The honorable and learned member for Wannon in his speech last week spoke about rags. He referred to "the ragged corner." He seemed to be anxious to protect his "uncle's" interests, for he again repeated the old chestnut about confiscating £8,000,000 of money deposited in the banks and substituting notes for it. I wish to point out that the continuous Government in Queensland got rid of £3,500,000 of the people's money, and put it into the coffers of the banks. Queensland has only half a million inhabitants, and if a State with such a population can be robbed of £3,500,000, a similar proportion for the whole of Australia, containing four and a half millions of people, would

be £17,500,000. I think I am just as much entitled to speak of the Queensland Government confiscating that money as the honorable and learned member for Wannon is justified in saying that we propose to confiscate £8,000,000 of cash reserves. The suggested proposal is not really a confiscation in any way whatever. Honorable members, who talk so glibly about confiscating the banks' gold, wink at the way in which the people's gold is used by their party, when they have the whip-hand. They object to a reasonable system of note issue, accredited by time, and accepted by the people. Honorable members should also remember that such a note issue does great good for the people. It does for the people what Antonio did for his friends. He says—

I oft deliver'd from his forfeitures
Many that have at times made moan to me;
Therefore, he hates me.

Honorable members opposite who squirm, and object to this currency system, which is intended simply to help the people, are in the position of Shylock, when he says—

I hate him. . . .
But more, for that, in low simplicity,
He lends out money gratis, and brings down
The rate of usance here with us in Venice.
If I can catch him once upon the hip,
I will feed fat the ancient grudge I bear him.
He hates our sacred nation; and he rails
Even there where merchants most do congregate,
On me, my bargains, and my well-won thrift,
Which he calls interest.

That is the position of honorable members opposite, and not of honorable members of the Labour Party. Whose fault is it that this Australia of ours is still in the social condition which we left behind us in the Old Country, and in some cases in an even worse condition? The old Conspiracy Act of George III. is still in force in Queensland; and while we have here a continent large enough for 100,000,000 of people, we have, by our laws, given our best lands away. If any one coming here desires to settle on the land, although we have such a huge extent of territory, he must pay rent to some one else, whilst the people who hold the lands hold them for profit, and not for use. They make a profit from them, and obtain the unearned increment, whilst the increased value is made, not by the men who own the lands and receive the rents, but by the farmers and producers who occupy the lands and pay rents which are increased from time to time. That is the result of the unfair legislation which the Conservative Party, that has always been in

power, have allowed to go on, and it is time now to make them step down, and let a more progressive party take a hand in legislation.

Mr. HUGHES.—I desire to make reference, by way of personal explanation, to a statement made by the honorable member for Parramatta the other evening. I have here some documents bearing on the matter to which, I think, the House will permit me to refer. The honorable member said that at the last general elections I had asked the Orange Party or the Protestant Party, to put my name on their list, and that I had not asked them to withdraw it.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I did not say that the honorable and learned gentleman had not asked them to withdraw it.

Mr. HUGHES.—I shall read what the honorable member quoted from Mr. Packer's wire—

Never asked to have name withdrawn from list.

I have here a copy of the *Watchman*, dated 5th December, 1903. No issue prior to that date contains my name. My statement is simply this: I said that I had not asked that my name should be included; and that when it was included, I requested that it should be withdrawn. I now put before the House and the country these documents as proof that what I said was a fact. In the issue of the *Watchman* for 5th December, 1903, there is given a list of Protestant candidates. Amongst that list my name occurs. That was a week and a few days before the last general election. In the issue of the same newspaper, dated Sydney, 12th December—the next issue of the paper—there is a list of Protestant candidates, for whom, of course, those who supported this newspaper, and the movement with which it was connected, were asked to vote. My name does not appear in that list. I think that in itself may be taken as conclusive evidence that my name was withdrawn at my request, since no other name that appears in the list, published on the 5th December, was withdrawn or altered in any way. I have a further statement which I received by wire on the 24th September, from Mr. Connington, who was connected with my committee, to this effect—

I remember hearing you at two meetings repudiate any sectarian nomination. You asked constituents not to vote for or against you under a misapprehension.

Mr. Connington's letter, which confirms that telegram, is also dated 24th September, and arrived here yesterday. He writes—

I have a distinct recollection of the circumstances in connexion with the election, and will, if necessary, swear that my telegram of 24th September, 1904, is absolutely correct.

I merely wish to put those documents forward. I think the House will indulge me so far. I have no wish at all to deny anything in connexion with the matter which actually occurred. I desire merely to say that I never asked Mr. Packer to do anything at all in the direction of including me in the list; that Mr. Packer had been a friend of mine, and that I thought he was still a friend, until I received a notification from the wire quoted by the honorable member for Parramatta that he was not. When he put my name in the list, as honorable members can readily see from these papers, I went to him, and I said, "Well, I ask you to put a letter in saying that I did not ask for or authorize such a thing." He said, "I cannot do that, because that would get me into trouble, since I put it in without authorization of the head body." That he withdrew it, at my request, I think, is pretty clear, because it was withdrawn whilst no other name was withdrawn, as honorable members will see by reference to the two issues of the *Watchman* to which I have referred. With this statement I shall leave the matter to the judgment of the House.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—Mr. Speaker—

Mr. SPEAKER.—The honorable member is not entitled to discuss the question, but if he has an explanation to make on his own account, he is entitled to make it, though not to make any contribution in the nature of debate on the matter now before the Chair.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I am quite aware of that, Mr. Speaker. I was only going to say that the honorable and learned gentleman's statements to-night simply put him in issue with my authority. It is now a matter between the two of them. The position, as I understand it from the statement made to me, is that the honorable and learned member for West Sydney did ask to be put on the list, and when he found that that was not working for him, as he thought it would, in his electorate, he went and asked to be put out of the list.

Mr. BAMFORD.—This is another version.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—The honorable member can have a lot of versions if he wants them.

Mr. TUDOR.—We have not the slightest doubt about that.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I say that I prefer my informant to the honorable member, and I propose to stick to my informant too.

Mr. FRAZER.—If the first statement does not suit, it can be amended.

Mr. TUDOR.—The honorable member has got other versions.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—There are no other versions. The honorable and learned member for West Sydney himself admits going to see Mr. Packer.

Mr. HUGHES.—I did nothing of the sort, until my name was included in their list.

Mr. SPEAKER.—Order!

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—And afterwards the honorable and learned gentleman said he had not been to see Mr. Packer.

Mr. SPEAKER.—The honorable member for Parramatta is debating the explanation made by the honorable and learned member for West Sydney. The honorable member is not entitled to do that. He is only entitled to explain any matter in respect to which he has been misrepresented or misunderstood.

Mr. JOSEPH COOK.—I merely wish to say that the statement I made the other night speaks for itself. It was upon that authority that it was made, and it has been corroborated by other gentlemen who know the facts of the case. They corroborate me, just as the honorable member's statements from his own electorate corroborate him. It is a matter of credibility, and there it must rest.

Mr. McLEAN (Gippsland—Minister of Trade and Customs).—As there have been so many personal explanations made in this debate, I desire to give another honorable member an opportunity to make one. When the honorable member for Kalgoorlie was addressing the House last Friday, he referred to the action of the Prime Minister and the right honorable member for Swan in addressing women's meetings, and he asked what they had to do with extending the franchise to women. He said that they had taken no action to enfranchise women, but now that women had been enfranchised they were doing all they possibly could to secure their votes. And then, seeing me sitting on the Treasury bench, he asked what did the Minister of Trade and Customs ever do in the way of giving the franchise to women. I interjected that I had

been an advocate of women's suffrage before the honorable member was born.

Mr. FRAZER.—But the honorable gentleman did not put a measure on the statute-book, though!

Mr. McLEAN.—Unless the honorable member is much older than he looks, that statement is absolutely true. He went on to say that when I was Premier of Victoria I had the opportunity of bringing in legislation to extend the franchise to women, but that I had never attempted to do so.

Mr. FRAZER.—I said that the honorable member did not do so.

Mr. McLEAN.—That statement was lustily cheered by the honorable member for Melbourne, who, as an old member of the Victorian Legislature, knew perfectly well that he was cheering a statement which had no foundation in fact. I was taken back a little. I stated at the time that the extension of the franchise to women was one of the principal planks in the platform of my Government. The honorable member for Kalgoorlie then said that I never attempted to introduce a measure for that purpose. I looked up the matter, and I found that I brought in a Bill, which I carried through all its stages in the Legislative Assembly by the necessary statutory majority, and sent on to the Legislative Council. •

Mr. TUDOR.—And asked the Council to throw it out.

Mr. McLEAN.—That statement is absolutely incorrect. The representatives of my Government did all they possibly could to carry that Bill through the Legislative Council.

Mr. REID.—They will stick at nothing over there now.

Mr. McLEAN.—The interjection is on a par with other statements which have emanated from that side. But that is not all. The reason given by a number of members in the Legislative Council for opposing the Bill was that they did not believe that the electors of Victoria were in accord with the members of the Legislative Assembly in asking for its enactment. In order to test the matter, I then brought in a Bill to remit the question by way of referendum to the electors of Victoria. I carried that Bill through all its stages in the Legislative Assembly, and it also was lost in the Legislative Council. I can only tell my honorable friend, who is a young man of considerable promise, that if he were a little older, I would say perhaps a good deal more.

Mr. FRAZER.—Why did the honorable member not correct me at the time if I was misrepresenting him?

Mr. McLEAN.—Is that the best excuse which the honorable member can give?

Mr. FRAZER.—No.

Mr. McLEAN.—Does the honorable member make random statements?

Mr. FRAZER.—No, I shall make full and ample apology when I get an opportunity.

Mr. McLEAN.— I shall say no more about the matter if the honorable member acknowledges that he was wrong; but it is most unfortunate that a reckless statement of that kind should be made.

Mr. MALONEY.— It is not a reckless statement.

Mr. McLEAN.—Honorable members may accomplish their object of misleading the electors, and by that means placing the party which does not resort to those tactics at a temporary disadvantage.

Mr. MALONEY.—I say that the honorable gentleman left me without a seconder the first time a proposal was introduced to grant the franchise to women.

Mr. McLEAN.—I do not know what the honorable member is referring to.

Mr. MALONEY.—Women's suffrage.

Mr. McLEAN.—The honorable member knows that I supported women's suffrage every time it was introduced.

Mr. MALONEY.—I say that the honorable member did not, and *Hansard* proves that he did not.

Mr. McLEAN.—Perhaps the reference is to one of the honorable member's erratic motions, moved at a time when he knew it would not be discussed.

Mr. MALONEY.—What about the Maffra sugar business?

Mr. McLEAN.—The honorable member was always bringing in motions which were not intended for the House, but for the people outside, and I paid no attention to them.

Mr. MALONEY.—I never robbed the revenue of the country over the Maffra business.

Mr. SPEAKER.—Order!

Mr. McLEAN.—The honorable member knows that in regard to the matter to which he refers I have nothing to be ashamed of. He was one of those who helped to put hundreds of men out of employment in connexion with that industry.

Mr. MALONEY.—That is not true.

Mr. SPEAKER.—The honorable member for Melbourne will withdraw that remark.

Mr. MALONEY.—I withdraw the remark, and say that the statement is not correct.

Mr. McLEAN.—That interjection is on a par with a good many of the honorable member's statements. Coming to the matter more immediately under discussion, I find, from the complaints of the leader of the Opposition, for whom I have the highest respect and esteem, and complaints from the honorable and learned member for Indi—not in the present debate but in a recent debate—that the sins of this Government consist primarily in extending unfair treatment to our predecessors in office, and in coming into power as a result of that unfair treatment. A more egregious misstatement of facts was never uttered in a deliberative assembly. Such statements are childish and ridiculous to the last degree. During my political career I have never known a Government under similar circumstances to receive such indulgent treatment as was extended to our predecessors in office. What were the facts? When the late Government first took possession of the Treasury bench there were twenty-five or twenty-six members all told on this side in a House composed of seventy-five members. In spite of that grotesque condition of things, not a single member of the late Opposition ever challenged the position of the Government by moving a motion of no confidence.

Mr. TUDOR. — Because they were not game.

Mr. MAUGER.—Because they had not a ghost of a chance of carrying it.

Mr. McLEAN.—No member of the late Opposition, I repeat, ever moved a motion of no confidence in that Government. What were the conditions under which the late Government went out of office? At the instance of the Minister of Defence the House carried an amendment on a detail of the Arbitration Bill, to the effect that in the opinion of the Court, the unionists asking for preference should constitute a majority of the workers interested in that particular industry. That was carried by a majority of five votes. Then the Prime Minister immediately afterwards moved the adjournment of the House, and, when he met honorable members on the next day of sitting, said that he would ask them to reconsider their decision. But he then went outside the House, and told the press, who published his statements broadcast over the Commonwealth, that if honorable members would not reverse their decision, if they would not stultify themselves—because that

is what it would have amounted to—his Government would resign office. Under that threat he afterwards asked the House to agree to the recommitment of certain clauses, including that in regard to which the threat had been made; but the members of the then Opposition very properly told him that they had discussed and settled the matter, and would not reopen it.

Mr. WEBSTER.—That was very fair, was it not?

Mr. McLEAN.—It was absolutely fair. If the honorable member understands anything about parliamentary practice, he must know that it is ridiculous to say that a Government is dealt with unfairly if it is given an opportunity, as the late Government was, to poll its last vote. Every vote in the House was accounted for on the occasion to which I refer.

Mr. WEBSTER.—On which division?

Mr. McLEAN.—On the division which determined the fate of the late Administration.

Mr. WEBSTER.—I was referring, not to that division, but to the snatch vote on the clause.

Mr. McLEAN.—How can the late Opposition be chargeable under the circumstances with unfair treatment? The late Government, in my opinion without justification or reason, chose to regard a defeat on a detail of the Bill as vital, and expected the Opposition, whose members, although they had never challenged their existence, did not believe in them, to stultify itself by reversing its previous vote. The next complaint levelled against us—if it can be so called—is because of the meagre policy which we have submitted to Parliament. That complaint comes with a very bad grace from our predecessors, after the policy which they submitted. They came into office when the session was four months younger than it was when we did so, and they had four months more in which to transact public business. But what measures did they submit, in addition to those proposed by us? The Seat of Government Bill, the High Commissioner Bill, a Royal Commission, and a slight amendment of the Post and Telegraph Act. The discussion of any one of those measures need not have occupied more than two or three days, and the Seat of Government Bill, which was practically the only debatable measure on the programme, was dealt with in three or four days.

Mr. WEBSTER.—That decided the fate of the Ministry.

Mr. McLEAN.—Those four small measures were all the late Government proposed for a session of four months longer than that at our disposal. We came into office after the House had been in session for six months, and when, if we desired to keep to the proper season for sitting, we should have been considering the question of closing the session.

Mr. McDONALD.—The Government have been considering that question ever since it took office.

Mr. McLEAN.—Then what measures did the late Government propose for its second session? It told us that it would bring in a Bill to annex some £8,000,000 worth of the banks' deposits, and another Bill to nationalize the tobacco industry. That, if I remember aright, is all that was foreshadowed for the second session.

Mr. THOMAS.—Was it not enough?

Mr. McLEAN.—I think that the present Government has made reference to a much larger number of measures, and certainly to measures much less mischievous than those of the late Government.

Mr. SPENCE.—What about an old-age pensions scheme?

Mr. McLEAN.—That was common to both programmes.

Mr. THOMAS.—Both the heads of the present Administration forgot to mention it.

Mr. McLEAN.—The honorable member should not try to take advantage of an omission of that kind, since he knows that the subject was referred to by a leading member of the Government in the Senate on the day that we first met Parliament.

Mr. THOMAS.—I did not know it, because I was not in the Senate at the time.

Mr. McLEAN.—The honorable member knew it when he made his interjection just now. He knew that the Government must have arranged to deal with the old-age pensions question, because, otherwise the Attorney-General would not have announced the fact in the Senate on the first day that we met the House. I maintain that, although we outlined a number of very important measures as those with which we intend to deal next session, the proper time to announce the programme for that session will be when the Governor-General delivers his speech in opening Parliament. Every old parliamentarian will bear me out in that. Even if we had omitted to refer to any of the work with which we intend to deal next session, that could not have been charged

against us as a serious omission. As a matter of fact, however, we referred to a number of important measures with which we intend to deal, and to more than were referred to by the late Government as likely to find a place in their programme for the next session. Statements have been made to the effect that there is a secret understanding between the free-traders and the protectionists, which has not been made public, and that statement has been fathered—I do not know with what authority—on our friends in the corner, though I hardly think that any of them would make such a statement, since it is without the slightest shadow of foundation.

Mr. McDONALD.—Every one outside thinks that it is so.

Mr. McCAY.—Those in the Opposition corner do not.

Mr. McLEAN.—Those who practice that sort of thing are always prone to suspect others, but I can tell my honorable friends opposite that there was nothing in the shape of any understanding between those two parties that was not made as clear as noonday. The conditions of our alliance were embodied in the manifesto drawn up by the honorable and learned member for Ballarat, and there is no intention on our part to do anything whatever at variance with that programme.

Mr. MAUGER.—The Protectionist Party never agreed to that.

Mr. McLEAN.—The leader of the protectionists and the main body of the party agreed to it.

Mr. MAUGER.—The main body rejected it.

Mr. McLEAN.—As my honorable friend has referred to that matter, let him be fair. I would ask him what was the objection that was urged when that manifesto was read at our caucus meeting?

HONORABLE MEMBERS. — Oh! What? Caucus.

Mr. McLEAN.—The objection was that the fiscal truce did not go far enough.

Mr. REID.—Hear, hear!

Mr. McLEAN.—It was stated all round the room that we had already won a fiscal truce for the natural life of the present Parliament, and the honorable and learned member for Ballarat was asked if it would not be possible to induce the right honorable member for East Sydney to agree to an extension.

Mr. MAUGER.—No such resolution was carried, and the Minister knows it.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE. — The Minister's statement is absolutely untrue.

Mr. GROOM.—It is absolutely untrue, and the Minister knows it.

Mr. McLEAN.—The honorable member for Melbourne Ports is wrong again. I did not say that any resolution was carried.

Mr. MAUGER.—Only two or three honorable members suggested it.

Mr. McLEAN.—I say that that was the almost unanimous view.

HONORABLE MEMBERS.—No, no.

Mr. McLEAN.—I did not hear a single voice raised that day in favour of reopening the fiscal question during the life of this Parliament.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I am surprised to hear the Minister make such a statement.

Mr. McLEAN.—I thought it would take a good deal more than that to surprise my honorable friend.

Mr. STORRER.—I desire to explain—

Mr. SPEAKER.—Order! The honorable member may raise a point of order, but he cannot make any remarks with any other object.

Mr. STORRER.—My point of order is that I was present at the meeting referred to and—

Mr. SPEAKER.—That is not a point of order. The honorable member cannot make an explanation at this stage.

Mr. REID.—Did any one ask that the fiscal truce should extend over a shorter period than was proposed?

Mr. McLEAN.—In rising at this stage of the debate I am placed at a great disadvantage, inasmuch as all the big guns in the Opposition corner have so far refrained from making their voices heard. I am compelled, therefore, to go back to the speech of the honorable and learned member for Indi, delivered during a recent debate, because, really, his speech, and that of the leader of the Opposition, contained the only charges—if charges they can be called—that require any reply. We know the great ability of the honorable and learned member, his fertility of resource, and his great command of language, and I must say that he used all these attributes to the utmost advantage in denouncing the action of the protectionist members who sit on this side of the House. He accused us of having abandoned our protectionist principles, and of having betrayed the cause of protection. These are very serious charges, and I think that they

come with very bad grace from my honorable and learned friend, in view of his own action in the whole matter. Immediately after the elections the then Prime Minister, the honorable and learned member for Ballarat, announced that it was not intended to re-open the fiscal question during the life of the present Parliament. In spite of that announcement, my honorable friend continued to support the Government, and never uttered one murmur or complaint against their decision. When that Government went out of office, and were succeeded by the Labour Government, the honorable member for Bland made a similar announcement. He stated his intention, both in the House and at Wagga, in his own electorate, not to re-open the fiscal question during the life of this Parliament; and yet my honorable and learned friend supported that Government throughout the term for which they held office, without one complaint or murmur about their omission to re-open the fiscal question.

Mr. MAUGER.—I raised the question.

Mr. McLEAN.—I am not speaking of my honorable friend, but of a much more formidable, a much more able man.

Mr. MAUGER.—No one disputes that.

Mr. McLEAN.—The moment the late Government were defeated, my honorable and learned friend called together his little band of seceding protectionists—for what purpose?

Mr. ISAACS.—The Minister means the succeeding protectionists.

Mr. McLEAN.—I do not care to use the term "deserters."

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—We are better than the traitors on the Government side of the Chamber.

Mr. McLEAN.—The object of that meeting was to find a pretext to justify honorable members in deserting their leader, abandoning their election pledges, and joining forces with the Labour Party.

Mr. HUME COOK.—Why did the leader of the protectionists accept terms that were previously rejected?

Mr. McLEAN.—The present Government was not formed, and, if I am not mistaken, the Prime Minister had not even been sent for to form the present Administration, when the honorable and learned member commenced negotiations with the Labour Party to re-open the Tariff.

Mr. MAUGER.—The Minister is wrong—it was afterwards.

Mr. McLEAN.—Was not that the object of the alliance that was entered into—will my honorable friend deny it?

Mr. REID.—It was something else. It was another crutch.

Mr. McLEAN.—I believe that there were three planks in the platform of the seceders, and they were very important ones. I would be the very last to underrate their significance. One of the planks was the revision of the Tariff; another referred to the Manufactures Encouragement Bill; and the third had reference to preferential trade. If my honorable friends had fought for these provisions, I could have understood their action. No doubt they did fight for them, but what did they get? So far as the public can ascertain from all the published statements and from the manifesto of the alliance which has been issued, they did not obtain a single concession in return for their support of the Labour Party, except immunity from opposition at the coming election. I think it is only fair to the honorable and learned member for Indi to say that he could not have been thinking of himself when he stipulated for that condition, because we know perfectly well that the Labour Party could not affect his chances in his own constituency.

Mr. ISAACS.—How does the Minister know that I made any such stipulation? It is a mere assumption upon his part.

Mr. McLEAN.—Stipulated for what?

Mr. ISAACS.—For immunity from opposition.

Mr. SPENCE.—They did not make that stipulation.

Mr. REID.—The stipulation is contained in the document.

Mr. McLEAN.—At any rate, I think it is a reasonable assumption, when we know that the stipulation is contained in the manifesto, and when we have had a recent admission from the leader of the Opposition that he had no right to put it there without consulting his masters outside.

Mr. ISAACS.—I never heard that admission from the leader of the Opposition.

Mr. McLEAN.—My honorable friend should have attended the meeting which was held on Sunday at the Queen's Hall, and he would have heard something very like it.

Mr. McDONALD.—The Minister was not present anyhow.

Mr. McLEAN.—No; I do not attend political meetings on Sunday. I think that six days a week are ample to devote to

politics. A man must be a glutton who would give up the seventh day to a political discussion.

Mr. ISAACS.—Then why did the Minister advise me to attend?

Mr. McLEAN.—I did not. I should have respected my honorable friends—although it was in violation of their election pledges—if they had insisted on the concessions which they demanded upon the three great questions to which I have referred. But when I find that they surrendered their claims without receiving any consideration other than that which I have stated, I am forced to the conclusion that there was some other motive for their action, which has not been divulged. It is not for me to suggest the nature of that consideration. Every honorable member can fill in the blank according to his own imagination. I would remind my honorable friends in the first place that their action constituted a distinct violation of their hustings pledges. I am aware that the honorable and learned member for Indi was not opposed at the last election, and probably he gave no pledge. But the utterances of several honorable members in the Opposition corner, including the honorable member for Hume, the honorable member for Bourke, and the honorable and learned member for Darling Downs—

Mr. GROOM.—I was not opposed.

Mr. McLEAN.—But the honorable and learned member made a statement which I am sure he will not deny.

Mr. GROOM.—Hear, hear!

Mr. McLEAN.—The only other member of the party who spoke during the course of the debate was the honorable and learned member for Corio. He manfully admitted that he had pledged himself to his constituents in favour of fiscal peace. He informed us that he released himself from that pledge on the ground that there had been a change of Government. What that circumstance had to do with the deliberate violation of an election pledge I have yet to learn. However, that is a matter between himself and his constituents. My point is that the honorable and learned member admits that he pledged himself to fiscal peace during the life of the present Parliament. We also know that the leaders of the three parties in the House immediately after it assembled, declared that the result of the general elections had been to secure fiscal peace during this Parliament. I may be pardoned, perhaps, if I read a

few extracts bearing upon this point. The honorable and learned member for Ballarat said—

The fiscal issue is dead and buried during this Parliament, at all events.

The present Prime Minister said—

I recognise that that is the verdict of the constituencies.

The honorable member for Bland said—

I share the gratification of the Prime Minister that with the last election, the issue, as between free-trade and protection, has disappeared for some time to come, at any rate, so far as the Tariff is concerned.

Further on he said—

Practically the fiscal issue is dead, at any rate, so far as this Parliament is concerned.

Again, on the 12th November, he said that under no circumstances would he be a party to the disturbance of the fiscal peace now reached. Speaking at Wagga on the 9th August last—

Mr. REID.—Why, that was only last month.

Mr. McLEAN. — Speaking at Wagga upon the 9th August, the honorable member said—

I believe there is no probability of any appeal for an alteration of the Tariff being responded to during this present Parliament.

I admit at once that if honorable members subsequently received information which, in their opinion, justified them in reopening the question in the interests of the country, they would be warranted in doing so. But before taking such action, I certainly think that they should take their constituents into their confidence. They should resign their seats. The honorable member for Melbourne Ports laughs at the idea of resigning his seat. I can quite understand that that laugh comes from his very heart. If my honorable friends felt so strongly upon this question, how is it that they entered into an alliance with the Labour Party, by giving up every tittle of what they claimed? Not a single shred of comfort for them is contained in the manifesto which has been issued concerning either of the three questions to which I have referred. In regard to the Manufactures Encouragement Bill, every honorable member of the alliance is to have "freedom of action as to method of control." In other words he is to be at liberty to do exactly as he likes. When my honorable friends agreed to that they knew perfectly well that the Labour Party, which outnumbered them by two or three to one, would to a man, favour State control,

notwithstanding the fact that the States will not nationalize the industry.

Mr. McDONALD.—Do not be too sure of that; one State in the group is very likely to take the matter up.

Mr. REID.—Is that Fiji?

Mr. McLEAN.—Then it is provided that preferential trade is to be "discussed by the joint parties." What a definite forward movement that is! Then the Tariff is to be "inquired into." The greatest opponent of the revision of the Tariff might agree to those conditions without abating one jot of his convictions. I believe that the free-traders would not be more averse to an inquiry than would the protectionists.

Mr. ISAACS.—There is provision for something more than an inquiry.

Mr. REID.—It is not worth more than a ticket for a soup kitchen.

Mr. McLEAN.—Let us hear the magnificent provision which follows:—

Legislation (including Tariff legislation) shown to be necessary.

(1) To develop Australian resources. (2) To preserve, encourage, and benefit Australian industries, primary and secondary. (3) To secure fairer conditions for labour for all engaged in every form of industrial enterprise, and to advance their interests and well-being without distinction of class or social status.

Mr. REID.—Indi again!

Mr. McLEAN. — That is magnificent. But what follows?

(4) As to any regulation arising under this paragraph only, any member of either party may, as to any specific proposal—

Now listen to this—

(a) Agree with the members of his own party to be bound by their joint determination, or

(b) Decide for himself how far the particular circumstances prove necessity, or the extent to which the proposal shall be carried.

A lot of magnificent proposals are laid down, and then we have "a" and "b" taking any particular starch or benefit out of them. I must say that when I read this document, I thanked my stars, for the sake of my old friend, the honorable and learned member for Indi, that he had not gone any further in alphabetical order. If he gave up everything he had contended for in the two initial letters of the alphabet, it would be sad to contemplate what he might have done when he had reached the letter "z." I fancy I can hear the honorable and learned member bargaining, not for himself—I admit that he has no necessity to do that—but for some of his followers, with the leader of the Opposition, to spare them at the election. I can imagine that I hear the

polite and gentlemanly leader of the Opposition telling him in the language of the poet—

I will place thee in a sylvan bower
And guard thee like a tender flower.

The honorable and learned member for Indi, in his facetious manner, went on to describe the parties sitting on this side of the House as a "sexless" combination. I can only say that if my honorable friend, in his negotiations with, and his final surrender to, the leader of the Opposition, showed any political sex it certainly was not the masculine sex. The honorable and learned member promised to "love, honour, and obey" the leader of the Opposition on condition of receiving what the weaker vessel always receives, even in a savage land, from her lord and master—personal protection. But the honorable and learned member went on, and promised the leader of the Opposition a very numerous family, which, in his own graphic language, was to comprise "all the progressive forces of the Commonwealth." We can imagine "all the progressive forces of the Commonwealth" being galvanized into life, and action being taken on such a soul-stirring plank as that preferential trade is to be "discussed." The honorable and learned member went still further. He agreed to constitute himself a sort of decoy duck to lure any erring spirits from this side of the House to the labour fold. Really, the appeal he made the other evening to honorable members to cross the floor was most touching—it was made with all the blandishments that my honorable and learned friend can command. I presume the reason he called us a "sexless" lot was that there was not a rush to cross. I am sure he must have realized during all these trying negotiations the truth of the lines—

Oh, what a tangled web we weave,
When first we practise to deceive.

In the same spirit, on the very day that the motion of no-confidence was tabled, the honorable and learned member perpetrated a most magnificent farce. He rose, and in austere manner, and, with an air of pristine innocence and almost vestal purity, gave notice of his intention to move, next day, for the appointment of a Royal Commission to inquire into the working of the present Tariff. I need hardly say that that idea was borrowed from the Minister of Defence, who had expressed an opinion in that direction, in a press interview, some days before. That, however, is not the important point. When the honorable and

learned member for Indi gave notice of that motion, he knew that as soon as he sat down the leader of the Opposition would give notice of a motion which would arrest all business—a motion which my honorable friend had no doubt helped to frame, and which, if successful, was intended to result in a general election. That is what the late Government asked the Governor-General to grant them, and what they were working for. But if the motion of which the leader of the Opposition at that time was prepared to give notice were successful, my honorable and learned friend knew that it would be utterly impossible ever to reach the question involved in his motion. Of course it was a splendid electioneering cry. My honorable friends opposite seem to be adepts at that sort of thing. I know that my honorable and learned friend has great ability, and I am sure that there are very few honorable members who respect him more highly than I do. But in matters of this kind we have to speak out plainly; and I must say that my honorable and learned friend displayed a capacity for acting which I never gave him credit for. The whole thing was about as clever a piece of acting as it has ever been my good fortune to see. It may have been a little overdone. For instance, the anguish that my honorable and learned friend expressed at the havoc that was being wrought by the present Tariff was, I think, a little overdrawn; and the indignation that he expressed against the protectionists on this side of the House was perhaps a little too terrible when we remember that both of those emotions had slumbered peacefully for the previous nine months, and had only been suddenly galvanized into existence when the Labour Government were turned out of office. I am reminded forcibly of a countryman of my own, who, having failed to see the point of a joke, racked his brains for two days in the effort to discover it. At last, having found a wrong and not the real point of the joke, he laughed most heartily, and said, "Eh, mon, it was guid." And then he added, "And it flashed on me a' o' a sudden." This necessity for an immediate revision of the Tariff must have flashed on my honorable and learned friend "a' o' a sudden" when the Labour Party went out of office. My honorable and learned friend referred in rather scathing terms to the reactionaries and conservatives on this side of the House. Any one who

will express any serious fear of an influx of the conservative element into a Parliament which is elected on the most democratic franchise that the world has ever seen must be trying—I do not care to use harsh terms, but he certainly cannot be very sincere in his denunciation. Honorable gentlemen who are so ready to denounce what they call the conservative element know perfectly well that if four, five, or half-a-dozen persons having conservative leanings get into a House of seventy-five members, it is the utmost that can be expected under such a franchise as we have. They know also that those persons cannot possibly do any harm. They cannot retard progressive legislation.

Mr. SPENCE.—If they hold the balance of power they can.

Mr. McLEAN.—At the same time our honorable friends know that honorable members opposite, who are quite as exclusive as is the most crusty conservative, are a much more dangerous body.

Mr. REID.—Hear, hear; a Masonic Lodge.

Mr. McLEAN.—But it is a safe thing to rail at a weak party, and it is probably a prudent thing to speak well of what is really a rising party. The leader of the Opposition complained bitterly of the remark I made to the effect that the Labour Party represented only a section of a class. I should be very sorry indeed to misrepresent my honorable friends in any way. I can assure them that so far as the personnel of the party is concerned no one has more respect for them than I have, or more friendly feelings towards them. But I spoke from the evidence of my own senses in this House what I believed then, and what I still believe, to be literally and absolutely true.

Mr. SPENCE.—How could we get here without being elected in the same way as other honorable members?

Mr. McLEAN.—I do not mean to say that persons of no other class vote for my honorable friends opposite. I know perfectly well that they do. But when my honorable friends enter this House what consideration do they show those other persons who vote for them? Whom do they represent outside? Trade unionists? They certainly do not represent the free labourers.

Mr. KING O'MALLEY.—We do.

Mr. McLEAN.—This is most extraordinary.

Mr. SPENCE.—We desire fair play for everybody.

Mr. McLEAN.—And yet my honorable friends support legislation which would rob the free labourer of his means of living.

Mr. WEBSTER.—That is not correct.

Mr. McLEAN.—They do more. They abuse them in language which I hardly like to repeat. Such terms as "scab," "blackleg," and "members of the criminal classes," are the epithets that are hurled by members of the Labour Party at free labourers.

Mr. HUME COOK.—The free-traders have called the protectionists robbers?

Mr. MCCAY.—What did the honorable member call the Labour Party?

Mr. SPEAKER.—Order! I am sorry to have to mention the name of the Minister of Defence, but this is the second time he has offended. I must ask that these interjections across the Chamber shall be absolutely repressed.

Mr. McLEAN.—With the exception of a few days given to the consideration of the Seat of Government Bill, the Labour Government while in office devoted practically the whole of their time to the consideration of the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill. I was a constant attendant in the House, and I never heard a member of that party advocate any provision from the employers stand-point.

Mr. SPENCE.—There was no need for that. They had plenty of friends to do that for them.

Mr. McLEAN.—Honorable members opposite cannot claim to represent them. They cannot claim to represent the free labourers. I should, therefore, like to know whom my honorable friends opposite represent outside trade unionists?

Mr. SPENCE.—We are prepared to give everybody fair play, and that should be all that is needed.

Mr. McLEAN.—I admit that they represent trade unionists well. They are certainly true to their pledges to those people. I have never known them desert trade unionists on any occasion whatever. I still say, judging from all that I have seen, that whoever may support them at the elections, when they come into this House honorable members of the Labour Party represent only one section of the workers, and that is the trade unionists. During this debate we have heard a good deal about Socialism. I have been a little exercised about my honorable friends' eagerness to deny that they sympathize with Socialism.

Mr. KING O'MALLEY.—Nobody here denies it. I am a Socialist from my toes to my nose.

Mr. McLEAN.—What is a Socialist? All authorities I have read on the subject assert that the ultimate end of Socialism is the nationalization of land, of capital, and of industries. I think my honorable friends opposite will admit that.

Mr. WEBSTER.—They will admit anything.

Mr. McLEAN.—It is on that point that I join issue with them. As for their present milk-and-water programme, there is no great harm in it. I am sure I should have been quite willing to have let my friends opposite remain in possession of the Treasury bench while dealing with their milk-and-water legislation. I do not know that I should have been wise in doing so, because when we know that men are travelling on a dangerous road to a goal that we know would be destructive to the best interests of the country, the sooner their progress is arrested the better it will be for all concerned.

Mr. THOMAS.—That is why we have proposed a motion of want of confidence in honorable gentlemen opposite.

Mr. McLEAN.—When the honorable member for Darling, whom we all respect, beamed on us the other day for five solid hours, he devoted his time to teaching us the beauties of Socialism, and the great attractions and advantages of State control. The honorable member even went so far as to tell us that in regard to the care of children the mother is not in it with the State.

Mr. SPENCE.—I did not. I merely quoted facts.

Mr. McLEAN.—My honorable friend told us that children that were farmed out by the State were infinitely better cared for than those under the care of any mother.

Mr. SPENCE.—I did not. I said that in South Australia the record of babies farmed out is a favorable one. That is merely a fact which can be ascertained by any honorable member.

Mr. McLEAN.—My honorable friend went on to point out the beauties and advantages of land nationalization. He told us that when the State secured possession of the land, it would have so much money coming in from it that the Government could remit taxation in every direction, and could run railways free for the convenience of the people. But the honorable member never once told us how the State is to get

possession of the land. Surely there are only two ways by which the State can get possession of the land—by purchase or by confiscation? The honorable member for Darling would not, I believe, advocate confiscation. I am only saying that there are two ways of obtaining possession.

Mr. SPENCE.—I did not advocate either.

Mr. McLEAN.—I understand from my honorable friends opposite that they have no sympathy with the confiscation of private property. Is not that so? Well, then, my honorable friends must intend to buy the land. Am I right there?

Mr. REID.—Tax it first.

Mr. McLEAN.—That shows the unfortunate position of gentlemen who have no knowledge whatever of business matters. It looks splendid—most attractive. But let us come closer to the question. In order to buy the land you must, in the first place, borrow the money to buy it with.

Mr. SPENCE. — It is unnecessary to do that.

Mr. McLEAN.—Take the case of Victoria. Victoria has, I think — speaking from memory — 24,000,000 or 25,000,000 acres of alienated land. If, leaving out city land, we put the value down at, say £4 per acre—that is, I think, a moderate estimate of the value—we should have, in the first place, to borrow about £100,000,000 to buy out the Victorian privately-owned land. How is the value of land ascertained? The real value of land is the capitalization of its net income, computed at the current rate of interest. That is the rental value of land, the tenant paying all local taxes. The rental value of land should represent the annual interest. Therefore the rent that my honorable friends would receive—even if they got the highest rent that the most grasping private land-owner could get, and tenants will not give more than the interest represented by the profits from the land—

Mr. SPENCE.—Why, then, did the honorable gentleman advocate compulsory land resumption?

Mr. McLEAN. — I advocated a very different kind of land resumption. I will tell my honorable friend later what I advocated, but I will deal with this question first. There would be no money left from the rents to go to the State. But the State would have to provide for the interest connected with it. The State would also have to provide the enormous expenditure involved in supervision—the supervision that is at present exercised by the individual

land-owner, and that would amount to an enormous sum. What then becomes of my honorable friends' millions that are to be rolling in, and which will enable them to abolish the freights on the railways? Another phase of this question of State-owned land is this: Every one who understands the question knows that land that has been cultivated by a tenant, unless it is cultivated under the most stringent conditions and the most careful supervision, will, in the course of a few years, be exhausted. It is absolutely necessary to give back to the land the properties that are extracted from it by cultivation. We can imagine therefore the amount of supervision that would be necessary on the part of the State in order to keep the land from being impoverished or exhausted by the tenants.

Mr. BATCHELOR.—Is this part of the Government policy?

Mr. McLEAN.—It is part of my honorable friends' policy, and I am showing what they are working towards and what constitutes a very serious menace to the future prospect of Australia if they become strong enough to govern.

Mr. SPENCE.—Yet the honorable gentleman supported it himself?

Mr. McLEAN.—I will tell my honorable friend what I supported. I supported the purchase of land for the purpose of dividing it into small holdings and planting a peasant proprietary on the soil, and I looked to the purchasers being able to pay for that land by the labour that they put into it each year. My anticipations in that respect have been thoroughly justified by the experiments we have made. I believe that it is a sound policy to plant an industrious yeomanry on the soil.

Mr. WEBSTER.—That is our policy.

Mr. McLEAN.—No. My honorable friend's policy is that of the tenant and the landlord, the State being the landlord, and the people who work the land the tenants, who are personally interested in taking all they can extract, and giving back as little as possible in return.

Mr. WEBSTER.—The honorable gentleman's policy is that of the mortgagee and the borrower.

Mr. McLEAN.—The policy of closer settlement is, I believe, a sound and healthy one. I should like to see all the good productive land of Australia in the hands of small holders, who would have a personal interest in preserving it from impoverishment and exhaustion. These men would be the best colonists we could have. They

would have a vested interest in the country, and would do nothing to endanger its welfare or progress.

Mr. SPENCE.—The honorable gentleman is on the same platform as we are.

Mr. McLEAN.—When the leader of the Opposition was twitting the Government with its intention to confer with the States Governments during the recess, he told us, in a high-handed manner, that he would not treat with the States Governments, but would appoint a High Commissioner for the Commonwealth straight away, and trust to public opinion compelling them to transfer to him the work which the Agents-General are now performing.

Mr. WEBSTER.—Where did he say that?

Mr. McLEAN.—He used words to that effect.

Mr. WEBSTER.—Let the honorable gentleman quote his words.

Mr. McLEAN.—How can I quote the exact words? My honorable friend will find the words in *Hansard*, and the honorable member for Bland will not deny that he used them. He is too honorable and straightforward to deny what he said.

Mr. THOMAS.—No one would care to deny what he said; we only ask the honorable gentleman to quote his words.

Mr. McLEAN.—Those are his words, as nearly as I can remember them.

Mr. THOMAS.—As nearly!

Mr. McLEAN.—He said that he would appoint a High Commissioner during the present session, and he added that public opinion would compel the States Governments to come into line at once.

Mr. SPENCE.—That is, those who refused to come in by negotiation.

Mr. McLEAN.—Negotiating with a pistol held at their heads.

Mr. SPENCE.—Hear, hear; a good way too, sometimes.

Mr. McLEAN.—That statement showed a want of business tact and diplomatic skill which, in my judgment, would utterly unfit any person holding those opinions for the leadership of the Government of the Commonwealth.

Mr. FISHER.—I think that the honorable gentleman is doing the leader of the Opposition an injustice. What he said was that the appointment of a High Commissioner was necessary, and, no doubt, the States would see to their own affairs.

Mr. McLEAN.—The leader of the Opposition said that public opinion would compel the States to come into line. I distinctly remember him using those words.

Mr. SPENCE.—That was in answer to an interjection.

Mr. McLEAN.—That was dealing with the States Governments, who have rights under the Constitution, in precisely the same way that the honorable gentleman tried to deal with the House when he held out a threat if we did not eat our own words and reverse our vote he would go out of office.

Mr. WEBSTER.—He said that if the Opposition did not give his Government time to discuss the question he would go out of office.

Mr. McLEAN.—The honorable member can give his own version. The leader of the Opposition ridiculed our idea of conferring with the States Governments with a view to have a uniform system of old-age pensions for the Commonwealth in place of the systems now in operation in New South Wales and Victoria. He told us that he would pass an Old-Age Pensions Bill, irrespective of the views of the States. Is not that a threat?

Mr. THOMAS.—He said he would establish old-age pensions whether the States would agree or not.

Mr. McLEAN.—What sort of a position should we be in to negotiate with the States Governments if we told them beforehand, "We are going to negotiate with you, but unless you do exactly as we tell you we shall proceed without you?"

Mr. THOMAS.—He did not say any such thing.

Mr. McLEAN.—That is the inevitable inference to be drawn.

Mr. THOMAS.—That is not correct, and the honorable gentleman knows it is not. He is most unfair, and I am surprised at him.

Mr. McLEAN.—What construction would any one put on the honorable gentleman's statement, but that he would proceed with an Old-Age Pensions Bill whether the States would agree to his proposal or not?

Mr. THOMAS.—Will this Government give us old-age pensions?

Mr. McLEAN. — When the honorable member rises he can speak about the Government. I am speaking about the leader of the Opposition.

Mr. FRAZER.—We will admit that much.

Mr. McLEAN.—I am glad that my honorable friend admits it.

Mr. FRAZER.—Only that much.

Mr. McLEAN.—Whenever we spoke of our honorable friends opposite as being under the domination of outside organiza-

tions, we were invariably met with a contradiction from their side. We were told that they were absolutely independent of outside organizations. When we mentioned that the minority must bow to the decision of the majority in caucus, that was denied, in spite of the fact that we had before us the pledge that every member of the party has to sign before he goes up for election. When speaking to their masters outside —

Mr. THOMAS.—Are not the people outside the honorable gentleman's masters as well as ours?

Mr. McLEAN.—Not in the same sense. We are not the bondsmen of certain organizations outside. What did the leader of the Opposition say on Sunday night, when he addressed the audience that assembled in the Queen's Hall, Melbourne?—

It was true the labour Members of Parliament were the result of organizations, were governed by the rules of organizations, worked by a platform prepared by organizations, and had to abide by decisions in caucus.

That is all we ever asserted about the Labour Party.

Mr. TUDOR.—No.

Mr. McLEAN.—I never heard any one go further than that.

Mr. THOMAS.—Nonsense.

Mr. McLEAN. — I do not see how it would be possible for any one to go further, because the honorable member for Bland admits that the Labour Party are the creation of these organizations, are governed by their rules, and are compelled to abide by the decision of a majority in caucus—

Mr. THOMAS.—On the platform.

Mr. McLEAN.—On matters affecting the platform, which is a very much wider thing.

Mr. WEBSTER.—Honorable members on the other side are in the same fix.

Mr. McLEAN.—If we were all in the same fix, I could tell the honorable member how the House would be situated at the present time. If we had a caucus, and the majority could compel the minority to sit with them, speak with them, and vote with them, the honorable and learned member for Indi and his friends would be here, in their proper place, supporting us.

Mr. MAUGER. — The caucus decided against the honorable gentleman, and he knows that it did.

Mr. McLEAN.—My honorable friends opposite admit that the members on this side constitute a majority of the Protectionist Party.

Mr. ISAACS.—If we had all kept our pledges, the honorable gentleman would be still on this side of the House.

Mr. McLEAN.—I do not know whom my honorable and learned friend means by "we."

Mr. MAUGER.—The majority of the caucus, and the honorable member knows it.

Mr. McLEAN.—I did not accuse the honorable and learned member for Indi of breaking his pledges.

Mr. KENNEDY.—Were we not free to vote as we thought fit?

Mr. SPEAKER.—The honorable members for Moira and Echuca, and I think the Prime Minister, though the Minister of Trade and Customs being in front of him I could not hear distinctly, have been guilty of an offence to which I have drawn attention two or three times, that is, of conversing across the chamber. I would also remind the honorable and learned member for Indi, and the honorable member for Melbourne Ports, that they will both have an opportunity to speak later on, and therefore I hope that they will not continue their interjections.

Mr. McLEAN.—All the members now sitting in the Opposition corner should be supporting the Government with voice and vote, and would then be doing a much wiser thing for themselves and their country than they are now doing. I wish to say in conclusion—because the hour is late, and I have spoken longer than I intended—that it is the earnest desire of this Government, and all our actions will be devoted to that end, to make Australia a land worth living in, and not a place to be avoided. We believe that the best way to do that will be to stimulate and to encourage primary production and industrial enterprise by every legitimate means in our power.

Mr. ISAACS.—That is our platform.

Mr. McLEAN.—The honorable and learned member and those with him have given that up with their "a" and "b" provisions. We make no such surrender. We shall endeavour to secure to every man and woman in the Commonwealth the legitimate reward of their honest toil.

Mr. SPENCE.—By what means?

Mr. McLEAN.—By the means which we have announced in our platform, and by other legislation on the same lines. In the true spirit of the Constitution, which provides that every man and woman in the Commonwealth shall have an equal voice in framing the law, we shall endeavour to make them equal before the law.

Mr. FRAZER.—When speaking to the motion now before the House, I said—

The honorable member for Gippsland may have stated on the hustings his belief in woman's franchise; but, although he was Premier of Victoria for a considerable time, he did not introduce a Bill to give effect to that belief.

I was led to make that statement because of my knowledge that the women of this State are not enfranchised under the Victorian law, and the Minister did not correct me at the time.

Mr. McLEAN.—Yes, I did.

Mr. FRAZER.—The honorable gentleman has since repudiated the charge, and on looking through the records of the Victorian Parliament when he was in office, I have ascertained that he introduced a Bill, and then a second Bill, providing for the submission of the question to a referendum of the people. I wish, therefore, to unreservedly withdraw my former statement, and to ask the Minister and the House to accept my assurance that when I made it I believed it to be correct.

Mr. McLEAN.—Hear, hear. That is manly.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE (Hume).—Before asking for an adjournment of the debate, I think it right, since certain statements have been made by the Minister of Trade and Customs, to say a word or two on a subject which I regret has been brought before the House. I refer to the divulgence of certain proceedings which took place in a caucus of the Protectionist Party, under the seal of confidence.

Mr. McLEAN.—Who violated the confidence?

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—The Minister: and he has made a statement which, I regret to say, is not in accordance with what took place. He said that a majority of those present were in favour of a longer extension of the fiscal truce than was proposed in the memorandum submitted by the then leader of the party; but the only member whom I heard say a word in reference to the matter was the honorable and learned member for Bendigo.

Mr. McLEAN.—I heard many honorable members express that opinion.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Two or three others may have done so. I did not hear them, and no vote was taken on the question.

Mr. McLEAN.—The honorable member was himself in favour of extending the time.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I was absolutely against it.

Mr. McLEAN.—I do not say at the caucus, but when addressing the electors at Albany.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—I am speaking of what took place at the caucus. I shall have something else to say about what has been alleged, in reference to my statements elsewhere. I am referring now to statements which have been made to-night in reference to the proceedings which took place at the caucus, and I wish my refutation of them to be published side by side with the statements themselves. The Minister also said that a majority of the protectionists were in favour of a coalition, and in refutation of that statement, I wish to say that there was a unanimous decision not to join under the leadership of the present Prime Minister. It was a clear understanding that, before any further steps of any kind were taken, another meeting of the party would be called; but such a meeting has never been called. I am sorry that these matters have been referred to, but as statements have been made which are quite contrary to what really took place I have felt bound to say a word or two in regard to them. I shall not proceed to-night with the remarks which I wish to make on the motion before the House, because they will take some little time, and I think that I am justified in asking for an adjournment of the debate until to-morrow.

Sir JOHN QUICK.—I desire to make a personal explanation. I regret that any private conversation which took place at the meeting of the Liberal-Protectionists has been disclosed this evening; but, as the honorable member for Hume has mentioned my name, I wish to state most distinctly that I never advocated an extended term for any coalition.

Sir WILLIAM LYNE.—Whv, the honorable and learned member moved it.

Sir JOHN QUICK.—What I said was that if there was to be a coalition, it would be ridiculous to terminate it upon the eve of a general election, and that it ought to be extended over two Parliaments. Therefore the honorable member for Hume places me in a false position when he suggests that I advocated an extended term for a coalition. The honorable member ought to know that I opposed the coalition. I drafted the following resolution:—

Resolved, That the present circumstances do not render advisable either of the proposed coalitions or alliances, and that every effort should be made to maintain the unity and integrity of the Liberal Party.

So far as I am concerned, I have endeavoured to give effect to that resolution, and I am no party to any coalition.

Debate adjourned.

ADJOURNMENT.

MOTION OF WANT OF CONFIDENCE.

Mr. REID (East Sydney—Minister of External Affairs).—I move—

That the House do now adjourn.

In the interests of the public, I must suggest that this debate should not become interminable. We have already been sitting here discussing this very simple proposition, regarding which every one has made up his mind from the first, for more than a week, and I hope that, in the interests of the public, we shall endeavour to bring the debate to a termination as soon as possible. I quite admit that every honorable member has a perfect right to express his views, and no one wishes to limit that right, but I hope we shall arrive at a decision very soon, because the present time is one of great anxiety.

Question resolved in the affirmative.

House adjourned at 10.42 p.m.

Senate.

Wednesday, 28 September, 1904.

The PRESIDENT took the chair at 2.30 p.m., and read prayers.

PACIFIC CABLE CONFERENCE.

Senator STANFORTH SMITH.—I desire to ask the leader of the Senate, without notice, if he will lay upon the table a copy of the instructions which were given to the Earl of Jersey, as the representative of the Government at the Pacific Cable Conference, to be held in London next November.

Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON.—I ask my honorable friend to give notice of the question.

SUPPLY BILL (No. 4).

PACIFIC CABLE: PUBLIC SERVICE EXAMINATIONS: POST AND TELEGRAPH EMPLOYEES.

Bill received from the House of Representatives.

Motion (by Senator Sir JOSIAH SYMON) proposed—

That the Bill be now read a first time.

Senator STANFORTH SMITH (Western Australia).—I regret that I was not able

to give the Attorney-General sufficient notice of the question which I asked just now to enable him to answer it before the Senate adjourns. The question is one of great importance, and this Parliament has a right to know what instructions were sent by the previous Government to their representative in London with regard to the Pacific Cable Conference to be held next November. I wish to correct some erroneous statements which have been circulated with regard to the Pacific Cable Company's value and usefulness. It has been stated in an influential quarter that it is a burden to Australia, and valueless to the Commonwealth. I have no hesitation in saying that a full consideration of the whole facts of the case must lead one to the conclusion that such statements cannot in any way be substantiated. From 1869 to 1902 the cabling business of Australia was absolutely in the hands of the Eastern Extension Telegraph Company. For thirty-three years that company had an absolute monopoly of all telegraphic communication to Australia, and, with a capital of a little over £1,500,000, made a profit, not altogether out of Australia, of £6,500,000. Every honorable senator must admit that that is beyond what may be called a fair trade profit, and that the company had become a great monopoly, which had to a considerable extent exploited the people of Australia for its own benefit. The cable rate which it charged was 9s. 4d. per word, including, of course, the address and the signature. That price was so extortionate that it was only possible for a wealthy company or well-to-do persons to use that means of communication. Other persons were debarred from cabling, and had to resort to the slower process of communicating by letter. In that way a very great injury was done to Australia and to commercial expansion. In every way this monopoly was proving very burdensome, expensive, and injurious to the people of Australia.

Senator PLAYFORD.—Yes; but the rate was lowered from 9s. 4d. per word before the Pacific Cable Company came into existence.

Senator STANIFORTH SMITH. — Certainly.

Senator HIGGS.—But not before the agitation took place.

Senator STANIFORTH SMITH. — I shall prove to the satisfaction of my honorable friend the reason why the rate was lowered.

Senator PLAYFORD.—Why did not the honorable senator say so? Why did he imply that the company charged 9s. 4d. per word?

Senator STANIFORTH SMITH.—If my honorable friend will only allow me to state my case, he will find that I shall do so perfectly fairly, because I know all the facts. The construction of the Pacific Cable has caused the cost of cabling to be reduced from 9s. 4d. to 3s. per word. Senator Playford has said that that statement is not correct. Before the first Conference was held in London in 1887, but subsequent to the calling of it, the Eastern Extension Telegraph Company offered to reduce the cable rate to 4s. 9d. per word, but that was done solely for the purpose of blocking the construction of the Pacific Cable. While there was no competition the Eastern Extension Telegraph Company not only insisted upon a high rate, but desired guarantees from the various States that its enormous profits should be maintained. Directly a joint proposal of various communities was broached, that another company should be started to compete with the monopoly, the Eastern Extension Telegraph Company tried to kill the movement by immediately proposing a large reduction in the rate. At the conference in London, in 1887, the Honorable Alfred Deakin made the following remarks:—

Whether the Pacific Company succeeded or not in entering upon active operations, it had already conferred a considerable benefit upon the Australasian Colonies by bringing the Eastern Extension Telegraph Company to a much more liberal frame of mind.

Mr. Deakin was a member of the Cabinet that came to an agreement with the Eastern Extension Telegraph Company, which was not ratified by the Senate on my motion. Speaking in July last year, Sir Edmund Barton said—

They maintained the higher rate whilst they had an opportunity of doing so in the absence of competition; and it is a fact which must be placed to the credit account of the Pacific Cable that undoubtedly it was the expected competition of that cable which largely led to a reduction of rates on the part of the Eastern Extension Company.

I could quote dozens of extracts from various speakers, Australians, Canadians, and others, to confirm that view. There is not the slightest doubt that the company would not have reduced its rate but for the fear of competition breaking up this monopoly, and its desire to strangle that effort in its very inception. What has that reduction meant to the people

of Australia? Excluding press and Government messages, which go at a lower rate, considerably over 2,000,000 words are transmitted annually. So that the reduction means a saving of considerably over £600,000 a year to the people of Australia, while Victoria alone benefits to the extent of £250,000. That is the benefit which Victoria and the other States have directly received as a result of the construction of the Pacific Cable.

Senator PLAYFORD.—The merchants get the advantage of the reduction, and the general public have to make it up.

Senator STANFORTH SMITH.—The merchants get the advantage of the reduction, but the development of trade and commerce benefits every individual. It benefits the merchants and stockbrokers directly, but it benefits all indirectly. The expenditure which Victoria has had to incur has been £10,000 a year in order to reap that enormous benefit of an annual saving of £250,000 to its people. A second advantage has been derived. When the Eastern Extension Telegraph Company reduced the rate from Australia to Great Britain to 3s. per word, it also had to reduce the rate from Australia to India, because the latter country is on the direct route, and situated about half way between Great Britain and Australia. Therefore the company reduced its rate from 4s. 10d. to 2s. 6d. per word. So that another result of the construction of the Pacific Cable has been a considerable reduction in the cost of cabling between Australia and Asia. A third advantage has been obtained. The Cape Cable, *via* Cocos Island, was built simply as the result of the agitation for the Pacific Cable. At the Jubilee Conference, held in London in 1887 to consider these matters, the Eastern Extension Telegraph Company, in order to kill the Pacific Cable project, made a proposal to lay a cable to Great Britain from Australia. *via* South Africa, if the people of Australia would give it an absolute monopoly for all time of cable communication with their country. That proposal was, of course, refused. Then the company made a second proposal. It said that it would lay a cable *via* South Africa if Australia would give a guarantee to the extent of £100,000 a year. That proposal was also declined. Then the company started to work immediately to construct a line *via* South Africa with the intention of killing the Pacific Cable project. That line has given us direct cable com-

munication with that continent, and is of enormous advantage to Australia. At the Hobart Conference, held in 1895, the representatives of the various Colonies agreed to guarantee the Eastern Extension Company to the extent of £227,000 a year. It must not be forgotten that the result of the construction of the Pacific Cable has been that we have done away with these guarantees and payments to the Eastern Extension Telegraph Company, and where we paid a certain sum to the Pacific Cable Company we benefit by stopping all subsidies to the other company. Another great advantage which will be appreciated by all Australians is that we now have direct communication with any other continent. With North America, containing a population of 100,000,000 English speaking people, we must have enormous trade relations in the future, seeing that it is situated in another hemisphere and its seasons are, consequently, different from ours. Our trade relations in the future will be enormously greater with North America, with its 100,000,000 people, than with South Africa, with its 3,000,000 or 4,000,000 of white people and coloured races. What are these meagre polyglot populations, compared with the enormous populations in North America? That is another advantage which has accrued from the construction of the Pacific Cable, completing a direct chain of cable communication between Australia and every continent on the planet. If I might summarize the advantages, I would say that the people of Australia have been saved the annual expense of £600,000 as a result of reduced cable charges, that the rate to Asia from Australia has been reduced from 4s. 10d. to 2s. 6d. per word, that we have direct communication with the continent of Africa, that we have wiped out the large subsidies and the large guarantees that we gave to the old company, that we have direct communication with the 100,000,000 people of North America, and that our trading relations with those people will increase enormously in the future. These are some of the direct advantages which we have gained from the Pacific Cable, which has been stated to be a burden to the Commonwealth, and absolutely useless. Three States are bearing the whole burden of any deficiency in the working of that cable, viz., Queensland, New South Wales, and Victoria, and as Australia's share of the loss was about £30,000 last

year, each State had to provide a third of that sum. The action of New South Wales in allowing the Eastern Extension Telegraph Company unfair trading competition with the Pacific Cable Company two or three weeks after it had signed an agreement to construct the Pacific Cable, and guarantee any loss thereon, was most extraordinary. New South Wales was one of the guarantors to the Pacific Cable Company against any loss which might be incurred; but in spite of that fact, it allowed to the Eastern Extension Telegraph Company unfair privileges, which have the effect of decreasing the profits of the Pacific Cable Company, and necessitating the provision of a considerable sum to make up the deficiency. Whereas they got no benefit whatever from a monetary point of view from the Eastern Extension Company. If Victoria desired to do so, she could more than make up the loss that accrues as her share in the deficiency on the Pacific Cable. She could do that in connexion with the terminal and transit rates. The terminal and transit rates charged on cables sent both by the Pacific and Eastern Extension lines, are 5d. per word. But the division is different in each case. If a cable is sent from Victoria *via* the Eastern Extension Company, Victoria gets 1d. per word of that terminal rate, and South Australia gets 4d. per word. If a cable is sent from New South Wales that State gets 1d. per word, and South Australia gets 4d. Then cables sent from Broken Hill do not come through Victoria. But, with regard to the Pacific Cable, the terminal rates are divided between each State through which the message comes. If a cable is sent from Victoria *via* the Pacific Cable, the fivepenny terminal rate is divided equally between Victoria, New South Wales, and Queensland. Therefore, for every word that is sent from Victoria *via* the Pacific Cable, the revenue of Victoria benefits to the extent of practically $\frac{2}{3}$ d. per word. New South Wales benefits to the extent of $\frac{2}{3}$ d. on every message sent *via* the Pacific Cable because she divides the 5d. equally with Queensland. On the other hand, New South Wales receives only 1d. per word on every cable sent *via* South Australia. Therefore, if the eastern States liked to send their cables—or a fair proportion of them, and that is all I ask for—*via* the Pacific Cable, they would be able, not only largely to increase their internal revenue, but that plan would more than compensate for the loss they have to

Senator Staniforth Smith.

make up on the Pacific Cable. Victoria alone would benefit to the extent of more than double what she is paying now to make up the deficiency. She would not only increase her internal revenue, but those extra messages going *via* the Pacific Cable would turn an annual deficit into an annual surplus, and make the Pacific Cable pay directly it got a fair proportion of the Australian cable business. It seems to me that the Pacific Cable has been very unfairly treated by the people of Australia, and by some of our Legislatures. I have no personal axe to grind in this matter. Western Australia does not benefit and does not lose by the Pacific Cable. She has nothing to pay in connexion with the deficiency, and she does not send £100 worth of cables across the Pacific line. The Western Australian cables go by the Eastern Extension line, which lands at Broome and Fremantle. Western Australia gets no revenue from terminal rates from the eastern States, because no cables are sent *via* those lines, and she suffers no loss if the Pacific Cable does not pay even working expenses. It has been suggested that we should have what is called a joint purse; that all the revenue from the four cable lines—three belonging to the Eastern Company and the Pacific line—should be put into a joint pool. That is to say, it is suggested that we should arrange a division of the total revenue. It has also been suggested that the Pacific Cable should be leased to the Eastern Extension Company—that is, that Australia should once more be placed in the octopus grasp of a company which would have an absolute monopoly of the cabling business of Australia.

Senator HIGGS.—That is the brilliant idea of the Age.

Senator STANIFORTH SMITH.—That would mean deliberately returning to the thralldom of the monopoly under which we have been suffering for thirty-three years, and which was never broken until a new cable began to compete for business. It would not only be unfair to our partners, who in good faith have joined with us in building this British-owned cable line—unfair to New Zealand, Canada, and Great Britain—but if we look into the matter, we shall see that it would be a most unbusinesslike proceeding from an Australian point of view. It is not difficult to insure a fair division of the traffic of Australia for the Eastern Extension Company's lines, and the Pacific Cable. I do

COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA.

I N D E X

TO

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PART I.

SPEECHES.

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Int., 7441; *m.s.o.*, 7465; order of leave, 7465; Bill read a first time, 7470; second reading moved and debated, 8111; Bill read a second time and reported, 8122; third reading moved and debated, 8122; motion to adjourn debate moved and debated, 8147; withdrawn, 8155; Bill read a third time, 8156

Senate:

Bill received from House of Representatives and first reading moved, 8090; de-

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bated, 8169; Bill read a first time, 8186; *m.s.o.* and second reading moved, 8186; debated, 8194, 8240; Bill read a second time, 8253; considered in Committee, 8253, 8362; report adopted; Bill read a third time, 8404; Royal assent, 8588

APPROPRIATION (WORKS AND BUILDINGS) BILL.

House of Representatives:

Int., 7441; *m.s.o.*, 7465; order of leave, Bill read a first and second time, and considered in Committee, 7465; report adopted, and Bill read a third time, 7470; assent reported, 7520

Senate:

Bill received from House of Representatives, read a first time, and *m.s.o.*, 7474; second reading moved, 7477; Bill read a second time, and considered in Committee, 7479; report adopted, and Bill read a third time, 7488; assent reported, 7573

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House of Representatives:

Bill read a first time, 14; second reading moved, 762; debated, 881, 1006; Bill read a second time, 1037; considered in Committee, 1037, 1043, 1126, 1185, 1676, 1681, 1785, 1914, 1985, 2020, 2185, 2251, 2314, 2384, 2428, 2469, 2539, 2614, 2659, 2697, 2801, 2899, 2959, 3063, 3073, 3173, 3294, 3353; reported, 3392; motion to re-commit certain clauses, 4029; amendment

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Senate:

Bill received from House of Representatives and read a first time, 4580; second reading moved, 5710; debated, 5827, 5903, 6043, 6184, 6279; Bill read a second time, 6296; considered in Committee, 6296, 6327, 6439, 6532, 6651, 6804, 6849, 6976, 7094, 7160; report adopted, 7172; third reading moved and debated, 7257; Bill read a third time, 7282; message from House of Representatives, *m.s.o. and cons. mes.*, 8036; resolutions reported and adoption of report moved and debated, 8087; report adopted, 8090; Royal assent, 8588

DEFENCE BILL, 1904.

House of Representatives:

Bill presented and read a first time, 6848; second reading moved, 7489; debated, 7490; Bill read a second time and considered in Committee, 7501; reported and *m.s.o.*, 7509; report adopted and third reading moved, 7510; Bill read a third time, 7520; returned from Senate with amendments, 8017; amendments agreed to, 8018; assent reported, 8306

Senate:

Bill received from House of Representatives and read a first time, and *m.s.o.*, 7601; second reading moved, 7602; debated, 7695; Bill read a second time, 7715; considered in Committee, 7715, 7897; *m.s.o.*, report adopted, and Bill read a third time, 7911; assent reported, 8230

EVIDENCE BILL.

Senate:

Order of leave, and Bill read a first time, 4083; second reading moved, 4338; Bill read a second time, and considered in committee, 4339

FRAUDULENT MARKS ON MERCHANDISE BILL.

Senate:

Order of leave, and Bill read a first time, 942; order of day for second reading discharged, 1246

FRAUDULENT TRADE MARKS BILL.

Senate:

Order of leave, and Bill read a first time, 1468; second reading moved, 2097; debated, 2101, 2749; Bill read a second time, 2768; considered in Committee,

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2768, 2874; reported, 2882; *ad. rep.* moved, 3158; *recom.*, 3161, 3242, 3244; reported and report adopted, 3244; third reading moved, 3530; motion withdrawn, 3531; Bill recommitted, 3532, 3654; reported and report adopted, 3655; Bill read a third time, 3990

House of Representatives:

Bill received from Senate and read a first time, 4083; second reading moved, 8226; debated, 8227; Bill read a second time, and considered in Committee, 8229

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House of Representatives:

Message, 3569; motion for appropriation, 3575; agreed to, and resolution reported and adopted, 3576; *m.s.o.*, and order of leave, 3576; Bill presented and passed through all its stages, 3596; assent reported, 3753

Senate:

Bill received from House of Representatives, and *m.s.o.*, 3553; Bill read a first time, 3563; second reading moved and debated, 3563; Bill read a second time and considered in Committee, 3565; reported, report adopted, and Bill read a third time, 3566; assent reported, 3990

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House of Representatives:

Order of leave, and Bill read a first time, 1006

KALGOORLIE TO PORT AUGUSTA RAILWAY SURVEY BILL.

House of Representatives:

Message, 1042; motion for appropriation moved and debated, 1123, 2239, 4542, 4632; agreed to, 4676; resolution reported and adopted, order of leave, and Bill read a first time, 4676; second reading moved and debated, 5593; Bill read a second time, 5629; considered in Committee, 5629, 7559; report adopted and Bill read a third time, 7571

Senate:

Bill received from House of Representatives and read a first time, 7601; second reading moved, 8414; debated, 8419; debate adjourned, 8458; motion for resumption of debate moved, 8458; debated, 8459; agreed to, 8469; debate on second reading resumed, 8570; interrupted by prorogation, 8587

LIFE ASSURANCE COMPANIES BILL.

House of Representatives:

Order of leave, 6211; Bill read a first time, 6381; second reading moved, 7124; debated, 7127; Bill read a second time, 7135; considered in Committee, 7135, 8330; recommitted, reported, report adopted, and Bill read a third time, 8333

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Senate:

Bill received from House of Representatives and read a first time, 8306

MANUFACTURES ENCOURAGEMENT BILL.

House of Representatives:

Order of leave and Bill read a first time, 762; message, 791; motion for appropriation agreed to, and resolution reported and adopted, 821; second reading moved, 810; debated, 5676, 5757, 5874, 5938, 8201; Bill read a second time and considered in Committee, 8217

NAVIGATION AND SHIPPING BILL.

Senate:

Bill read a first time, 649; second reading moved, 836; debated, 859, 960; order of day discharged, 1246

PARLIAMENTARY EVIDENCE BILL.

Senate:

Order of leave, and Bill read a first time, 2081; second reading moved, 5795; debated, 5797; amendment to refer Bill to Standing Orders Committee, 5801; amendment withdrawn, 5804; Bill read a second time and referred to Standing Orders Committee, 5805; report of Standing Orders Committee presented and ordered to be printed, 7306

PAPUA (BRITISH NEW GUINEA) BILL.

House of Representatives:

Message, 2799; motion for appropriation agreed to, and resolution reported and adopted, order of leave and Bill read a first time, 3173; second reading moved, 4676; Bill read a second time and considered in Committee, 4677, 5702, 6505, 7329, 7536; report adopted and Bill read a third time, 7559; Bill returned from Senate, with amendments, 8555; *cons. amds.*, 8599

Senate:

Bill received from House of Representatives, read a first time, and *m.s.o.*, 7601; second reading moved, 7612; debated, 7773; Bill read a second time, 7792; considered in Committee, 7792, 7911, 8020, 8405; reconsidered, and passed through its remaining stages, 8409

SEA-CARRIAGE OF GOODS BILL.

Senate:

Order of leave, 6976; Bill read a first time, 7069; second reading moved, 7286; debated, 7291; Bill read a second time, 7306; considered in Committee, 7306, 7390; reported, 7407; report adopted, 7488; third reading moved and debated, 7574; Bill read a third time, 7593; returned from House of Representatives with amendments, 8306; *cons. amds.*, 8409; message from House of Representatives, 8561; Royal assent, 8588

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House of Representatives:

Bill received from Senate, and read a first time, 7664; second reading moved, 8156; debated, 8160, 8307; Bill read a second time and considered in Committee, 8320; reported, 8330; recommitted, 8354; report adopted and Bill read a third time, 8357; message from Senate considered, 8553

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Senate:

Order of leave, and Bill read a first time, 1293; second reading moved, 1468; debated, 1477 (amendment to lay aside Bill "for the present," 1517; ruled out of order, 1522), 1600, 1737; amendment, that Bill be read a second time "this day six months," 1743; amendment negatived, and Bill read a second time, 1782; considered in Committee, 1782, 1859, 1952; reported, and standing orders suspended, 1983; motion to adopt report, 2081; amendment to recommit, 2082; amendment negatived and report adopted, 2097; Bill read a third time, 2173; returned from House of Representatives with amendments, and amendments considered, 4018; assent reported, 4327

House of Representatives:

Bill received from Senate and read a first time, 2239; second reading moved, 3398; amendment to secure alteration of Constitution, 3409, 3471; amendment negatived, and Bill read a second time, 3478; motion as to method of selection and districts, 3478, 3597; Bill considered in Committee, 3614, 3689, 3740, 3754, 3812, 3896 (ballot, 3936), 3936; reported, 3980; report adopted, *m.s.o.*, and Bill read a third time, 4029; assent reported, 4265

SUPPLEMENTARY APPROPRIATION BILL, 1903-4.

House of Representatives:

Bill read a first and second time, 2171; considered in Committee, 2171; report adopted and Bill read a third time, 2172; assent reported, 2305

Senate:

Bill received from House of Representatives, standing orders suspended, and Bill read a first time, 2173; second reading moved, 2173; debated, Bill read a second time, and considered in Committee, 2174; report adopted, and Bill read a third time, 2182; assent reported, 2749

SUPPLEMENTARY APPROPRIATION (WORKS AND BUILDINGS) BILL 1903-4.

House of Representatives:

Bill passed through all its assent reported, 2305

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Senate:

Bill received from House of Representatives, read a first and second time, and considered in Committee, 2182; report adopted, and Bill read a third time, 2183; assent reported, 2749

SUPPLY BILL (No. 1).

House of Representatives:

Message, 2885; motion for appropriation agreed to, 2886; resolution reported and adopted, *m.s.o.*, order of leave, Bill read a first and second time and committed *pro forma*, 2887; considered in Committee, 2896; Bill reported and passed through its remaining stages, 2897; assent reported, 2897

Senate:

Bill received from House of Representatives and read a first time, 2873; *m.s.o.*, Bill read a second time, and considered in Committee, 2873; report adopted, and Bill read a third time, 2874; assent reported, 3129

SUPPLY BILL (No. 2).

House of Representatives:

Message, 3569; motion for appropriation agreed to, 3574; resolution reported and adopted, *m.s.o.*, order of leave, Bill read a first and second time, and considered in Committee, 3576; Bill reported and passed through its remaining stages, 3596; assent reported, 3753

Senate:

Bill received from House of Representatives and read a first time, 3553; standing orders suspended, 3553; Bill read a second time and considered in Committee, 3556; report adopted, and third reading moved, 3562; Bill read a third time, 3563; assent reported, 3990

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House of Representatives:

Message and motion for appropriation agreed to, 4266; resolution reported and adopted, standing orders suspended, order of leave, Bill read a first time, and second reading moved, 4269; Bill read a second time and passed through its remaining stages, 4282; assent reported, 4340

Senate:

Bill received from House of Representatives, and first reading moved, and debated, 4285; Bill read a first time, standing orders suspended, and second reading moved, 4310; Bill read a second time, and considered in Committee, 4311; report adopted, and Bill read a third time, 4327; assent reported, 4327

SUPPLY BILL (No. 4).

House of Representatives:

Message and motion for appropriation agreed to, 4018; resolution reported and adopted, and standing orders suspended,

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Senate:

Bill received from House of Representatives, and first reading moved, and debated, 4973; Bill read a first time, and passed through its remaining stages, 4986; assent reported, 5450

SUPPLY BILL (No. 5).

House of Representatives:

Int., 5971; Bill presented and passed through all its stages, 5972; assent reported, 6381

Senate:

Bill received from House of Representatives, standing orders suspended, and first reading moved and debated, 6033; Bill read a first and second time and passed through its remaining stages, 6043; assent reported, 6325

TRADE MARKS BILL.

Senate:

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House of Representatives:

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When two distinct issues are involved in a complicated motion, they may be discussed separately, by unanimous consent, but not otherwise, 3484-5

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On a no-confidence motion the conduct of Ministers may fairly be discussed. But the conduct of Ministerial supporters may only be discussed in so far as they have spoken during the debate, and expressed views one way or the other, 5539

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Members should not converse in loud tones, but should give their attention to the speaker, 1300, 2372, 4691

Members should either refrain from conversing with each other, or converse in such a tone that the speaker will not be interrupted, 3036

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Interjections are disorderly, but conversations across the Chamber are grossly disorderly, 3879, 4195, 4423, 4445, 4771, 4951, 4972, 5045, 5063, 5312, 5514, 5938

A member ought to remove his hat before he interjects, 3447

Members should listen to the speaker, without striving by interjection to force him to express their views instead of his own, 3726, 5107

It is not permissible for a member to read an extract during the speech of another member, 4461

In his speech a member should not make remarks which almost demand an answer by another member, 5050, 5439

Members who distinctly and repeatedly disobey the Chair will have to be named, 4197, 4809, 4951, 7727

If members do not make a more dignified use of the liberties they enjoy, the extreme course of naming them within the meaning of the Standing Orders will be adopted, and the procedure will be followed by suspension for such term as the House may direct, 5063

After the conclusion of a debate in which of necessity special liberty was allowed to members, proper decorum should be observed, and the rules of the House against interruptions complied with, 5580

Interjections which are short and of rare occurrence are not objected to, but those which are so frequently made and so long as to interrupt a speaker cannot be allowed, 5780

Not only is it disorderly to interrupt by interjection, but it is equally disorderly to interrupt by loud laughter, 6569

Exchanges across the Chamber which deal purely with personal matters, and not with the question before the Chair, are entirely out of order, 7726

Language, Parliamentary.—It is not out of order to say that the issue in New South Wales, at the general elections, was a "dirty issue," 86; or that the remarks of a member have sometimes been "very rude," 3464; or that a statement made to a member is untrue, 3510, 5062; or that a statement in a newspaper is untrue, 4416; or that a member is monetarily interested in the Denton Hat Mills, 5378; that the intention of members generally is to waste time, 6591; or that the interjections of a member are a source of annoyance, 7727

Unless the remarks of a member are unparliamentary, they cannot be ruled out of order, on the ground that they are contrary to good taste, 6502

Language, Unparliamentary.—It is not in order to describe the conduct of a member as cowardly, 86; or buffoonery, 3347; or to speak of "his wiles, his turns, his tricks, his subterfuges, and his appeals for votes," 4223

to say a member's statement is untrue, 93, 517, 599, 668, 1343, 1661, 1664, 3439, 3510, 3738, 4186, 4221, 4224, 4231, 4255, 4409, 4733, 4829, 4961, 5062, 5116, 5219, 5285, 5430, 5573, 5583, 5850, 5946; or blackguardly, 3612; or false, 5103, 5574; or mad, 6585

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to refer to a member as a slanderer, 669; as "my republican brother," 2112; as a mountebank, 4229, or as a sand-bagger, 4262; as a political hypocrite, 4823; as half a lunatic, 5400; as "a ridiculous political ass," 5945; as a nuisance, 7431

to designate the answer to a question as an official falsehood, 1560; or an amendment as a despicable trick, 4030; or language of a member as "Fenian," 4823

to allege that a member has been trying to square twenty members, 3611; or would be open to accept a bribe, 3612; or was not sober, 5050; or is a gentleman the reverse of the highest type, 5741; or attempted to mislead the House, 5748; or that his action is an indecent shuffle, 6213

to charge the House, or any section thereof, with resorting to despicable methods, 4151

to characterize one-half of the charges of any members as being malevolent and the other half as false, 4232

to impute to a member a desire to bribe any members, 4255; or unworthy motives, 5289, 5793

to say that on the previous evening a member was "pulled down," 4261

to accuse a member of bribery, 5045; or of lying, 5575; or of wasting time, 6591

to apply to any members the term "assassination," 5247; or "asses," 5392

to say that any member of the Parliament has stolen anything, 5546

to reflect upon a member, 5741; or upon the action of the Chair, 7727

to hint at a suspicion of corruption on the part of a member, 5792-3

to cast a slur on the House, 5792

to speak of a section of the House as a servile or slavish majority, 6591

to repeat a statement, 6885

to describe a member's speech as drivel, 7428

to allege that the Government resort to contemptible and miserable tactics, 7724, or to contemptible tricks, 7725

to request a member to shut his mouth, 7726

to assert that any ruling is unfair, 8110

to charge the Prime Minister with laughing at the case of starving men, 8153

A remark must be withdrawn which is regarded as offensive, 3335, 3464; or as objectionable, 4147, 4158, 4164, 4231, 4248; 5205; or as displeasing, 4851, 5252

A remark ruled out of order must be clearly withdrawn, 93

An unparliamentary remark should be withdrawn without qualification, 1343, 5050; or argument, 3510; or remark, 5573

If a phrase used by another member is objected to by the speaker, it must be withdrawn, 1662

A remark to which the Chair cannot take exception, but which is considered by a member to reflect upon himself, should be withdrawn, 2309

An unparliamentary statement cannot be reasserted, 3510; or practically repeated in another form, 3612

Personal remarks about a member's status are not in order, 4508

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- If a member desires a statement to be withdrawn he is entitled to have his request complied with, 4509
- If a member is offended by any remark from a speaker, he has a perfect right to ask for its withdrawal, 7727
- Ministerial Statement.**—A Ministerial statement relative to a matter in Committee on a Bill cannot be made in the House without leave, 2696
- No Minister has the right to make a statement to the House without leave, 6884
- It is always open to the Prime Minister to lay a paper on the table, and to make any remarks he may desire in connexion with the motion that it be printed, except that in that regard he has no privileges which any other member does not possess, 6884-5
- A Ministerial statement relative to the Tariff Commission should be made after the questions upon notice have been disposed of, 7522
- Motions.**—A motion requires to be seconded, otherwise it cannot be debated, 336-7, 6889
- A member may intimate his desire to have a notice of motion standing in his name set down for another day, 2185
- After the mover of a motion has concluded his speech, the motion cannot be altered except by way of amendment, 1313, 2383
- A motion to refer to a Royal Commission certain clauses proposed to be inserted in a Bill before a Committee is in order, 3463
- A motion cannot be withdrawn, except by leave, 7722
- A motion cannot be moved without notice, except by leave, 8476
- Motions for Adjournment.**—A member is required to hand to the Chair a statement of the purpose for which he desires to move the adjournment of the House, 2521
- The debate on a formal motion for adjournment cannot exceed the allotted time unless the orders of the day be postponed, 3348, 3740
- A member must obtain leave before he can move the adjournment of the House to discuss a particular subject, 3726
- After the adjournment of the House is moved (at conclusion of sitting), it is not competent to move another motion, 5286
- Even though the Estimates are under consideration in Committee, a member may move the adjournment of the House to discuss a matter personal to himself, and affecting him in his representative capacity, 6080; but a convenient rule is for an attack on a member or on the House to be dealt with on a question of privilege, or in a personal explanation, 6098
- A motion to adjourn the House to an unusual day may be moved without notice by a Minister, 6298
- A member having moved the adjournment of the House cannot amend his motion, 6888
- The adjournment of the House cannot be moved by a member to debate a question which he will be at liberty to discuss the same day on the first item of the Estimates for a Department, 6887-8

RULINGS—Speaker, Mr.—continued.

- The fact that five members support a motion for adjournment is conclusive evidence of its urgency; but it is out of order when it is moved if it anticipates the discussion of a question on the notice-paper, 6888-9
- A motion for adjournment should relate to one definite question, 7206, 7212
- Orders of the Day.**—When two hours have elapsed since the meeting of the House, the orders of the day must be called on, unless otherwise determined, 6580
- In the case of a count-out in Committee of Supply, it is in order in the one motion to move first that the consideration of the business be resumed, and secondly, that a date be fixed for its resumption, 6569
- Papers.**—With general concurrence original papers may be returned, when applied for, in any case where it appears improbable that they will be further required, 2018
- Original papers which it is considered inadvisable to copy, can be placed by the Minister upon the table in the Library, 2018; but the Librarian cannot guarantee the safety of any document in a file, 2184
- There is no authority or practice warranting the distribution, as a paper of the House, of a paper prepared by a member, unless it has been laid on the table, and the Printing Committee has authorized the printing of it, 7112
- Personal Explanation.**—A member cannot make an explanation during the speech of another member, 116, 4964, 5342, 5574, 5583, even with his permission, 116, unless the unanimous consent of the House is given, 1387
- An explanation is allowed to be made at the conclusion of a member's speech, 3599, 4458, 5342; but not after the mover of the motion has replied, 5589
- A personal explanation by a member is not open for debate, 1393, 4685, 4812, 4824, 4960, 5560, 5938, and should be free from argument, 1657, 4518, 4684, 4825, 4834, 5047; and from new matter, 5048, 5052
- A member making a personal explanation cannot continue from that explanation into a speech, 4231-2
- If it is the pleasure of the House a member may make a second personal explanation, 1668
- In making a personal explanation, a member ought not to traverse, except incidentally and most briefly, any matters which another member in his speech was prevented by the Chair from continuing to discuss, 1672-3
- A member may make an explanation concerning any statement of his own; but he cannot challenge the statements of any other member, or ask that certain questions shall be answered at a later stage, 3245
- The prohibition of debate on a personal explanation precludes explanation after explanation being made, first by way of attack, and then by way of reply, 4834
- A member is only entitled to explain any remarks in respect of which he has been misunderstood or misrepresented, 4824, 4960, 5045, 5052, 5113, 5160-1, 5560
- A personal explanation may be made by a member in regard to a speech delivered outside the House by another member, who is

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- at liberty to make a rejoinder, provided that it is in the nature of a personal explanation, 4917
- A personal explanation by a member cannot be allowed as a reply to what another member has said, 5045, 5559, 5560, or to an interjection, 5052; but the House may be asked for leave to make a statement, 5052, 5161, 5216
- A member is at perfect liberty in the House to explain the circumstances under which a certain course was taken in Committee; but he cannot reflect upon the Chairman, 6884
- Petitions.*—The questions for receiving and for reading a petition are put separately, if so desired, 489
- It is for the Printing Committee to recommend whether a petition or any part of it shall be printed; a member may not move that a petition be printed unless he declares his intention to take action upon it, 489
- A petition praying the House not to pass the Conciliation and Arbitration Bill (although stating views at great length) is in order, 490
- A petition containing no prayer is informal and cannot be received, 3223
- The omission of the words "in Parliament assembled" does not invalidate a petition, 8306
- Points of Order.*—The motive of a member in the course he has taken is not a point of order, 3737
- No question of order is involved in a refusal to accept the denial of a member, 5247; or in a statement that a member is monetarily interested in the Denton Hat Mills, 5378; or in a question of good taste, 6592
- Every member has the right to raise a point of order whenever he may please; but members should abstain, as far as practicable, from taking points of order again and again and rely upon the watchfulness of the Chair, 4178
- A general discussion on a point of order is irregular, 7991
- Private Business.*—There is no standing order that when orders of the day are taken first, notices of motion shall be called on at the expiry of two hours; but, in accordance with the desire of members, the time on Thursday afternoons will be equally divided between orders of the day and notices of motion, 7423
- It is not out of order for the Prime Minister to move a motion, on notice, to give precedence to Government business, 7718
- Privilege.*—The failure of a member to elicit the opinion of the Government on any subject does not involve a question of privilege, 3034
- The misrepresentation of one member by another outside the House does not involve a question of privilege, 4917
- A member may state in such manner as he may desire, but at not too great length what the question of privilege is, or he may conclude with a motion, 4917
- Questions on notice.*—A member may hand in a notice of a question to the Clerk at any time during a sitting, 143

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- Where the question of a member has not elicited the desired information, it cannot be allowed to remain on the notice-paper unless a request to that effect be made, 2520; nor can the matter be regarded as a question of privilege, 3034
- A Minister should not discuss a question to which he is replying, 6099
- Questions without notice.*—A member in asking a question is not permitted to express an opinion or discuss the matter, 456, 2426, 2428, 2468, 2654, 2656, 3033, 7489
- A question without notice cannot be asked after the questions upon notice have been answered, 2696
- A question arising out of another question should not be asked until the latter has been answered, 3070
- A question addressed to a Minister may be answered, first, by the Prime Minister, and then by the Minister addressed. The Prime Minister, by virtue of his office, may reply to any question of policy, 6882
- Questions addressed to one Minister may be answered by another, but one private member cannot reply for another, 6882
- Questions may only be addressed to private members in respect of any business of which they have charge, 6885, 7410, 8093
- Quotations and References.*—It is not in order to refer to anything that has taken place or is pending in the Senate, 91, 2606, 3610; or to its business-paper, 8200
- to allude to the religious belief of parliamentary candidates, 221
- to refer to debates in another place, 2112
- to allude to a previous debate of the session, 3270, 3730, 4170, 4687, or to a debate that is pending, 4141, 4143, 4153, 5899, except by leave, 5216
- to quote from a letter an expression to the effect that a member's statement to the House was false, 3633
- A member is allowed, on the motion for adjournment, to refer to a previous debate for the purpose of making a personal explanation; but he is not permitted to exceed the limits of a personal explanation, 1393, 1672
- A member is not allowed on the motion for adjournment, to refer to a debate pending, 5045
- A member cannot be prevented from quoting from a State parliamentary paper an extract reflecting upon another member, 5045
- When an allusion has been made by one member to a previous debate of the session, subsequent speakers may refer to his statement, though remarks in reference to past debates, and casting reflections on the previous actions of members, are very undesirable, 6584
- The course of referring in the House to the proceedings in Committee is not a desirable one; but, as a matter of privilege or personal explanation, a member may refer to an occurrence in Committee, 6883-4
- Right of Speech.*—A member cannot discuss a motion to adjourn a debate until it is seconded, 336-7, 5894
- By leave a member may continue his speech on a subsequent day, 353, 832, 1287, 1393, 2896, 3275, 6210, 7732

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When the time allowed for the consideration of notices of motion has expired, the speaker may either ask leave to continue his speech on another occasion, or move the postponement of the orders of the day, until after its conclusion, 7732; or he may ask leave to continue his speech on the present occasion, 8108

To ask a question on the motion for adjournment is to exercise the right of speech, 1289

An inquiry by a member on a motion forms part of the debate, 8110

A member is only entitled to speak to a formal motion of adjournment for the prescribed time, 3349, 5752

Where a member was understood by the Chair to rise only for the purpose of making a personal explanation he cannot proceed to discuss the question, but must await his turn to be heard, 4231-2

After the mover of a motion has commenced his reply a member who has not spoken to the question cannot speak except by leave, 4690-1

When the mover of a motion has replied, no further speeches are allowable, 5589

Where one member moved the recommitment of certain clauses of a Bill, and another member concluded his speech on the motion by moving an amendment, and the debate being confined to the amendment until it was disposed of, the only members who cannot speak to the motion when the debate is resumed are those two, 4522

When a member asks for an adjournment of the debate, and proceeds to say that he will offer only a few remarks, he is held to have begun his speech on the question, 5859

A member cannot speak to a motion which has been withdrawn by leave, 6478

No member, whether the Prime Minister, or any other, has any right to make a statement, without the leave of the House. There must be some matter before the Chair to enable any member to speak, 6884

The mover of a motion is not enabled to answer a question by any speaker until he exercises his right of reply, 8016

The rights of the mover and seconder of a motion to adjourn a debate are not interfered with when the motion is negatived, 8551

Rulings.—A member ought either to observe the ruling of the Chair, or to move that it be disagreed with, 4247-8, 6888

Select Committees.—After a motion for appointing a Select Committee has been moved no substitution of a name may be made, except by way of amendment, 1313

Unless a Select Committee has obtained leave to report the minutes of evidence from time to time, its proceedings cannot be reported in the press, 1524

Standing Orders.—Any motion that would violate the terms of a standing order could not be accepted by the House, 685

On a motion to suspend the Standing Orders to discuss a matter of urgent necessity, the mover may proceed until the Chair should find it necessary to interpose, 4141, 4145-7

It is quite competent for the House to suspend the Standing Orders for one purpose or for more than one, 4149

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The debate on a motion to suspend the Standing Orders is restricted by standing order 119, 4155

A motion to suspend the Standing Orders may, by leave, be moved without notice, 4542, 7510

The suspension of the Standing Orders should not be moved until the necessity has arisen, 7438

Strangers.—By leave, a distinguished stranger may be invited to take a seat within the Chamber, 6088

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Section 36 of the Constitution does not prevent the Chairman of Committees from relieving the Speaker in the chair during a sitting of the House, 686

Anticipating Discussion.—On a motion for the House to adjourn to an unusual date a member may refer to the work which might otherwise be done, but he cannot discuss the business on the notice-paper, 3893

Subpoena to Clerk.—By leave of the House the Clerk or an officer of his staff may obey a subpoena from a Court to attend and produce a writ, 2466

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Anticipating Discussion.—A member cannot anticipate the discussion of a notice of motion, 6008-9, 6025, 6303, 6314-5, though an incidental reference to the subject may be made, 6016, 6143

By leave, a Minister may make a statement before the Estimates of his Department are reached, 6383

It is out of order to anticipate the discussion on a clause, 2625; or an item in the Estimates, 6429; or an amendment, 7562, 7961

Bills.—An amendment cannot be moved in a portion of the clause preceding that with which the Committee is dealing; it may be moved at a later stage, 2197

An amendment cannot be withdrawn except by leave, 2289; or if one member objects, 7350

An amendment cannot be altered by the mover if one member objects, 7540

If it is the pleasure of the Committee, a clause may be put paragraph by paragraph, 2384

If an amendment to an amendment is relevant it is in order, 2850, 2990

An amendment to omit words precludes the moving of an amendment to amend these words, 3940

The Committee on a Bill is not bound by the result of a ballot in the House as to the filling of a blank in a clause, 3947

The insertion of a new clause cannot be moved until the clauses in the Bill have been disposed of, 4677

An amendment to a proposed new clause must be disposed of before another amendment can be moved, 7350

An amendment involving the same question as a previous amendment cannot be moved in the same Committee, 7539

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Only that part of a clause which has not been agreed to is open to amendment, 7546

Once an amendment to the later part of a question is moved, the earlier part cannot be amended, 7557; except by concurrence, 8356

A proposition to limit the operation of a clause should be moved as a proviso to that clause, and not as a new clause, 7558

It is not competent for the Committee to give definitions to those parts of a Bill to which the Senate has agreed, 7985

Where an amendment of the Senate takes the form of a proviso to a clause, only the proviso is open to amendment. A proposal to add to a proviso words which travel beyond its scope, is out of order, 7989, but it may be brought in order by a decision of the Committee against the ruling of the Chair, 7989

Misprints in Bills need not be altered by motion, 8218

It is competent for a member to move any amendment to the short title of a Bill which is not contrary to the principle, 8219

It is not in order to move to amend "manufactures" by inserting the letter "r" before the letter "s"; the substitution of "manufacturers" for "manufactures" should be moved, 8219

It is not in order to alter the destination of proposed bonuses, 8220

Debate.—On an amendment to an amendment the remarks of a member should be confined to the question, 2008, 2012, 7537; except where the words proposed to be inserted in the amendment convey no meaning by themselves, 3012

When it is understood by the Chair that a member intends to conclude with an amendment which will necessitate the withdrawal of the amendment before the Committee the rule of relevancy is not enforced, 3971

A member may read a newspaper while another member is addressing the Committee, 1992

When an amendment is pending, so much of the clause as has not yet been agreed to is open for discussion, 2048

A motion as to the expediency of making an appropriation for the purposes of a Bill may be debated, 2239

On a motion to report progress a member may discuss the Bill before the Committee, 2648

The denial of a member should be accepted, without comment, 2745, 7951

The conduct of the Chief Justice of New South Wales ought not to be discussed, 2645, 2808

A member is entitled to discuss a matter which is likely to come within the scope of an amendment to an amendment, 2902

A member who has been called by the Chair may give way to another member, 2991

Ordinarily only the clause before the Chair may be discussed; but with consent a general discussion may take place on the first clause of a new part proposed to be introduced into the Bill, 3094

When the discussion on the merits of the sites proposed for the Seat of Government is concluded progress with the Bill must be reported, and a ballot then taken, 3618

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A member should not be referred to by his name, 3859, but by the name of his constituency, 7447

The front bench on the right hand of the Chair is reserved for Ministers, 3949. A member may occupy any convenient seat on any other bench, 7967

A member should not adopt the interrogative form of speech, 3969, 7188

A speaker has no right to ask categorical questions of members, 6014

A member may reply to any statements made in debate so long as he keeps within legitimate limits, 6016

The rule as to relevancy applies to an item in the Estimates, 6303, 6318-9, 6598, 6644, 6752, or to a division, 6745, 6748, 7029, 7327

On the vote for the Public Service Commissioner a member may not discuss the salaries paid to officers, save in regard to the increases for which the classification scheme provides, 6430, 6610

When the Estimates for a Department are being taken in sub-divisions, the rule of relevancy applies; but with concurrence the sub-divisions may be put as one, and a general discussion may take place, 6625

A matter cannot be discussed on a division of the Estimates which does not provide for any expenditure therefor, 6631

Although the Chair has acquiesced in an irregular discussion on the first item in the Estimates for a Department, it cannot allow irrelevant questions to be discussed, 6710, 6725, 6737, 6742, 6744, 6748.

Irrelevant discussion is not permitted on a motion to dissent from a ruling, 6749

The Chair cannot accept a motion that a member be no further heard, 6750

Continued irrelevance or tedious repetition by a member may be reported by the Chair to the Committee, 6751

Mr. Webster is guilty of tedious repetition, 6752, and on the ground of continued irrelevance and tedious repetition is directed to discontinue his speech, 6753. He may appeal to the Committee against the direction of the Chair, but the question that he be further heard cannot be debated, 6753. The responsibility for taking this action rests with the Chair, 6759

The Chair cannot intervene until an offence has been committed, 6770

Members should conclude their inquiries before the Minister replies, 7028

The principle of a Bill should not be discussed on an amendment to a clause, 7565

A vote on an amendment to alter the wording of an amendment to a clause does not decide the whole question, 7563

A discussion as to the Senate's amendments in a Bill ought not to take place in the absence of a motion, 7621, 7632. The discussion may be of a general character, 7643, but confined to the amendments, 7657, 7748, 7752. Afterwards, a member must confine his remarks to the particular amendment before the Committee, 7835, 7846, 7852-3, 7854, 7855, 7887, 7889, 7950, 7966-8, 7972, 7974, 7995-6.

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There can be no discussion without a question being submitted to the Committee, 8600

A member in his speech is allowed incidentally to ask questions of Ministers, but not to ask categorical questions in regard to an irrelevant matter, 8612

Divisions.—A member calling for a division must vote with those who, in the opinion of the Chair, were in the minority, 2202

Interruptions.—Conversations, 1135, 2551, 2711, 4528, 6244, 6700, 8613; interjections, 2042, 2435

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It is out of order for a member to anticipate his speech on the question by interrupting the speaker, 3841, 7187-8

A member cannot interrupt the speaker in order to correct a statement, 4268

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Language, Parliamentary.—It is not out of order to say "it is a disgrace to allow a man who is distrusted in that way to appoint a Commission like this," 7447; or to ask who prepared a member's brief, 7747; or to use the term "brutal majority," when stating a supposititious case, 7866

Language, Unparliamentary.—It is out of order to say that the statement of another member is untrue, 1204, 2804, 7240, 7453, 7463, 7755; or a malicious libel, 1950

to remark that a member has made a statement which he knows to be incorrect, 7453, 7755

to assert that a member did not believe one word that he said, 1814; had organized a big strike, 1950; is a sham, 2079; or a paid agitator, 2566; or is acting unjustly, 3818; or played a contemptible part, 7462

to characterize the action of a member as dirty and contemptible, 2243; or foul and contemptible, 2567

to reflect on the Chair, 2009; or any member, 2079, 8603; or a vote of the House, 3988; or a decision of the Committee, 8615

to say that any members are throwing dust in the eyes of the workers, 2908; or wasting time in discussing an item, 6431; or are not in a fit state to discuss the Estimates, 6768; or are called upon to rob the public, 8221

to apply to a member the word "untruthfully," 3629

to convey a threat of obstruction, 6751

to instruct the Chairman as to his duty, or to contradict him, 6752

to describe any members as howling dingoes, 6749; or as a pack of dingoes, 6769; or as a brutal majority, 7866

to speak of a member as "that man," 7447

to reflect on members who supported a point of order, 8006

to say that a Bill has been carried up to its present stage only by trickery and misrepresentation, 8220

to describe a Bill as a political job, or to say that it has all the appearance of a political job, 8221

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A member should withdraw a remark which, to another member, is distasteful, 1950, 2240; or objectionable, 2009, 7453; or offensive, 2240, 7755; or is regarded as a personal reflection, 7855

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Points of Order.—A second point of order cannot be taken until the first is decided, 2566

Where a matter has been referred by the House to a Committee for consideration it is not competent for the Chair to entertain an objection that it anticipates the discussion on an order of the day, 7421

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Quotations and References.—A member cannot refer to a question which has been dealt with by the Committee, 2908; or to the position of a Bill in the Senate, 6764

Unless an extract is pertinent to the question before the Committee it cannot be read, 3371, 7752

Only incidental references may be made to a matter not relevant to the question before the Chair, 6012; but an incidental reference by one member cannot be discussed by another, 6318

A member can only quote those portions of an Act which affect an officer whose salary is being discussed, 6751

It is out of order to read an extract referring to a debate in the House during the same session, 6763

Right of Speech.—A member cannot be heard after the question has been put to the Committee, 1731; but if the leader of the House has no objection the question may be put again from the Chair, and any member who rises may be heard, 1732

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